

In memoriam
LOUIS BAZIN
(1920-2011)

Le 2 mars 2011 la turcologie française a perdu l'un de ses membres les plus éminents : le professeur Louis Bazin s'est éteint dans sa quatre-vingt-onzième année, à l'issue d'une longue maladie qui l'avait écarté des milieux académiques auxquels il a tant apporté.

Comme on dit en Asie centrale à cette occasion : *šumkar boldu*, « il est devenu faucon », et si je mentionne cette métaphore, c'est bien sûr pour faire écho aux remarquables travaux du Maître sur le vocabulaire animalier.

Né le 29 décembre 1920 à Caen, dans le Calvados, L. Bazin témoignera des qualités traditionnellement attachées à sa région d'origine, la Normandie : bon sens et mesure dans le jugement. Il aimait les bonnes choses de la vie, il était résolument humain, toujours compréhensif.

Il intègre l'École normale supérieure de la rue d'Ulm en 1939 et y prépare l'agrégation de grammaire. Il rappellera toujours avec un sourire le surnom que lui donnèrent ses amis normaliens : « Loulou-la-Grammaire ». Une fois son agrégation obtenue, il décide de se spécialiser en turc, pour suivre la suggestion du professeur Joseph Vendryes. Il entame alors des études à l'École nationale des langues orientales (Enlöv), sous la direction de Jean Deny, illustrissime figure des études turcologiques. Il est recruté en 1943 comme attaché de recherche au Centre national de la recherche scientifique (CNRS). Son diplôme de turc en poche, L. Bazin part en Turquie en avril 1945, à la demande des autorités françaises qui l'envoient à Ankara perfectionner ses connaissances. Il y passera quelque quatre années à approfondir sa maîtrise de la langue et de la culture

turques, tout en enseignant la langue française à la faculté des Sciences politiques.

Revenu en France en 1949, il succède à J. Deny comme professeur délégué, puis il devient professeur titulaire (1957) de la chaire de Turc de l'Institut national des langues et civilisations orientales (Inalco, ex-Enlov, ex-Culov). Parallèlement, il est nommé (1950) directeur d'études d'histoire et de philologie turques à l'École pratique des hautes études, IV^e section. Il contribue à faire renaître l'Institut d'études turques de l'université de Paris, qui existait avant-guerre mais avait cessé son activité : il redémarre en 1960 dans les locaux de la rue Mabillon, avant d'être absorbé – au moment de sa création – par l'université Paris-III. En 1972, L. Bazin soutient sa thèse de doctorat d'État et devient maître de conférences (1978), puis professeur (1980) à l'université Paris-III. Il convient aussi de rappeler que L. Bazin a fondé (1967) l'équipe de recherches n° 57 « Études turques » associée au CNRS qu'il dirigera jusqu'à sa dissolution (1988).

La réputation scientifique nationale et internationale de L. Bazin lui vaut d'assumer de nombreuses responsabilités : membre puis vice-président de la Société asiatique, membre de la Société de linguistique de Paris, membre de la Société Ernest-Renan, vice-président de la Societas Uralo-Altaica, membre de la Société orientaliste hongroise, membre de la Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, trésorier puis secrétaire général et vice-président de l'Union internationale des études orientales et asiatiques, membre de l'Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur Mainz, membre puis président de la section 44 « Langues et civilisations orientales » du Comité national de la recherche scientifique, membre ordinaire de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres où il est élu le 22 octobre 1993 au fauteuil de Claude Cahen. Par ailleurs, L. Bazin était officier de la Légion d'honneur et commandeur des Palmes académiques.

Son œuvre scientifique est imposante, reflétant une maîtrise – aujourd'hui impossible à atteindre – de l'ensemble des langues turkes, tant dans leur synchronie que dans leur diachronie. Tout à fait essentiels et incontournables sont ses travaux sur le turk ancien, autant que sur les langues turkes modernes. Résumer une œuvre d'une telle ampleur est une tâche ardue, tant les compétences turcologiques de notre Maître étaient étendues et diversifiées, se déployant dans l'espace du monde turk, d'Istanbul à l'Altay, et des Grands Empires des steppes jusqu'à la Turquie républicaine. Rien de ce qui touche à la structure, l'histoire, la socio-

logie des langues turkes et au-delà des langues altaïques (mongoles et tounghouses) ne lui était inconnu ou étranger.

Je voudrais citer, en m'appuyant notamment sur l'ouvrage édité par Michèle Nicolas et Gilles Veinstein (Louis Bazin, *Les Turcs : des mots, des hommes*, Budapest-Paris, Akadémiai Kiadó-Arguments, 1994, 428 p.), certains des titres les plus significatifs des travaux du Maître, que l'on peut regrouper sous trois rubriques : turk ancien, structures linguistiques, études lexicales.

TURK ANCIEN

Dès 1948, L. Bazin publie : « Un texte proto-turc du IV^e siècle : le distique Hiong-Nou du “Tsin-Chou” » (*Oriens*), suivi deux ans plus tard des volumineuses « Recherches sur les parlers T'o-pa (5^e siècle apr. J.-C.) » (*T'oung-Pao*) et en 1955 de « L'inscription d'Uyug-Tarliq (Iénisséï) » (*Acta Orientalia*), puis en 1959 du « Concept d'“année d'âge” chez les peuples turcs anciens » (*Journal de Psychologie*). Les années 1960 voient paraître successivement « Les noms turcs et mongols de la constellation des “Pléiades” » (*Acta Orientalia Hungarica*), « L'homme et la notion d'histoire dans l'Asie centrale turque du VIII^e siècle » (*Diogène*) et « Über die Sternkunde in alttürkischer Zeit » (*Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse — Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur*, 1963), et la décennie suivante « Un manuscrit chinois et turc runiforme de Touen-Houang » (*Turcica*), puis « Turcs et Sogdiens : les enseignements de l'inscription de Bugut (Mongolie) » (*Mélanges linguistiques offerts à Émile Benveniste*) et « Eine Inschrift vom Oberen Jenissei als Quelle zur Geschichte Zentralasiens » (*Materialia Turcica*).

L'ouvrage majeur de L. Bazin est bien évidemment sa thèse intitulée : *Les Systèmes chronologiques dans le monde turc ancien*, qu'il ne cessera de retravailler jusqu'à sa publication en 1991. Ce travail ambitieux et dense s'attaque à un domaine jusque-là resté en jachère : celui du comput et des calendriers en usage dans le monde turk ancien. La recherche s'appuie sur les monuments épigraphiques turks du VII^e au X^e siècles et sur la littérature ouïgoure de Tourfan des XIII^e et XIV^e siècles ; elle va s'efforcer, à partir d'une documentation éparse et fragmentée, de reconstituer et de décrire le système calendérique des peuples turkophones anciens et médiévaux des confins de la Chine aux Balkans sur une période de huit siècles. Cet ouvrage pourra sembler austère car, basé

sur des calculs astronomiques et astrologiques ardu, il fournit un cadre technique qui faisait jusqu'alors défaut. Il faut en réalité y voir l'expression aboutie d'une recherche conduite avec une rigueur et une minutie magistrales, qui constitue donc pour tous les turcologues, de notre temps et ceux qui suivront, un modèle méthodologique.

STRUCTURES LINGUISTIQUES

Disciple et continuateur de J. Deny, L. Bazin s'est intéressé à de multiples domaines de la phonologie, de la morphologie, de la syntaxe du turc de Turquie, ainsi qu'aux rapports entre langues altaïques :

« Y a-t-il en turc des alternances vocaliques ? » (*Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher*, 1961), « Note sur la fréquence des voyelles turques » (*Németh Armağanı*, 1962), « Le problème des consonnes géminées en turc ancien (avant l'introduction des caractères arabes) » (*Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, 1968).

« Les classes du verbe turc » (*Bulletin de la Société de linguistique de Paris*, 1966), « Le système verbal du turc de Turquie » (*Actes des journées d'études linguistiques de l'université d'Angers*, 22-23 mai 1979, 1981), « L'opposition constatation/non-constatation en turc et en bulgare » (*Zeitschrift für Balkanologie*, 1980), « La particule interrogative “-mi” en turc » (*Actes du colloque du département de Linguistique de l'université Paris-Sorbonne*, 19-20 déc. 1983, 1985).

« Tendances nouvelles de la syntaxe de position dans la prose turque (de Turquie) contemporaine » (*Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, 1968), « La réforme linguistique en Turquie » (*La Réforme des langues : histoire et avenir* I, 1983).

« Formules propitiatoires et genres oraux traditionnels : étude d'une famille de mots turco-mongole » (*Turcica*, 1969), « Les interdits de vocabulaire et la comparaison turco-mongole » (*Actes des XII^e rencontres de la Permanent International Altaistic Conference*, Berlin, 1969, 1974), « Réflexions sur le “problème turco-mongol” » (*Turcica*, 1980).

L. Bazin fut également un pédagogue hors pair, sachant exposer avec clarté les mécanismes les plus complexes de la langue turque. Son *Introduction à l'étude pratique de la langue turque* (Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient Maisonneuve, 1968) sera maintes fois rééditée, preuve du succès d'un manuel qui allie simplicité et concision, bien loin des sociolectes

obscur des grammairiens générativistes d'aujourd'hui ! D'ailleurs tous les turcologues français de ma génération qui ont suivi les cours du Maître s'en souviennent avec d'autant plus de plaisir qu'il savait rompre les tensions d'un cours de grammaire ou de traduction, par un bon mot, une plaisanterie, une anecdote de sa vie en Turquie ou de ses voyages en Asie centrale.

ÉTUDES LEXICALES

Les notes étymologiques de L. Bazin, à la fois brèves et percutantes, ont été – pour moi en particulier – une source d'inspiration particulièrement précieuse. À partir d'une intuition fulgurante sur un point de détail, il parvenait à mettre en évidence la solution d'un problème turcologique important. Je pense notamment aux « Noms turcs de l'or » (*Langues et techniques, nature et société -I- Approche linguistique*, 1972) : ayant découvert, via l'interprétation d'un toponyme contenu dans une chronique byzantine, que le nom turk le plus ancien de l'or est *äk* et non pas le turko-mongol *altun/altan*, il en conclut à l'inanité de considérer que tous les idiomes turks écrits ou parlés dérivent d'un « turk commun », suivant le modèle idéal de l'« indo-européen commun ». De même, « L'origine du nom du Tibet » (*Tibetan History and Language: Studies Dedicated to Uray Géza on his Seventieth Birthday*, 1991), écrit avec James Hamilton, est tout à fait révolutionnaire en ce qu'il montre de façon irréfutable l'origine turke du terme par lequel nous désignons le Pays des Neiges.

Lumineuses également sont les explications sur les ethnonymes : Oghuz (*Oriens*, 1953), Khazars (*Materialia Turcica*, 1981-1982), Petchénègues (*Passé turco-tatar, présent soviétique : études offertes à Alexandre Bennigsen*, 1986) ; mais aussi sur les titres : *ataman* (*Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 1979-1980), *ata* (*Siyasi Belgeler Fakültesi Dergisi*, 1981), *čavuš* (*Actes du premier congrès international des études balkaniques et sud-est européennes -VI- Linguistique*, 1968).

Pour une meilleure connaissance des sociétés pastorales altaïques, les recherches de L. Bazin concernant le vocabulaire animalier turk et mongol constituent un apport essentiel. Je pense notamment à ses articles sur le nom de la chèvre (*Studia Altaica*, 1957), du yak (*Beiträge zur alten Geschichte und deren Nachleben: Festschrift für Franz Altheim zum 6. 10. 1968*, vol. II, 1970), de l'aigle (*Turcica*, 1971), de l'ours (*Quand*

le crible était dans la paille : hommage à Pertev Naili Boratav, 1978), de la marmotte (*Journal asiatique*, 1984).

Mais notre Maître ne s'est pas contenté d'une œuvre scientifique. Excellent traducteur, à la fois précis et élégant, il a mis à la disposition du grand public francophone des œuvres fondamentales de l'orature et de la littérature turkes. Il a su rendre le souffle épique d'un épisode de la grande épopée kirghize *Manas* (1965), tout autant que les savoureuses réparties des comédies du grand auteur azéri Mirza Fathali Akhoundov (1967). Il a traduit avec P. N. Boratav une sélection de poèmes du principal auteur turkmène Makhtoumkouli Firaqi (1975) et avec le regretté Altan Gokalp *Le Livre de Dede Korkut dans la langue de la gent oghuz : récit de la Geste oghuz de Kazan bey et autres* (1998).

Peu après sa retraite, Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont et moi-même lui avons offert un livre d'hommages : *Mélanges offerts à Louis Bazin par ses disciples, collègues et amis* (L'Harmattan, coll. *Varia Turcica* 19, 1992).

C'est un grand savant qui disparaît avec Louis Bazin, mais aussi un maître à penser qui a su insuffler à une génération de jeunes universitaires le goût de la turcologie. Nous lui devons beaucoup et c'est avec une immense tristesse que nous saluons sa mémoire.

Rémy DOR

In memoriam
DONALD QUATAERT
(1941-2011)

Donald Quataert, who died on 2 February 2011 at 69 years of age, will be primarily remembered as the historian of the working people of the Ottoman world. His concerns included men and women both urban and rural, but especially those who lived in the 19th century. Quataert was born in Rochester, NY (USA) to a large and poor family of Dutch background; and as it turned out, he came to spend about twenty-five years of his working life at the University of Binghamton (SUNY Binghamton), only a short bus ride away. Despite this “rootedness” in upstate New York, he came to travel widely: his first encounter with Turkey occurred when as a young man, during the Cold War, he was employed in the construction of a radar station in the Black Sea town of Samsun. He then decided to go back to university and work for a doctorate, gaining acceptance to the University of California/Los Angeles; his thesis concerned 19th-century Ottoman agriculture and a few years ago was published in Turkish. In Los Angeles he became a student of Andreas Tietze, with whom he remained in affectionate contact long after the end of his studies.

Donald Quataert also had an interest in German things, and was one of the few Ottomanists to brave the bureaucracy of the German Democratic Republic in order to explore the Potsdam and Merseburg archives that contain quite a few documents relevant on 18th and 19th-century Ottoman economic history. Returning to the area in 2004 he told amusing stories about being assigned lodging in one town and having permission to work in the archives of another, as a result he was obliged to commute

long distances in some discomfort. To his listeners these tales had the mildly satirical flavor of the more optimistic among Aziz Nesin's stories.

Donald Quataert's major area of interest was the history of Ottoman workers; and in his first as well as in his latest book he studied the struggles of working people and also the ethnic and religious divisions that often prevented their coalescence into an authentic Ottoman working class.¹ His first book in English thus concerned the manner in which workers in the ports of Istanbul and Salonika reacted to the foreign companies that had hired them and the ambivalent attitude of the late Ottoman state, which vacillated between supporting industrialists hopefully achieving "development" and workers demanding concessions from privileged foreign companies. Quataert was adept at locating the sources that permit such an endeavor: thus for instance he published the one and only autobiography of an Ottoman workman – a coal miner as it happens – that has come to light so far.² Equally fascinating was his examination of the records of the Zonguldak mines: in an oblique manner, as necessitated by the nature of this material, he retrieved the voices of miners talking about their often difficult lives and also about their older and younger colleagues. With consummate skill he discussed particularly the data on mining accidents, showing a remarkable capacity to see "both sides of the picture": thus in his account of the miners' tendency to disregard safety precautions he explained how some of these measures were of dubious effectiveness and made working in the mine much more difficult.³ But most importantly Donald Quataert stressed that when miners ignored the instructions of their superiors, they also may have felt that they were exercising a degree of autonomy, an autonomy which in any event was much limited due to the constraints of working in the mine.

In his work on Zonguldak, Donald Quataert has produced a model study of how villagers from a remote part of Anatolia reacted to hard work in a coal mine for purposes of which most had only a vague notion. Especially the section on the fate of the miners during World War I shows the limits of what a foreign firm and a scarcely less remote state

¹ *Social Disintegration and Popular Resistance in the Ottoman Empire, 1881-1908: Reactions to European Economic Penetration*, New York, New York University Press, 1983; "Labor History and the Ottoman Empire, c. 1700-1922," *International Labor and Working Class History* 60, 2001, p. 93-109; *Miners and the State in the Ottoman Empire: the Zonguldak Coalfield, 1822-1920*, New York-Oxford, Berghahn Books, 2006.

² With Yüksel DUMAN (eds), "A Coal Miner's Life during the Late Ottoman Empire," *International Labor and Working Class History* 60, 2001, p. 153-179.

³ *Miners*, *op. cit.*

apparatus could induce local people to do. When conditions became intolerable, many of them just left...

Manufacturing was another key interest of Donald Quataert's.⁴ In this area he made a major discovery, namely that, contrary to what several mid-19th-century European observers had claimed, Ottoman crafts did not simply "fade away" with the advent of machine-made goods. Rather many of the craftsmen concerned adapted to the new situation, for instance using imported raw materials to produce goods better adapted to the local market than the imports of the time could ever be. However adaptation had its price, as Anatolian and Balkan producers were forced to lower prices to the point that "self-exploitation" became a pre-condition for survival: family members and apprentices suffered but even so, there was rarely any money left for investment. In addition producers now had to contend with the vagaries of the world market. It is no exaggeration to claim that Donald Quataert thus developed a new model for the linkage of Ottoman artisans to the 19th-century world economy.

Consumption was another aspect of late Ottoman social life on which Donald Quataert did innovative work.⁵ He organized a scholarly conference on the subject and later integrated the various papers into a coherent book. In so doing he once again extended the frontiers of our knowledge: for in consonance with the mentality prevalent in the early years of the Turkish Republic, Ottomanist historians for a long time had thought that it was good and virtuous to produce but that consumption was somewhat shameful. By contrast Quataert showed that like other people Ottoman subjects were concerned by acquiring and consuming material goods and employing the latter to demonstrate social status. Hopefully his work has dispelled a number of prejudices on this subject; yet it is worth noting that Quataert's *Consumption studies* volume has so far remained the only book-length work dedicated to the subject. In a separate article he moreover demonstrated the attempts of the Ottoman elites to monopolize status markers; similarly to what happened in early modern Europe, the powers-that-be in the sultans' realm attempted to limit the consumption

⁴ "The Silk Industry of Bursa, 1880-1914," in Jean-Louis BACQUÉ-GRAMMONT, Paul DUMONT (eds.), *Contributions à l'histoire économique et sociale de l'Empire ottoman*, Louvain, Peeters, 1983, p. 481-503; *Ottoman Manufacturing in the Age of the Industrial Revolution*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1993.

⁵ "Clothing Laws, State, and Society in the Ottoman Empire, 1720-1829," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* XXIX/3, 1997, p. 403-425; "Introduction," in Donald QUATAERT (ed.), *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1550-1922: an Introduction*, Albany, NY, SUNY Press, 2000, p. 1-14.

of their subjects, targeting especially females and non-Muslims. But non-elite Muslim men also came in for a share of criticism; for members of the governing elite seem to have felt that a tax-paying subject who flaunted his wealth was seriously lacking in decorum.

These finely detailed studies will mostly appeal to scholars and advanced students; however Don Quataert also could write for a broader group of readers: his history of the later Ottoman Empire is now in its second edition.⁶ When addressing a broader audience he never “talked down”; and he managed to interest his readers in issues that when treated by anyone else would have been of concern to specialists only. In a similar vein, Donald Quataert made an important contribution to *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, a project on which he cooperated with Halil İnalcık (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994). Not only did he write the important section on the 19th century, he also coped with the myriad details that bringing out a major collective volume always entails. Perhaps the work would never have materialized had it not been for Donald Quataert’s capacity for “self-exploitation”, which was quite comparable to that of the 19th century artisans about whose survival skills he had so memorably written.

These and other achievements notwithstanding, Donald Quataert was a modest person who was also a passionate bird-watcher. He enjoyed the company of his colleagues and students, making visitors feel welcome even if the vagaries of airlines or the weather made them arrive at the most inconvenient time possible. His imaginative approach, unconventional thinking, concern for the under-privileged and dedication to the historical project have been and continue to be a source of inspiration for all who have had the privilege of knowing him.

Suraiya FAROQHI

⁶ *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2005 (2nd ed.).

REFORMULATING THE *GAZI* NARRATIVE: WHEN WAS THE OTTOMAN STATE A *GAZI* STATE?

“**O**nion or garlic?” was how Cemal Kafadar posed the problem of the nature of the early Ottoman state.¹ Was it the product of a single impulse whose nature can be discovered if we peel away enough layers, or was it formed from competing impulses, all of which left traces in the sources? Lacking definitive contemporary information, scholars have debated the true nature of early Ottoman identity, and particularly the definition and role of *gaza* in it, for some time without closure. It is not enough to protest that we can no longer regard the early Ottomans as zealous warriors for the faith whose purpose was to offer to the infidel Islam or the sword. To banish the stereotypes, we also need a new narrative of early Ottoman history, one that although tentative can be used not just as a springboard by specialists but also as a framework for teaching and textbooks.

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¹ C. KAFADAR, *Between Two Worlds: the Construction of the Ottoman State*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1995, p. 90. An earlier version of the present paper was presented at the New England Medieval Conference, “Crusade, Jihad and Identity in the Medieval Mediterranean World,” Dartmouth College, Hanover NH, Oct. 3-4, 2008. The paper pays tribute to the work of Keith Hopwood, historian of pre- and early Ottoman Anatolia, who died suddenly in early 2008.

The historical narrative told at the beginning of most textbooks on Ottoman history identifies the Ottomans as *gazis* from the start: Türkmen tribesmen come down from the hills, motivated by *gaza* (and more recently population pressure), to raid and then to conquer the unprotected remnants of Christian Byzantium, first in Asia Minor and then in the Balkans.² Although challenged as early as 1929 by Hasluck's work on syncretism, so far this narrative has not been replaced; Beldiceanu in *Histoire de l'empire ottoman* merely reports Aşıkpaşazade's story of Ottoman beginnings, and even Finkel's *Osman's Dream* leaves the role of *gaza* in Ottoman identity as an open question.³ The resolution offered by Kafadar, that *gaza* meant different things to different groups in Ottoman society, partially explains the existence of contradictory evidence.⁴ Research over the past two decades has revealed that in early Ottoman times there existed a variety of answers to the question "What is *gaza*?" Because of that, scholars have come to contradictory conclusions about the early Ottomans as *gazis*, some seeing them as engaged in an orthodox Islamic activity and some as heterodox and radically inclusive, while others fail to see them as *gazis* at all except as a later reconstruction.

Kafadar's other thesis, that *gaza* was not synonymous with *jihad* and could be pursued for non-Islamic reasons, is more problematic. Although supported (as he showed) by evidence from Syria and Anatolia in the 12th-14th centuries, the *gaza-jihad* distinction was not a universal one. *Jihad*, which had originally meant offensive warfare designed to conquer the world for Islam, was redefined in the 12th century, during the Crusades, as defensive warfare, leaving *gaza* to refer to offensive incursions into the lands of the infidel.⁵ But by the 15th century, Ottoman chronicles once again used *gaza* and *jihad* as synonyms, as they were in most other

² The relationship between *gaza* and population pressure was discussed by H. İNALCIK, "The Question of the Emergence of the Ottoman State," *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 2, 1980, p. 71-79.

³ F. W. HASLUCK, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1929, reprint. New York, Octagon Books, 1973, 2 vols.; I. BELDICEANU, "Les débuts: Osmân et Orkhân," in R. MANTRAN (ed.), *Histoire de l'empire ottoman*, Paris, Fayard, 1989, p. 15; C. FINKEL, *Osman's Dream: the Story of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1923*, London, John Murray, 2006, p. 5-6 and p. 10.

⁴ KAFADAR, *op. cit.*; cf. also L. T. DARLING, "Contested Territory: Ottoman Holy War in Comparative Context," *Studia Islamica* 91, 2000, p. 133-163.

⁵ H. DAJANI-SHAKEEL, "A Reassessment of Some Medieval and Modern Perceptions of the Counter-Crusade," in H. DAJANI-SHAKEEL, R. A. MESSIER, A. S. EHRENKREUTZ (ed.), *The Jihād and its Times*, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, 1991, p. 41-70.

parts of the Muslim world at most other times.⁶ Any new narrative must explain both scholars' diversity of interpretations and the diversity of the evidence on which it rests. Until now, the scholars have tended to treat the entire 14th century as possessing a single ethos and then argued about what it was. The resulting contradictions could only be resolved by disregarding some findings in favor of others.⁷ In his final chapter, Kafadar proposed a reformulation of the standard narrative that depicted the growth of the Ottoman state as an effort of centralization pitting the institutions and personnel of the state against the inclusive and antinomian *gazis* and their powerful leaders. He and others also argue convincingly that the Ottoman Empire was a multiconfessional society, but centralization alone does not account for the constant religious jingoism that accompanied Ottoman tolerance and that was not a lapse on the part of a few individuals but another pervasive feature of Ottoman identity.⁸ Both tolerance and intolerance, assimilation and interconfessional strife, have to be accounted for. These problems can be addressed by linking the evidence to a chronology.

We can reconcile these contradictions further if we consider that the role of *gaza* in Ottoman military activity and identity evolved over time in response to specific circumstances. Moreover, Ottoman rulers found different uses for the ideology of *gaza* as the conquests progressed. This essay proposes a reformulation of the narrative to account for these evolving attitudes: the Ottomans arose in a largely multiconfessional context, but subsequently first the military forces and then the Ottoman state adopted both *gazi* legitimation and a more exclusive religious

⁶ M. C. MENGÜÇ, *A Study of 15th-Century Ottoman Historiography*, Ph. D. dissertation, Cambridge, Cambridge University, 2008, p. 140-148; DARLING, *art. cit.*

⁷ For instance, comparing the evidence in KAFADAR, *op. cit.* with that in H. W. LOWRY, *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State*, Albany, State University of New York Press, 2003, gives the impression that they were researching two different histories.

⁸ E.g., F. ADANIR, "Religious Communities and Ethnic Groups under Imperial Sway: Ottoman and Habsburg Lands in Comparison," in D. HOERDER, C. HARZIG, A. SHUBERT (ed.), *The Historical Practice of Diversity: Transcultural Interactions from the Early Modern Mediterranean to the Postcolonial World*, New York-Oxford, Berghahn Books, 2003, p. 54-86. D. NIRENBERG, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages*, Princeton University Press, 1996, argues that the function of interconfessional violence was the boundary-marking that made coexistence possible. Nirenberg considered all interconfessional violence in 14th-century Spain religious, "because religious status determined legal status ... the motives of participants, then, were not the most important factor ... their religious identity was" (*ibid.*, p. 31-32). The 15th-century Ottoman chronicles reference a parallel situation, but 14th-century Anatolian interactions suggest that their analysis does not apply to Osman's society.

posture. A conquest that did not start out as a *gaza* became one over the course of time.

This paper does not delve into the details of Osman's ancestry or movements but seeks to characterize the society he and his contemporaries and descendants created from the late 13th to the early 15th century. Rather than adding new evidence while ignoring the evidence presented by others, it integrates the evidence we already have, reshaping the historical narrative around it. After a brief historiographical overview (summarized, in the light of the more extensive overviews in the works of Kafadar and Lowry), it examines Ottoman society's relations with its Christian neighbors at the time of the empire's foundation and discusses the role of *gaza* in the reigns of successive Ottoman rulers.⁹ This reconstruction acknowledges its debt to those who have done the detailed work in the sources but aims to be more generally useful, charting broad social changes rather than rehearsing contested details of the conquest. It cannot tell the entire story, but it creates a framework on which a more detailed story may be hung. This chronological exposition clarifies how in the 14th century Ottoman identity evolved from an accommodationist position toward a more exclusionary *gazi* stance, and how as a result of 15th-century events chroniclers established the early Ottomans as *gazis* for all time.

THE *GAZİ* QUESTION

The earliest scholarly exponent of the Ottomans' *gazi* identity was P. Wittek, whose pioneering explorations of early Ottoman sources in the 1920s and 1930s stimulated research even by those who disagreed with his view of the chronicles as establishing the *gazi* ethos of the early Ottomans.¹⁰ Wittek developed his *gazi* thesis to counter arguments that the early Ottoman state had either a Byzantine or a Turkish tribal foundation.¹¹ In later decades, views of those chronicles that went beyond

⁹ KAFADAR, *op. cit.*, p. 29-59; LOWRY, *op. cit.*, p. 5-13.

¹⁰ P. WITTEK, *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire*, London, Royal Asiatic Society, 1938.

¹¹ The Byzantine argument was made by H. A. GIBBONS, *The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1916; the Turkish tribal argument by M. F. KÖPRÜLÜ, *Les Origines de l'empire ottoman*, Paris, E. de Boccard, 1935; M. F. KÖPRÜLÜ, *The Origins of the Ottoman Empire*, trans. G. Leiser, Albany, NY, State University of New York Press, 1992.

or even contradicted Wittek's thesis multiplied. Scholars such as V. L. Ménage, H. İnalcık, and J. Shinder drew attention to the role of the chronicles as 15th-century propaganda pieces in the conflict between Cem and Bayezid over the legacy of Mehmed the Conqueror, and in the reaction to Sultan Bayezid I's defeat by Timur in 1402; in both cases the chronicles reflected the Ottomans' development of new legitimating ideologies, including *gaza*.¹² Other researchers in the 1980s noted details from the chronicles that complicated or even contradicted Wittek's *gazi* thesis, such as the fact that many of the "warriors for Islam" appear to have been Christian.¹³

The argument then shifted to the meaning of the term *gaza*; the studies by Kafadar and Lowry downplayed its religious associations, emphasizing instead its original definition of tribal raiding. Both argued that the question was not whether the Ottomans were *gazis*, but whether *gaza* really meant holy war or whether it was a more secular concept whose implications ranged from freelance raiding to a sort of ecumenical conquest in which men of all faiths could join. Both emphasized the diversity of early Ottoman society and the different uses of the term *gaza*, but the evidence he used led Kafadar to agree that the Ottomans were indeed *gazis* of some sort, while Lowry concluded that they were not.

We today undoubtedly tend to separate the political from the religious in a way that would have been incomprehensible in the 14th century, but that we find valuable, and this whole controversy hinges on such a separation. The secular definition is, however, problematic: while *gaza* did originally mean stock rustling among the pre-Islamic Arabs and while there must have been a wide range of ideas among the fighters themselves as to the meaning of their combat, it is impossible to deny its religious implications in the Ottoman period after centuries of Islamic

¹² H. İNALCIK, "The Rise of Ottoman Historiography," in B. LEWIS, P. M. HOLT (ed.), *Historians of the Middle East*, London, Oxford University Press, 1962, p. 152-167; H. İNALCIK, "How to Read Âshik Pasha-zâde's History," in C. HEYWOOD, C. IMBER (ed.), *Studies in Ottoman History in Honour of Professor V. L. Ménage*, Istanbul, Isis Press, 1994, p. 145-146; V.-L. MÉNAGE, "The Beginnings of Ottoman Historiography," in B. LEWIS, P. M. HOLT (ed.), *Historians of the Middle East*, London, Oxford University Press, 1962, p. 168-179; J. SHINDER, "Early Ottoman Administration in the Wilderness," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 9, 1978, p. 497-517.

¹³ G. KÁLDY-NAGY, "The Holy War (*Jihad*) in the First Centuries of the Ottoman Empire," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 3/4, 1979-1980, p. 467-473; R. C. JENNINGS, "Some Thoughts on the Gazi-Thesis," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 76, 1986, p. 151-161; cf. also R. P. LINDNER, "Stimulus and Justification in Early Ottoman History," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 27, 1982, p. 207-224.

history and numerous explications by Muslim poets and clerics.¹⁴ Nonetheless, the effort of redefinition did lead both Kafadar and Lowry to seek out a broader range of sources to fill the void left by the absence of 14th-century Ottoman chronicles and to supplement the existing chronicles' claims with other kinds of evidence. Their and others' research cited below employs a close critical reading of the chronicles themselves, other written sources such as Byzantine, Persian, Venetian, and non-Ottoman Turkish texts and documents, coins, architectural inscriptions, and examination of battlefields and terrain. This evidence points in several different directions and does not provide a single unequivocal answer to the question of early Ottoman identity.

When we disaggregate the evidence, we see an emerging Ottoman polity that was in tension among a number of identities whose prominence changed over time. One of these was certainly a *gazi* identity defined as Islamic, but whether that meant a holy war demanding conversion or death, a holy war demanding only subjugation of nonbelievers, or simply interreligious warfare legitimized by Islamic doctrine is not clear, since it was never understood the same way by all Muslims. Another common identity was that of nomad raider (*akıncı*), governed by Turco-Mongol cultural norms rather than Islamic ones, often identified with that of the *gazi* but essentially secular and economic (and which I will refrain from calling *gazi* in this paper). Other strands of identity included an imperial identity as a traditional Middle-Eastern state like that of the Seljuks, the Abbasids, and the pre-Islamic empires (Islamic enough for most Muslims but sometimes not for zealous *gazis*) and an assimilationist, syncretic cosmopolitanism that never had a name but that drew from Byzantine and Turkish cultures alike. These identities, appearing in changing relations in the sources, were held by different groups in Ottoman society, and were used for different purposes at different times.

Fifteenth-century Ottoman chronicles did represent the conflict between the Ottomans and the Eastern Christian powers as *gaza* in the sense of holy war.¹⁵ The stereotype of *gaza* arises as much from these

¹⁴ C. IMBER, "What Does *Ghazi* Actually Mean?," in Ç. BALIM-HARDING, C. IMBER (ed.), *The Balance of Truth: Essays in Honour of Professor Geoffrey Lewis*, Istanbul, Isis Press, 2000, p. 165-178.

¹⁵ Cf. n. 11 above, and examples such as N. AZAMAT (ed.), *Anonim Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman*, F. Giese Neşri, Istanbul, Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1992; AŞIKPAŞAZADE, *Âşûqpaşazâdeh ta'rikhi: a History of the Ottoman Empire to A.H. 833 (AD 1478)*, ed.

sources as from the Westerners' encounters with the *gazis*. The chronicles were written, however, in the aftermath of the Ottomans' 1402 defeat by Timur (Tamerlane, 1370-1406), who proclaimed that he had refrained from eradicating the Ottomans only because of their primacy in *gaza* against the infidel. In 1402 this was a plausible argument, based on the Ottoman defeat of the Crusaders at Nicopolis and the siege of Constantinople, the goal of the Anatolian *jiḥād* since the 7th century.¹⁶ For half a century, the Ottomans had led the warfare of the Turkish forces in Europe. Since their *gazi* reputation, not merely as raiders but as holy warriors, had just preserved them from Timurid annihilation, writers, starting with Ahmedī and Yahşi Fakih, developed *gaza* as a legitimization myth and applied it retroactively to all the Ottoman sultans since the beginning.¹⁷

The Byzantine chronicles are entirely different: except for those written by clerics, they depict Ottoman-Byzantine relations as a political rather than a religious conflict.¹⁸ The Christian-Muslim divide was not

Âlî Bey, Istanbul, Matbaa-yi Âmire, 1332 [1914]; rpt. Westmead UK, Gregg International Publishers, 1970; M. NEŞRÎ, *Kitâb-i Cihan-Nümâ*, ed. F. R. Unat, M. A. Köymen, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1949-1957.

¹⁶ M. BONNER, *Aristocratic Violence and Holy War: Studies in the Jihad and the Arab-Byzantine Frontier*, New Haven, American Oriental Society, 1996; P. FODOR, "The View of the Turk in Hungary: the Apocalyptic Tradition and the Legend of the Red Apple in Ottoman-Hungarian Context," in P. FODOR, *In Quest of the Golden Apple: Imperial Ideology, Politics, and Military Administration in the Ottoman Empire*, Istanbul, Isis Press, 2000, p. 96.

¹⁷ H. AHMEDÎ, *History of the Kings of the Ottoman Lineage and their Holy Raids against the Infidels*, ed. and trans. K. Silay, Cambridge MA, Harvard University, 2004, p. 1-24; E. A. ZACHARIADOU, "Histoires et légendes des premiers ottomans," *Turcica* 28, 1996, p. 49; D. J. KASTRITSIS, *The Sons of Bayezid: Empire Building and Representation in the Ottoman Civil War of 1402-1413*, Leiden, Brill, 2007, p. 10 and p. 18.

¹⁸ Compare KRITIVOULOS, *History of Mehmed the Conqueror*, trans. C. T. Riggs, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1954; DOUKAS, *Decline and Fall of Byzantium to the Ottoman Turks*, trans. H. J. Magoulias, Detroit, Wayne State University Press, 1975; or L. CHALKOKONDYLES, *Demonstrations of Histories (books I-III)*, trans. N. Nicoloudis, Athens, Historical Publications St. D. Basilopoulos, 1996, with the cleric SYMEON, *Politico-Historical Works of Symeon, Archbishop of Thessalonica (1416/17 to 1429)*, ed. D. Balfour, Vienna, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1979. Like Symeon's history, Byzantine martyrologies distinguished identity according to religion, and as Byzantine territory shrank identity lines hardened; B. K. BAYRI, *Martyrs and Dervishes as Witnesses: the Transformation of Byzantine Identity in the Lands of Rum (Thirteenth-Fifteenth Centuries)*, Ph. D. dissertation, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, 2010, p. 181 and p. 233. There is no evidence for the Ottomans' clerics, but Arab frontier clerics of two centuries earlier were vehemently preaching holy war while most rulers allied with either Christians or Muslims as they found it most expedient; cf. the Sermon of Ibn Nubata,

the important one for them; although a preference for co-religionists is detectable on both sides, in the Byzantine chronicles the significant aspect of foreign relations is the pattern of alliances. Most often, Christians and Muslims on one side were allied against Christians and Muslims on the other. The irrelevance of religious antagonism (which did exist) to explanations of Byzantine war and peace holds true both in chronicles written in Greek after 1453, whose authors presumably did not want to jeopardize their new standing as Ottoman subjects, and in that of the earlier author Pachymeres, who spent his youth in the Byzantines' Nicaean state (allied with the Seljuks) and who couched the conflict in terms of the Persian War of antiquity; he portrayed the Turks as terrible but did not mention their religion.¹⁹ Not until the 16th century did Greek chronicles employ the term *gazi* for the Turks.²⁰ Lowry and Kafadar both tried to explain this discrepancy in the historical record by disavowing, in different ways, the religious nature of *gaza*, but this reconstruction sees it as further evidence of the changing place of *gaza* in Ottoman identity.

WESTERN ANATOLIA BEFORE 1299:
TURKS AND BYZANTINES TOGETHER

Whatever the truth about the conflicting stories of the Ottomans' initial migration and Osman's conquests, the Ottomans developed as part of a new society in post-Byzantine western Anatolia. During the period in which they were preparing to make their mark, the whole eastern Mediterranean was a contested zone where Turks and Byzantines found themselves allies as often as enemies. The relative religious neutrality of the Byzantine chronicles reflects the fact that for several centuries the region had seen, not a binary division between Muslims and Christians, but at

trans. M. Canard in A. A. VASILIEV (ed.), *Byzance et les Arabes -II- La Dynastie macédonienne (867-959), deuxième partie: extraits des sources arabes*, ed. H. Grégoire, M. Canard, Brussels, Éditions de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves, 1950, p. 292-294.

¹⁹ G. PACHYMERES, *Relations historiques*, ed. A. Failler, trans. V. Laurent, Paris, Institut d'études byzantines, 1984, vol. 4, p. 368-369 and p. 452-453. Zachariadou points out another difference between the Byzantine chronicles, which take the imperial view, and the Ottoman ones, which write from the local scene (ZACHARIADOU, *art. cit.*, p. 67-68. Cf. also A. DUCÉLLIER, "L'Islam et les musulmans vus de Byzance au XIV^e siècle," *Vyzantina* 12, 1983, p. 122-123 and p. 129.

²⁰ R. P. LINDNER, *Nomads and Ottomans in Medieval Anatolia*, Bloomington, Indiana University, 1983, p. 5.

least a three-way split. The Crusades had pitted Latin Catholics against Muslims; the Eastern Christians in the middle were divided, some favoring the Catholic forces and some the Muslims, while others remained unaligned.²¹ The original Turkish invasion of the 11th century, as a byproduct of the Seljuk conquest of Iran and Iraq, had not been religiously motivated. Its religious connotations were stimulated by the Crusaders' response in 1099 and were revived in the 13th century by the Mongol invasion, which introduced a pagan foe. Crusade and *jihad* ideologies, which developed rapidly in the eastern Mediterranean during the 12th century, seem to have been slower to penetrate Anatolia.²² After the Byzantine defeat at Myrioccephalon in 1176, the Seljuks and Byzantines had shared the Anatolian peninsula in relative accord, both engaged in fighting more dangerous enemies.²³ The Seljuks of Anatolia were allied with the Byzantines during most of the 13th century, while the Latin Christians took Constantinople and the Morea away from them. Orthodox Christians displayed more religious anxiety over Catholicism, which demanded their conversion, than over Islam, which did not.²⁴

In the Seljuk parts of Anatolia, despite a certain amount of religious and political antagonism, former Byzantines and Turks developed a shared lifestyle – in some cases quite rapidly. Cultural distinctions between Byzantines and Turks broke down as both sought security and livelihood in a disordered society. This common culture, almost a shared Anatolian identity, has to be pieced together, because the 15th-century chronicles covered it up. Chroniclers in Constantinople disparaged it and Ottoman chroniclers ignored it. Both portrayed a clear division between Christian conquered people and nomadic Turkish tribal conquerors, all but one Muslims, simplifying the situation by presenting an idealized

²¹ N. NECIPOĞLU, *Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins: Politics and Society in the Late Empire*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2009, p. 4; A. DUCCELLIER, "Byzantins et Turcs du XIII^e au XVI^e siècle: du monde partagé à l'empire reconstitué," in B. BENNASSAR, R. SAUZET (ed.), *Chrétiens et musulmans à la Renaissance, Actes du 37^e colloque international du CESR, 4-9 juil. 1994*, Paris, H. Champion, 1998, p. 12 and p. 15-16.

²² DAJANI-SHAKEEL, *art. cit.*

²³ HASLUCK, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 370; M. BALIVET, "Les contacts byzantino-turcs entre rapprochement politique et échanges culturels (milieu XIII^e-milieu XV^e s.)," in M. BERNARDINI, C. BORRELLI, A. CERBO, E. SÁNCHEZ GARCÍA (ed.), *Europa e Islam tra i secoli XIV e XVI*, Naples, Istituto universitario orientale, 2002, vol. 1, p. 525-547.

²⁴ M. BALIVET, "Le personnage du 'turcophile' dans les sources byzantines antérieures au concile de Florence (1370-1430)," in M. BALIVET, *Byzantins et Ottomans: relations, interaction, succession*, Istanbul, Éditions Isis, 1999, p. 32 and p. 36.

binary opposition in place of a very heterogeneous reality.²⁵ This heterogeneity, however, was part of Ottoman identity and remained so until the end.

Although the original Turkish invasion of central and eastern Anatolia in the 11th century had largely destroyed or expelled the Byzantine ruling class and clergy, most Byzantines had remained, and the return of peace made it possible for cultures and populations to merge and for integration to take place.²⁶ The 13th century in particular was a time of religious intermingling and syncretism in Anatolia. Many Seljuk subjects were former Byzantines from a variety of ethnic and linguistic groups, some converted and some not. While Christians continued to live in Turkish-controlled regions, Muslims in turn came to live in Byzantium.²⁷ The mystics Rumi and Hacı Bektaş had Christian as well as Muslim followers. Within and across political boundaries Seljuks and Byzantines visited each other, exchanged cultures, intermarried.²⁸ There was conversion to

²⁵ DUCCELLIER, "L'Islam et les musulmans," *art. cit.*, p. 95; K. R. HOPWOOD, "Peoples, Territories, and States: the Formation of the Beğliks of Pre-Ottoman Turkey," in C. E. FARAH (ed.), *Decision Making and Change in the Ottoman Empire*, Kirksville MO, Thomas Jefferson University Press, 1993, p. 130-131. The one exception is, of course, the "Christian *gazi*" Köse Mihal. Turkish *menakibnames* (saints' tales), however, used the word *Rum* for both Byzantine and Turkish Anatolians, both Christians and Muslims; BAYRI, *op. cit.*, p. 219-220. Aspects of this Anatolian (Rumi) identity are discussed in C. KAFADAR, "A Rome of One's Own: Reflections on Cultural Geography and Identity in the Lands of Rum," *Muqarnas* 24, 2007, p. 7-25.

²⁶ S. VRYONIS JR., "The Byzantine Legacy and Ottoman Forms," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 23-24, 1969-1970, p. 249-308; K. R. HOPWOOD, "Christian-Muslim Symbiosis in Anatolia," in D. SHANKLAND (ed.), *Archaeology, Anthropology and Heritage in the Balkans and Anatolia: the Life and Times of F. W. Hasluck, 1878-1920*, Istanbul, Isis Press, 2004, vol. 2, p. 18-19.

²⁷ For Muslims in Byzantium, cf. C. BRAND, "The Turkish Element in Byzantium, Eleventh-Twelfth Centuries," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 43, 1989, p. 1-25; S. W. REINERT, "The Muslim Presence in Constantinople, 9th-15th Centuries: Some Preliminary Observations," in H. AHRWEILER, A. E. LAIOU (ed.), *Studies on the Internal Diaspora of the Byzantine Empire*, Washington DC, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1998, p. 125-150.

²⁸ K. R. HOPWOOD, "The Byzantine-Turkish Frontier c. 1250-1300," in M. KÖHBACH, G. PROCHÁZKA-EISL, C. RÖMER (ed.), *Acta Viennensia Ottomanica, Akten des 13. CIEPO-Symposiums, Wien, 21-25. Sept. 1998*, Vienna, Institut für Orientalistik, 1999, p. 154; HOPWOOD, "Christian-Muslim Symbiosis," *art. cit.*, p. 13-30; N. NECİPOĞLU, "The Coexistence of Turks and Greeks in Medieval Anatolia (Eleventh-Twelfth Centuries)," *Harvard Middle Eastern and Islamic Review* 5, 1999-2000, p. 58-76. For more details, cf. M. BALIVET, *Romanie byzantine et pays de Rûm turc: histoire d'un espace d'imbrication gréco-turque*, Istanbul, Isis Press, 1994. I refrain from calling the Byzantines "Greeks" (for their religious adherence) because it disguises their ethnic diversity to a modern audience.

Christianity as well as to Islam, and mixed marriages meant mixed families. Soon a substantial mixed population grew up that included sultans and elites as well as common people.²⁹ The identities “Byzantine” and “Turk” took on political rather than ethnic or religious connotations.³⁰

The 13th-century Turkish invasion of western Anatolia occurred as a mass movement from the Seljuk region to the Byzantine coastal plain, largely by nomadic groups (including that of Osman) already displaced from the central Anatolia plateau to the mountainous fringes by the quartering of Mongol troops on the pasturelands of the plateau. Resisting Ilkhanid control, the nomads invaded the coastal plain and established independent principalities, or *beyliks*. In most cases the idea of *gaza* is not necessary to explain this movement; we do not need to see the invasion through the *gazi* lenses of the 15th-century chronicles or try to redefine *gaza* as not religiously based. In this period, in fact, economic raiding was known as *akın*; *gaza* was used for official warfare against the infidel and was legitimized, in the absence of caliphal sanction after 1258, by certain rituals such as the bestowal of a drum and a flag by the Seljuk sultans. At least until 1295, *gaza* more often applied to warfare against the Mongols than to raids on the Byzantines. The primary reason for nomadic migration and raiding was the inability of the mountains to provide sufficient grazing for the number of nomads taking refuge there; particularly in the northwest frontier region where the Ottomans originated, the hills are quite steep and wooded and the land is stony.³¹ Despite

²⁹ R. SHUKUROV, “The Crypto-Muslims of Anatolia,” in SHANKLAND (ed.), *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 138 and p. 151; S. VRYONIS JR., *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1971, p. 176 and p. 227-239; O. TURAN, “L’islamisation dans la Turquie du Moyen Âge,” *Studia Islamica* 10, 1959, p. 137-152. Hopwood emphasized elite interaction: K. R. HOPWOOD, “Nicaea and her Eastern Neighbours,” in E. KERMELI, O. ÖZEL (ed.), *The Ottoman Empire: Myths, Realities, and “Black Holes”*: Contributions in Honour of Colin Imber, Istanbul, Isis Press, 2006, p. 42.

³⁰ For Muslim Byzantines, cf. n. 26, and for Christian Turks, cf. K. R. HOPWOOD, “The Relations between the Emirates of Menteşe and Aydın and Byzantium, 1250-1350,” in T. BAYKARA (ed.), *CIEPO Osmanlı Öncesi ve Osmanlı Araştırmaları Uluslararası Komitesi, XIV. Sempozyumu Bildirileri, Çeşme, 18-22 Eyl. 2000*, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2004, p. 306 and p. 308; E. A. ZACHARIADOU, “À propos du syncrétisme islamo-chrétien dans les territoires ottomans,” in G. VEINSTEIN (ed.), *Syncrétismes et hérésies dans l’Orient seldjoukide et ottoman (XIV^e-XVIII^e siècle)*, Actes du colloque du Collège de France, 8-10 oct. 2001, Leuven, Peeters, 2005, p. 399-400; C. CAHEN, *The Formation of Turkey: the Seljukid Sultanate of Rûm, Eleventh to Fourteenth Century*, ed. and trans. P. M. Holt, Harlow UK, Longman, 2001, p. 124 and p. 129; NECİPOĞLU, *art. cit.*, p. 58 and p. 61.

³¹ İNALCIK, “Question of the Emergence,” *art. cit.*, p. 71-79; K. R. HOPWOOD, “The

what Pachymeres claims, there were also sedentary refugees whose lands and revenues the Mongols had appropriated, and whose subsistence in the borderland was even more problematic. Some of these migrants, it appears, were not even Muslims.³² Another reason for migration was political, the desire to establish independent states, initially (as we shall see) on the Ilkhanid model. Zeal to combat the infidel may have been involved at times, but in Lindner's terms, probably as justification rather than stimulus. The opportunity for this westward expansion was provided by a power vacuum resulting from the Byzantines' focus on European affairs, the Seljuks' enfeeblement by the Mongols, and the Mongols' own disregard of the western Anatolian borderland.³³

When the border populations overflowed the mountain pastures and entered Byzantine territory, their main interest was economic: territory (especially routes and strong points), grazing grounds, animals, food stocks, and resalable booty, rather than the conquest of infidels *per se*.³⁴ In one sense, the idea of *gaza* must have been at the back of everybody's mind: Byzantine Anatolia had been the premier site of *jihad* since the

Social and Economic Context of the Establishment of the Ottoman Emirate," in *IXth International Congress of Economic and Social History of Turkey*, Ankara, Turkish Historical Society, 2005, p. 9-11. R. P. LINDNER, *Explorations in Ottoman Prehistory*, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 2007, p. 102-116, cites adverse weather in 1302 that decimated the flocks, although this explanation accounts only for the Ottomans and not for other *beyliks*, whose conquests were on a different schedule.

³² PACHYMERES, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 32-35; I. MÉLIKOFF, "L'origine sociale des premiers Ottomans," in E. ZACHARIADOU (ed.), *The Ottoman Emirate (1300-1389), Halcyon Days in Crete I, Rethymnon, 11-13 Jan. 1991*, Rethymnon, Crete University Press, 1993, p. 136-137; I. BELDICEANU, "Péchés, calamités et salut par le triomphe de l'islam: le discours apocalyptique relative à l'Anatolie (fin XIII^e-fin XV^e s.)," in B. LELLOUCH, S. YERASIMOS (ed.), *Les Traditions apocalyptiques au tournant de la chute de Constantinople, Actes de la table ronde d'Istanbul, 13-14 avr. 1996*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 1999, p. 21, n. 5 and 6; ZACHARIADOU, "À propos du syncrétisme islamo-chrétien," *art. cit.*, p. 395-403. The presence of non-Muslims among the invaders may account for some of the evidence that researchers have taken as indicating Islamic heterodoxy; cf., e.g., LINDNER, *Nomads and Ottomans, op. cit.*, p. 6. The 14th-century Persian chronicles portray all the border tribes as semi-sedentary.

³³ Lindner goes even farther, blaming "Palaeologan misrule ... framed against the dim memory of Lascarid prosperity" (*ibid.*, p. 13).

³⁴ PACHYMERES, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 344-345, p. 368-369, p. 456-457; in fact, booty seems to have been a significant element in intra-Byzantine and intra-Christian conflict as well; *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 88-89, p. 152-153, p. 240-241, p. 284-285, p. 302-303. Hopwood emphasized the looting of animals in K. R. HOPWOOD, "Nomads or Bandits? The Pastoralist/Sedentarist Interface in Anatolia," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 16, 1991, p. 187-188. The difficulty of these nomads experienced in finding pasturage is remarked on by MÉLIKOFF, "L'origine sociale," *art. cit.*, p. 136.

7th century, and Turks had been involved in Islamic conquest since the 8th century. Crusaders had crisscrossed Anatolia for two centuries and had occupied Constantinople for over 50 years. The Baba'i revolt, which spread an aggressive mystical Islam into the borderlands, was within the memory of old men still living, and many of the nomads had recently waged *gazi* warfare against the pagan Mongols.³⁵ In another sense, however, fighting for Islam must have been the primary motive of only a small minority; most were fighting for subsistence, although some may have called it *gaza*. Their raiding was not holy war in the Western sense, and it fit the definition of Islamic *jihad* only to the extent that it involved seizing the goods of non-Muslims. In order to call it *gaza*, in fact, the invaders had to redefine *gaza* to mean something separate from *jihad*, since this movement did not fit *jihad*'s legal specifications. The new states established in western Anatolia did not initially have Islam as their organizing principle.³⁶

The disruption of conquest and reconquest, though temporary, made security an important consideration as western Anatolian society reconstituted itself under Turkish leadership. In their new territories, the conquerors established the same kind of integrated relations they were accustomed to in the Seljuk territories, going well beyond the demands of *zimet*, the pact of protection that mandated for submissive *zimmis* not an equal but a subordinate role, even one of humiliation. As the Byzantine army retreated from the coastal plain, some town dwellers resisted the Turkish invasion and some fled to Constantinople, but others surrendered, rebelled against the emperor, invited Turkish protection, or joined the Turkish forces. Cultural exchange became the order of the day; some former Byzantines abandoned the towns and turned to pastoralism, while some Turks settled down to farm or trade. Symbiotic relations developed between townsfolk and pastoralists; Turks and Byzantines, for example, shared the citadel of Sardis, divided by a wall with a gate in it to allow for trade, and Turkish protection allowed the Byzan-

³⁵ K. R. HOPWOOD, "Living on the Margin: Byzantine Farmers and Turkish Herders," *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 10, 2000, p. 100. On the Baba'i revolt and its ideology, cf. A. Y. OCAK, *La Révolte de Baba Resul ou la formation de l'hétérodoxie musulmane en Anatolie au XIII^e siècle*, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 1989.

³⁶ Ocak also argues that Islam formed the basis of Ottoman political and social organization beginning only in the 15th century; A. Y. OCAK, "Islam in the Ottoman Empire: a Sociological Framework for a New Interpretation," *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 9/1-2, 2003, p. 189.

tines to work outside the citadel undisturbed.³⁷ Some Christians moved from still-Byzantine areas to Ottoman-controlled ones in search of peace.³⁸ Sedentary Turks from central and eastern Anatolia and immigrants from other parts of the Muslim world also settled in the new *beyliks*, or principalities, and it is unclear how many of these “Turks” were actually former Byzantines or their descendants.³⁹ Other Turks occupied the border fortresses, resisting the Mongols but preying on the adjacent Byzantines.⁴⁰

Astonishingly rapidly, this mixed population revived western Anatolian urbanism in a new cultural dress based on the Perso-Islamic civilization of the central Middle East. Within two or three decades from their foundation, the *beyliks* had acquired capital cities, literate administrations, coinages, markets, mosques and dervish lodges, schools, flourishing agriculture and trade, and diplomatic relations with the Byzantine Empire.⁴¹ By the mid-14th century a composite “Byzantino-Seljuk” architectural style emerged, that was patronized by both sides.⁴² The Ottoman chronicles enshrine a protest against this civilizational develop-

³⁷ K. R. HOPWOOD, “Mudara,” in A. SINGER, A. COHEN (ed.), *Aspects of Ottoman History, Papers from CIEPO IX, Jerusalem, 23-26 July 1990*, Jerusalem, The Magnes Press, 1994, p. 156; C. FOSS, *Byzantine and Turkish Sardis*, Cambridge MA, Harvard University Press, 1976, p. 82 and p. 123.

³⁸ AŞIKPAŞAZADE, *op. cit.*, p. 11; S. VRYONIS JR., “Nomadization and Islamization in Asia Minor,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 29, 1975, p. 57; K. R. HOPWOOD, “Low-Level Diplomacy between Byzantines and Ottoman Turks: the Case of Bithynia,” in J. SHEPARD, S. FRANKLIN (ed.), *Byzantine Diplomacy*, Aldershot, Variorum, 1992, p. 154 and p. 157; HOPWOOD, “Peoples, Territories, and States,” *art. cit.*, p. 131 and p. 133-134; BALIVET, *Romanie byzantine*, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

³⁹ There were many of these sedentary Turks, according to HOPWOOD, “Christian-Muslim Symbiosis,” *art. cit.*, p. 18-19; cf. also F. SÜMER, “Anadolu’ya Yalnız Göçebe Türkler mi Geldi?,” *Belleten* 24, 1960, p. 567-594.

⁴⁰ PACHYMERES, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 186.

⁴¹ AŞIKPAŞAZADE, *op. cit.*, p. 42; A. AREL, “Menteşe Beyliği Devrinde Peçin Şehri,” *Anadolu Sanatı Araştırmaları* 1, 1968, p. 69-98; C. HEYWOOD, “The Frontier in Ottoman History: Old Ideas and New Myths,” in D. POWER, N. STANDEN (ed.), *Frontiers in Question: Eurasian Borderlands, 700-1700*, New York, Saint Martin’s Press, 1999, p. 228-250; C. FOSS, *Ephesus after Antiquity: a Late Antique, Byzantine and Turkish City*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1979, p. 147, p. 157, p. 161; HOPWOOD, “Peoples, Territories, and States,” *art. cit.*, p. 132-134. In the Ottoman case, these constructions were funded by Orhan’s conquest of the rich coastal plain of northern Bithynia; I. BELDICEANU-STEINHERR, “La conquête de la Bithynie maritime, étape décisive dans la fondation de l’État ottoman,” in K. BELKE, F. HILD, J. KODER, P. SOUSTAL (ed.), *Byzanz als Raum: zu Methoden und Inhalten der historischen Geographie des östlichen Mittelmeerraums*, Vienna, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2000, p. 28-31.

⁴² K. R. HOPWOOD, “The Use of Material Culture in Writing Ottoman History,” *Archivum Ottomanicum* 18, 2000, p. 202-203.

ment that may not be totally anachronistic; their portrait of the early Ottomans as pure Turkish nomads is undoubtedly tendentious, but the nomads in particular must have experienced the ubiquitous tension between the attraction and the repulsion of “civilization”. All of the Turkish *beys*, however, were interested in ruling over bureaucratic states like those of the Seljuks and Byzantines rather than continuing either as tribally-organized nomadic groups or as the frontier forces of some hinterland state.⁴³ Farther east, the Ilkhanid part of Anatolia was undergoing a similar transformation around 1300; the Seljuk rulers were disappearing, but Ghazan Khan (1295-1303) in Tebriz was converting to Islam, reorganizing the state, issuing laws, and settling the nomads, while rebels against the chaotic and inadequate Mongol government of Anatolia were proposing ways to improve local administration.⁴⁴ The demand for order and good government in the peninsula was increasing, and this too became a central strand of Ottoman identity in later years.

WESTERN ANATOLIA AND THE AEGEAN, 1299-1362:
HOLY WAR OR WORLD CONQUEST?

The conditions of the Turkish invasion of western Anatolia outlined above do not resemble the narrative of “the terrible Turk” galloping over the hill and offering Islam or the sword. If they suggest that we cannot see the entire Turkish invasion of western Anatolia as *gaza* (certainly not in the sense of holy war), what does the evidence say for the Ottomans in particular? Beyond the chronology of the conquests, how should the society created by Osman (1280 or 1299-1326) be characterized? Here the chronicles are not very helpful. Already in the late 10th century the figure of the “founder king” had developed in the chronicle literature as “a humble soldier [...] who ruled a band of warriors, lived simply and justly”; in the following century stories about the Ghaznavid rulers established that the founder king also “was blessed by God through dreams” and “gained legitimacy through

⁴³ Cf. İ. H. UZUNÇARŞILI, *Anadolu Beylikleri ve Akkoyunlu, Karakoyunlu Devletleri*, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1937. The *beylik* of Aydın, for example, emerged when tribal forces from Germiyan who had conquered the plain behind İzmir cast off their subordination to the Germiyanid rulers; UZUNÇARŞILI, *op. cit.*, p. 104-105.

⁴⁴ L. T. DARLING, “Persianate Sources on Anatolia and the Early History of the Ottomans,” *Studies on Persianate Societies* 2, 2004, p. 136.

doing *ghaza*".⁴⁵ By the time of Osman, the presence of *gaza* in the literary image of the dynastic founder was not a reliable clue to his actual beliefs or activities. References in chronicles to the Ottoman warriors as *gazis* cannot be regarded as hard evidence for the ideology of an earlier period; in order not to beg the question, it is necessary to ignore the later adulation of Osman as a *gazi*.

The few early sources are equally inconclusive. A 14th-century poem on fighters was written during Osman's reign, but it called the warrior hero by the steppe term *alp* rather than *gazi*, listing his characteristics as a stout heart, a strong arm, zeal, a faithful horse, his own armor, a bow and arrows, a sword, and good companions. This was the description of a secular hero; the hero of religion, the *alp-eren*, was characterized by purity, unworldliness, contemplation, contentment, trust in God, spiritual knowledge, and religious zeal.⁴⁶ Whether he was also a *gazi*, a fighter, is unclear. When this poem was composed, the Ottoman forces probably did contain fighters for the faith, as well as radical Sufi *şeyhs* preaching *gaza* in the religious sense. Osman may even have used the idea of *gaza* to recruit such fighters to his forces. These forces, however, also included adventurers and subsistence fighters; we cannot assume that *gaza* was the foundational motive of Osman's conquests or of the state he founded. Osman received the titles of "Sultan of the *Gazis* and Holy Warriors" and "Osman Han *Gazi*" in a *vakfiye* of 1323 by Aspurça Hatun, the third wife of Orhan, but the Turkish version of this *vakfiye* that remains to us dates from 1796 and was probably translated in the 1550s, when this was routine titulature for the Ottoman sultan and would almost automatically have been inserted if it were absent from the original; its presence here does not guarantee 14th-century usage.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ A. ANOOSHAHR, *The Ghazi Sultans and the Frontiers of Islam: a Comparative Study of the Late Medieval and Early Modern Periods*, New York, Routledge, 2009, p. 74-75.

⁴⁶ AŞIK PAŞA, *Garib-nâme* (*Tıpkıbasım, Karşılaştırmalı Metin ve Aktarma*), ed. K. Yavuz, Ankara, Türk Dil Kurumu, 2000, p. 550-571; H. İNALCIK, "Foundation of Ottoman State," in H. C. GÜZEL, C. C. OĞUZ, O. KARATAY (ed.), *The Turks -III- Ottomans*, Ankara, Yeni Türkiye, 2002, p. 61; H. İNALCIK, "Osmanlı Beyliği'nin Kurucusu Osman Beg," *Belleten* 71, 2007, p. 493. İnalçık argues for the identity of the *gazi* and the *alp-eren*, but his evidence tends to support the present reconstruction. According to Imber, the 14th-century Sufi hagiographical work *Menakibü'l-Ârifin* envisioned saints as *gazis* in order to exalt the saint (the spiritual warrior) over the already well-respected fighter; IMBER, "What Does *Ghazi* Actually Mean?," *art. cit.*, p. 172-173.

⁴⁷ The titles were *sultan al-guzat ve'l-mücahidin* and *Osman han gazi*; İNALCIK, "Osmanlı Beyliği'nin Kurucusu Osman Beg," *art. cit.*, p. 521; İ. ULUDAĞ, "Osman Gaziye dair Mühim bir Vesika: Aspurça Hatunun Vakfiyesi," *Uludağ* 26, 1940, p. 64;

Stripped of the *gazi* rhetoric, the Ottomans' initial conquests look less like holy war than like the early stages of the Mongol world conquest – or perhaps less controversially, that of Alexander the Great. Although unwilling to acknowledge Ilkhanid precedents and, like other Anatolian *beys*, tracing their legitimacy to installation by the Seljuks, the early Ottomans did employ Ilkhanid institutions and imitate Ilkhanid practices, since the Ilkhanids presented the most recent and most successful model of the conquering state.⁴⁸ Chingiz Khan organized his conquests by awarding positions of responsibility to individuals of varied origins and assigning defeated groups to different branches of his troops. They became part of the Mongol army, took the name of its leader, followed his laws, and adopted his ideology (though not necessarily his religion). Their leaders became his non-tribal companions or retainers (*nöker*).⁴⁹ Osman likewise incorporated Byzantines into his army as *nökers*, made them landholders and administrators, and protected their towns and villages. Individuals and entire towns joined the Ottoman enterprise voluntarily. The fact that the villages in the area around Söğüt long sent their own soldiers (*müsellem* and *yaya*, horse and foot troops) to the army, rather than supporting a *timar*-holder, confirms their status as Ottoman

I. BELDICEANU-STEINHERR, *Recherches sur les actes des règnes des sultans Osman, Orkhan et Murad I*, Munich, Societas academică dacoromână, 1967, p. 78-81. Emecen in 1995 suggested a study of the use of the title of *Gazi* in diplomatic correspondence and correspondence manuals, but this has not yet been done; F. EMECEN, "Gazâya Dâir: XIV. Yüzyıl Kaynakları Arasında Bir Gezinti," in *Prof. Dr. Hakkı Dursun Yıldız Armağanı*, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1995, p. 195-196.

⁴⁸ İNALCIK, "Osmanlı Beyliği'nin Kurucusu Osman Beg," *art. cit.*, p. 479-537, and K. R. HOPWOOD, "Osman, Bithynia and the Sources," *Essays on Ottoman Civilization, Proceedings of the XIIth Congress of CIEPO, Prague, 9-13 Sept. 1996*, Prague, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, 1998, p. 154-164, provide reconstructions of Osman's organization and early conquests. For the idea of world conquest among the Ottomans' predecessors, cf. O. TURAN, "The Ideal of World Domination among the Medieval Turks," *Studia Islamica* 4, 1955, p. 77-90; M. BAYRAM, "State Formation among the Seljuks of Anatolia," *Mésogeios* 25-26, 2005, p. 137-155. On relations with the Ilkhanid state, cf. DARLING, "Persianate Sources on Anatolia," *art. cit.*, p. 139-140.

⁴⁹ U. ONON (trans.), *The History and the Life of Chinggis Khan (the Secret History of the Mongols)*, Leiden, Brill, 1990; or F. W. CLEAVES (ed. and trans.), *The Secret History of the Mongols: for the First Time Done into English out of the Original Tongue and Provided with an Exegetical Commentary*, Cambridge MA, Harvard University Press, 1982, vol. 1, pars. 209-256; H. İNALCIK, "Ottoman Methods of Conquest," *Studia Islamica* 2, 1954, p. 120, n. 2. Lindner calls this incorporation "joining the tribe": R. P. LINDNER, "What Was a Nomadic Tribe?," *Comparative Studies of Society and History* 24, 1982, p. 700-703. Balivet calls it a "composite society": BALIVET, *Romanie byzantine*, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

auxiliaries rather than “conquered people”.⁵⁰ Byzantines and Latins were among Osman’s close companions, and when he confronted the Byzantine army in 1302 he sought support from both Turkish and Greek lords in the area.⁵¹ He developed cooperative relations with the Bithynians, some of whom had been interacting with Turkish forces for decades.⁵² He established *timars* on the Ilkhanid model, and Orhan later minted coins in Ilkhanid denominations.⁵³ The goal of world conquest, symbolized in the story of Osman’s dream and islamized by the frame story of Edebalı recruiting Osman to the *gaza*, remained a prominent element in the Ottomans’ identity throughout their existence.⁵⁴

People incorporated into Osman’s enterprise seem to have been treated not as subjected enemies but as allies. Such conciliatory policies were quite successful in winning over the local population.⁵⁵ The description of Osman’s state in the chronicles indicates a level of accommodation between Ottomans and former Byzantines that was high enough to surprise outside observers, accustomed to the greater subordination of non-Muslims in the other Turkish principalities.⁵⁶ Aşıkpaşazade found diffi-

⁵⁰ BELDICEANU-STEINHERR, “La conquête,” *art. cit.*, p. 24, citing registers from the 15th and 16th centuries. Cf. also the Christian functionaries identified by LOWRY, *op. cit.*, p. 86-89 and p. 131.

⁵¹ K. R. HOPWOOD, “Tales of Osman: Legend or History?,” in *XIII. Türk Tarih Kongresi, Ankara, 4-8 Ekim 1999, Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler*, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2002, p. 2056; H. İNALCIK, “Osmān Ghāzī’s Siege of Nicaea,” in ZACHARIADOU (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 80; HOPWOOD, “Low-Level Diplomacy,” *art. cit.*, p. 153; ZACHARIADOU, “Histoires et légendes,” *art. cit.*, p. 81-82. On the *nökers*, cf. İNALCIK, “Question of the Emergence,” *art. cit.*, p. 75.

⁵² HOPWOOD, “Social and Economic Context,” *art. cit.*, p. 8; Osman’s father had had a long-term relationship of amity (or perpetual friendship, *daim dostluk*) with the nearby Byzantine commander of Bilecik. For Osman’s network of relations, cf. K. BARKEY, *Empire of Difference: the Ottomans in Comparative Perspective*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2008, p. 45-58, esp. fig. 1.

⁵³ P. N. REMLER, “Ottoman, Isfendiyarid, and Eretnid Coinage: a Currency Community in Fourteenth Century Anatolia,” *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes* 25, 1980, p. 169 and p. 187; L. T. DARLING, “The Development of Ottoman Governmental Institutions in the Fourteenth Century: a Reconstruction,” in V. COSTANTINI, M. KOLLER (ed.), *Living in the Ottoman Ecumenical Community: Essays in Honour of Suraiya Faroqhi*, Leiden, Brill, 2008, p. 17-34.

⁵⁴ Osman’s dream of the world-tree growing from his belly with all kinds of birds nesting in its branches is related in AŞIKPAŞAZADE, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

⁵⁵ LOWRY, *op. cit.*, p. 56 and p. 68-69. Pachymeres maintained that the regions overrun by the Turks were “ruined”, but he appears to have meant that they were lost to the Byzantines, abandoned by the elites, disorganized, rather than uninhabited or destroyed; PACHYMERES, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 424-425.

⁵⁶ AŞIKPAŞAZADE, *op. cit.*, p. 14. Hopwood describes the society of the Seljuk-Byzantine border as “staunchly Moslem yet welcoming”; HOPWOOD, “Christian-Muslim Sym-

culty explaining this degree of accommodation, labeling Osman's good relations with neighboring Christians "feigned friendship" (*mudara*) and implying that Osman conciliated them only in order to make their conquest easier. But he also mentioned several times the Ottomans' enmity toward powerful Germiyan, the nearest *beylik*. Osman's friendship with the Christians may not have been feigned at all but may instead have been impelled by the desire to bolster his forces against a stronger foe.⁵⁷ The first result of his friendship with the Christian lord of Harmankaya, Köse Mihal, was their joint capture of Eskişehir from the Germiyanids.⁵⁸ The Ottomans' conciliatory behavior has been called the first step to domination, but it is better described as a substitute for domination on the part of a state too small to dominate by force. Ottoman confrontations with the Byzantine state were minimal in this period.

This situation perceptibly changed during the reign of Osman's son Orhan (1324-1362), when the evidence indicates an emerging tension between the accommodationist policies of the earlier period and the exclusionary logic of *gaza* as holy war.⁵⁹ This tension first appeared not in the Ottoman *beylik* but further to the south. Orhan may have been the first Ottoman ruler to use the titles of *Gazi* and "Sultan of the *Gazis*", but that title did not appear until a dedicatory inscription dated 1337, although it suggests that some among the Ottomans were calling their raids *gaza* before that date.⁶⁰ Until then, their use of *gaza* was not impor-

biosis," *art. cit.*, p. 27. Balivet goes so far as to speak of a "melting-pot" identity among the emerging Ottomans; BALIVET, *Romanie byzantine*, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

⁵⁷ AŞIKPAŞAZADE, *op. cit.*, p. 4 and p. 8. Hopwood argues on other grounds that the concept of *mudara* was introduced by 15th-century Ottoman chroniclers to explain a relationship of accommodation that by then had become inexplicable, and that nomads' friendship with sedentaries was necessary for their own security and commerce; HOPWOOD, "Mudara," *art. cit.*, p. 154-161.

⁵⁸ AŞIKPAŞAZADE, *op. cit.*, p. 11; or Karacahisar, as Lindner maintains; LINDNER, *Explorations*, *op. cit.*, p. 57-80, where he also discusses the strife with Germiyan and the way the chronicles disguised Ottoman-Christian cooperation against other Muslims. Imber, while accepting the existence of unnamed Byzantine followers of Osman, declared Köse Mihal a mythical figure; C. IMBER, "The Legend of Osman Gazi," in ZACHARIADOU (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 68.

⁵⁹ Cf. *infra*; even Ahmedī states that it was only in the reign of Orhan that "the holy raid [*gaza*] became a sacred obligation"; AHMEDĪ, *History*, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

⁶⁰ For details on the meaning of this inscription, cf. LOWRY, *op. cit.*, p. 33-44, where he also shows that the inscription is probably authentic; LINDNER, *Nomads and Ottomans*, *art. cit.*, p. 7; I. BELDICEANU-STEINHERR, "Analyse de la titulature d'Orhan sur deux inscriptions de Brousse," *Turcica* 34, 2002, p. 223-240; C. HEYWOOD, "The 1337 Bursa Inscription and its Interpreters," *Turcica* 36, 2004, p. 215-232; L. KALUS, "L'inscription de Bursa au nom du sultan Orhan, datée de 738/1337-38: comment faut-il la lire?," *Turcica* 36, 2004, p. 233-251.

tant enough to make an observable mark; the poet Ahmedî says that in Orhan's day *gaza* was known as *akın*, "raiding".⁶¹ By 1337 the Ottomans' *gazi* identity had become significant enough for Orhan to boast of it in this inscription. The mere existence of the inscription, irrespective of its contents, is indicative of the rising pace of Islamic institutional development in Orhan's reign, which surely contributed to the growing tension between Islamic and other ideologies of conquest.⁶² Still, many of the foot soldiers Orhan recruited were Christian, and he also sent his troops into service as Byzantine mercenaries, aided the Genoese in their war with Venice, and captured the Muslim *beylik* of Karesi; none of these acts sounds much like holy war.⁶³ Orhan's proposal to marry the Byzantine emperor's daughter promised that he "would no longer be an ally and a friend, but a son".⁶⁴ His interaction with the Byzantine state was more intensive than Osman's, but it had positive as well as negative components. During Orhan's reign, claims to conquest of infidels in the name of Islam coexisted and competed with conquest in the name of the Byzantines, conquest of fellow Muslims, and conquest without any religious connotations whatsoever.

Further south, however, in the *beyliks* of Menteşe and Aydın, the Turks were definitely involved in holy war.⁶⁵ Menteşe in the southwest confronted the Hospitalers on Rhodes, who were continuing the Crusade through piracy, blockading the Mediterranean trade route from Anatolia to Egypt. Menteşe traded with Italian merchants but at the same time made *gazi* warfare on the Knights of Saint John and their allies. The *beylik* of Aydın, based around Izmir, developed a large fleet that cruised the Aegean islands and the coasts of Greece and Thrace, carrying on a rich and growing trade with the Italian city-states but also engaging in

⁶¹ Ahmedî, quoted in LOWRY, *op. cit.*, p. 45. Lindner suggests that the Turks abandoned pastoralism for agriculture because it would support a larger army and calls *gaza* a justification after the fact for the then-sedentarized Turks' disreputable past as nomad raiders; LINDNER, "What Was a Nomadic Tribe?," *art. cit.*, p. 708-709.

⁶² HEYWOOD, "Frontier in Ottoman History," *art. cit.*

⁶³ Cf. L. T. DARLING, "Christian-Muslim Interaction on the Ottoman Frontier: *Gaza* and Accommodation in Early Ottoman History," in K. KARPAT, Y. YILDIRIM (ed.), *The Ottoman Mosaic: Exploring Models for Peace by Re-Exploring the Past*, Seattle, Cune Press, 2010, p. 103-118.

⁶⁴ Kantakouzenos, quoted in C. IMBER, *The Ottoman Empire, 1300-1481*, Istanbul, Isis Press, 1990, p. 23.

⁶⁵ H. İNALCIK, "The Ottoman Turks and the Crusades, 1329-1451," in K. M. SETTON (ed.), *A History of the Crusades*, Madison, University of Wisconsin, 1989, vol. 6, p. 222-254.

piracy and naval raids on Venetian possessions.⁶⁶ Both *beyliks* acquired Greek sailors and shipbuilders when the Byzantines disbanded their navy in 1282, and they also recruited fighters from the other *beyliks*.⁶⁷ Mehmed Bey of Aydın (d. 1334), Orhan's contemporary, was the real "sultan of the *gazis*" in this period.⁶⁸ His forces under his brother Umur Gazi raided Italian positions in the Aegean, and it may have been to compete with Aydın's prestige, or to try to obtain the banner of *gaza* after Mehmed's death, that Orhan began to use the title. Because of Umur's depredations, the Western Europeans actually proclaimed a crusade against Aydın in 1332 and won a major victory. A decade later, Aydın's attacks on Venetian possessions in the Aegean brought on another crusade that captured the naval base of İzmir; Umur died trying to retake it in 1348.⁶⁹ It is not surprising to discover that a *gazi* literature (with Umur Gazi as one of its outstanding heroes) emerged in the western Anatolian *beyliks* in the first half of the 14th century.⁷⁰ The Turks of Aydın were probably its best audience. The question still remains how broadly the Ottomans of the same period shared the *gazi* impulse; Orhan became a Byzantine son-in-law and vassal even as his forces continued the conquest of formerly Byzantine lands in Europe.

Although Aydın's forces fought holy wars against the Venetians, like the Ottomans they also hired themselves out as mercenaries to Byzantines and Serbs. The Turkish leaders of the early 14th century were obvi-

⁶⁶ E. A. ZACHARIADOU, *Trade and Crusade: Venetian Crete and the Emirates of Menteshe and Aydın*, Venice, Istituto ellenico di studi bizantini e postbizantini di Venezia, 1983; H. İNALCIK, "The Rise of the Turcoman Maritime Principalities in Anatolia, Byzantium, and the Crusades," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 9, 1985, p. 179-217.

⁶⁷ E. A. ZACHARIADOU, "Holy War in the Aegean during the Fourteenth Century," in B. ARBEL, B. HAMILTON, D. JACOBY (ed.), *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, London, F. Cass, 1989, p. 216-217; K. FLEET, "Early Turkish Naval Activities," *Oriente Moderno* n. s. 20, 2001, p. 129-138.

⁶⁸ EMECEN, "Gazâya Dâir," *art. cit.*, p. 196.

⁶⁹ ZACHARIADOU, *Trade and Crusade*, *op. cit.*, p. 21-62; FOSS, *Ephesus after Antiquity*, *op. cit.*, p. 151-152.

⁷⁰ On this literature, cf. KAFADAR, *op. cit.*, p. 62-73; I. MÉLIKOFF-SAYAR, *Le Destân d'Umûr Pacha*, Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1954, p. 27-35. The *Destân* knows little or nothing about Osman (he merits only six verses devoid of concrete information, and his conquests are attributed to his father), but it gives Orhan five pages and makes the link with Umur Gazi; ENVERİ, *Fatih Devri Kaynaklarından Düstûrnâme-i Enverî: Osmanlı Tarihi Kısmı (1299-1466)*, ed. N. Öztürk, Istanbul, Kitabevi, 2003, p. 22-27. For Enveri, the most important Christian foes were not the Byzantines but the Franks, the Europeans; BAYRI, *op. cit.*, p. 201-202. The Byzantines considered Umur an educated man and a noble knight; A. DUCELLIER, *Chrétiens d'Orient et islam au Moyen Âge, VII^e-XV^e siècle*, Paris, Armand Colin, 1996, p. 342-343.

ously able to differentiate between the Byzantine and Balkan Orthodox Christians, with whom they intermingled and intermarried (and also fought), and the Latin Christians with whom they conducted only trade and crusade. An Ottoman inscription in the citadel of Thessaloniki had different labels for these groups, calling them “Christians” and “Franks” respectively.⁷¹ For most Europeans crusade was ideologically primary and trade an interference – certainly for the Pope and the Hungarians, if not for the Venetians, for whom trade often outweighed crusade in importance. The Turks, even more than Venice, aimed first at political and economic expansion. Two crusades in the space of 11 years, however, must have raised the religious profile of the conflict for all those involved in it. This crusading warfare was not about the Byzantines *per se*, but it did have repercussions on the treatment of Christians in the southern *beyliks*, which was much harsher than that described for the Ottomans. There are many more reports of pillage, destruction of churches, dispossession, expulsion of town dwellers, and molestation and harassment of Christians, both natives and European merchants.⁷² This difference suggests that in mid-century the Ottomans did not feel the pressure of holy war to the same extent as the *beyliks* to the south.

MURAD I'S REIGN, 1362-1389:
THE GROWTH OF AN OTTOMAN *GAZI* IDENTITY

After the mid-14th century, the development of an Ottoman *gazi* identity became much more likely. In the 1340s and 1350s, the Ottomans were invited to Europe as mercenaries for the Byzantines and the Genoese of Pera; based in the fortress of Çimpe/Tzympe, they soon began making conquests for themselves under the leadership of Orhan's son Süleyman, joined by warriors from other *beyliks*. At that point men with the title of *Gazi* appear in conquest accounts heading bodies of fighters. In mid-century, the fighters from Aydın, with their experience of crusade, must have had a more well-defined *gazi* identity than the Ottomans. Did the Ottomans struggle to keep up ideologically? The first anti-Ottoman

⁷¹ H. W. LOWRY, *The Shaping of the Ottoman Balkans, 1350-1550: the Conquest, Settlement and Infrastructural Development of Northern Greece*, Istanbul, Bahçeşehir University Publications, 2008, p. 89.

⁷² FOSS, *Ephesus after Antiquity*, *op. cit.*, p. 148 and p. 153; Barkey reaches the same conclusion; BARKEY, *op. cit.*, p. 56 and n. 72.

crusade in 1359 must have hastened the process along.⁷³ The fluctuating attitudes of the Byzantine rulers toward the Ottomans generated corresponding fluctuations in their relationship, and from 1359 to 1371 both the Byzantines and the Ottomans justified their warfare against each other religiously, which they had not earlier done.

Moreover, the Turkish forces in Europe, made up of men from the southern *beyliks* (Aydın, Saruhan, Karesi) as well as Ottomans, now faced new opponents who were generally not prepared to accept Turkish conquest gracefully. The European Greeks, Serbs, and Bulgarians had not lived side by side with Turks for decades or centuries like the Byzantines of Anatolia. For them the encounter with the Turks was new and largely negative, coming as it did on the heels of two centuries of warfare and efforts to escape Byzantine and Latin domination. Although the invading forces were partly of Christian origin and probably still somewhat Christian in faith, to the Christians of Rumeli they all appeared to be “Turks” and presumably Muslims, so that the religious divide became the most salient one for the Balkan Christians, although it had not been so for those in Anatolia.⁷⁴

A third factor that may have heightened the *gazi* identity of the Turkish forces at this time was the conversion of Christian fighters to Islam, whether these were recruits from Anatolia or captives from defeated armies and conquered cities in Rumeli. It has often been remarked that converts may be more zealous for their new faith than those born into it. Archbishop Gregory Palamas discovered this when in 1354 he was captured by the Turks; in captivity he met converts who pointed to his capture as evidence of the ineffectiveness of Christianity compared to Islam.⁷⁵ For such converts, especially those from crusading armies, world conquest may have been less compelling than holy war as a motive for battle and a guide to relations with the defeated Christian culture.

A fourth motive for the development of a *gazi* identity was provided by the nature of military leadership in the European context. Osman led his

⁷³ İNALCIK, “Ottoman Turks and the Crusades,” *art. cit.*, p. 237-238. Kafadar locates this change during the reign of Orhan (KAFADAR, *op. cit.*, p. 90), but as we have seen, although the claim was made at that time, it encountered substantial opposition.

⁷⁴ Cf. also BALIVET, *Romanie byzantine*, *op. cit.*, p. 94. This is despite the fact that many of the invaders, both former Byzantines and Turks, spoke Greek; DUCCELLIER, “L’islam et les musulmans,” *art. cit.*, p. 131. The difference in attitudes helps explain the existence of differing reports on the Ottomans.

⁷⁵ G. G. ARNAKIS, “Gregory Palamas among the Turks and Documents of his Captivity as Historical Sources,” *Speculum* 26, 1951, p. 106.

own forces and made conquests in his own name, as did Orhan, and Süleyman made his conquests in the name of the family of Osman. After Süleyman's death and during the reign of Murad I (1362-1389), however, many of the Turkish forces in Europe were under the command of frontier *beys* such as Hacı İlbegi or Gazi Evrenos, some of whom were not of Ottoman origin and did not identify strongly as Ottomans.⁷⁶ They were supported by Sufi *şeyhs*, throughout Islamic history the group most concerned about conversion.⁷⁷ When the forces in Rumeli were without sultan leadership, a stress on *gaza* rather than dynastic aggrandizement as the ideology of conquest would unite the army and give the frontier *beys* and Sufi *şeyhs* increased authority. This motive applied to the whole period after 1354 but acquired greater relevance when no members of the dynasty were present, such as in 1357 after the death of Süleyman and after the 1366 seizure of Gallipoli by Amadeo of Savoy; at both these times Murad was in Anatolia. Moreover, Amadeo's taking of Gallipoli was part of a new crusading venture, which made its reconquest, along with the capture of other Balkan cities in that period, a matter of religious competition.⁷⁸ As İnalçık has noted, the breakup of tribal units and the mixing of tribes and peoples in the Turkish mercenary forces in Europe also encouraged the development of *gaza* as an ideological glue holding the army together.⁷⁹

Yet another motive for the Ottoman state's adoption of a *gazi* stance may be its own achievement of dominance during Murad's reign. After

⁷⁶ Cf., e.g., I. BELDICEANU-STEINHERR, "La conquête d'Andrinople par les Turcs: la pénétration turque en Thrace et la valeur des chroniques ottomanes," *Travaux et mémoires* 1, 1965, p. 446-453; KAFADAR, *op. cit.*, p. 115-117 and p. 139; V. DEMETRIADES, "Some Thoughts on the Origins of the *Devşirme*," in ZACHARIADOU (ed.), *The Ottoman Emirate, op. cit.*, p. 26 and p. 29. The power and autonomy of these frontier *beys* is demonstrated by their roles in the succession struggles after Bayezid's death; cf. R. MURPHEY, *Exploring Ottoman Sovereignty: Tradition, Image and Practice in the Ottoman Imperial Household, 1400-1800*, London, Continuum, 2008, p. 46-47.

⁷⁷ M. G. S. HODGSON, *The Venture of Islam -II- The Expansion of Islam in the Middle Periods: Conscience and History in a World Civilization*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1974, p. 535; cf., e.g., R. YILDIRIM, "History beneath Clouds of Legend: Seyyid Ali Sultan and his Place in Early Ottoman History according to Legends, Narratives, and Archival Evidence," *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 15, 2009, p. 21-57. Conversion by Sufis is reported to take place mainly outside the lands of Islam, or in cities; BAYRI, *op. cit.*, p. 188 and p. 195.

⁷⁸ H. İNALCIK, "Polunya (*Appolunia*): Tanrı-Yıkıcı Osmanlı Rumeli Fetihleri Kronolojisi Düzeltmeler," in Z. T. ERTUĞ, *Prof. Dr. Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu'na Armağan*, İstanbul, İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, 2006, p. 29-33.

⁷⁹ İNALCIK, "Question of the Emergence," *art. cit.*, p. 75. On the other hand, after 1371 the presence of Byzantine vassals at the Ottoman conquest of Byzantine territories might have diluted the Ottomans' *gazi* identification.

the battle of Çirmen in 1371 the Byzantine, Serbian, and Bulgarian rulers all became Ottoman vassals. In moving from being the Byzantines' vassals to being their overlords, the Ottomans were virtually required to adopt a somewhat more orthodox, more routinized posture, of which adherence to the rules of *gaza* may have been a part. The letters of the future emperor Manuel II, written while on campaign with the Ottoman army two decades later, refer to scenes of "feasting and fighting" which Manuel found distasteful and undignified.⁸⁰ It is not hard to imagine that he and other Byzantines frequently urged the Ottoman rulers to act in a more regularized and rule-bound fashion. We do not know how such Byzantine influences affected Murad, but the young prince Bayezid seems to have been more open to change. Moreover, the confrontation of cultures at the topmost levels of the two states involved high-level clerics on both sides in what became a contest between the official representative of Christianity in the region and the most powerful representative of Islam.

One more circumstance that contributed to deepening the religious identification of the Ottomans was surely the Black Death, which struck Constantinople and the seaports of Anatolia in 1347-1348 and interior cities a year later. It was estimated, perhaps exaggeratedly, that as many as 2/3 of Constantinople's people died, and this loss of population has been cited as the reason for the hiring of Turkish mercenaries. The collapse of the southern *beyliks* with seaports on the Mediterranean and Aegean coasts, the decline of indigenous Christian communities in Anatolia and Thrace, and the weakness of the southern Balkan states have all been blamed on the Black Death, while the nomads are thought to have been less affected by it. The resulting ease with which the conquests could be pushed forward must have seemed a sign of divine approval. As in western Europe, the virulence of the plague doubtless increased popular religiosity in general and particularly the religious connotations of warfare.⁸¹ It probably also stimulated conversion.

⁸⁰ G. T. DENNIS (ed.), *The Letters of Manuel II Palaeologus: Text, Translation and Notes*, Washington, DC, Center for Byzantine studies, 1977, p. 46-50.

⁸¹ U. SCHAMIOĞLU, "The Rise of the Ottoman Empire: the Black Death in Medieval Anatolia and its Impact on Turkish Civilization," in N. YAVARI, L. G. POTTER, J.-M. RAN OPPENHEIM (ed.), *Views from the Edge: Essays in Honor of Richard W. Bulliet*, New York, Columbia University Press, 2004, p. 270-272. On the role of population loss in the rapidity of conquest, cf. K.-P. MATSCHKE, "Research Problems concerning the Transition to Tourkokratia: the Byzantinist Standpoint," in F. ADANIR, S. FAROQHI (ed.), *The Ottomans and the Balkans: a Discussion of Historiography*, Leiden, Brill, 2002, p. 82-92. On sub-

At the same time, Murad continued the process of conquering Muslim territories in Anatolia, which provided a reason for making *gaza* as holy war the justification for Ottoman conquest irrespective of the real motives of the conquerors. The invasion of other Anatolian *beyliks* demanded some defense in view of the religious prohibition against fighting fellow Muslims. Ottoman acquisitions in Anatolia were initially labeled the products of a marriage and a land sale, Germiyanid territory as the dowry of Prince Bayezid and Hamid as a purchase that bailed out a poverty-stricken ruler. When the *bey* of Karaman objected violently to the occupation of his near neighbor Hamid and marched against the Ottomans (calling their bluff, as it were), the Ottomans defended themselves by describing the Karamanid offensive as treason against the *gaza* and aid to the enemy.⁸² They claimed that fighting against the Muslims of Karaman was legitimate because Karaman, by attacking the Ottomans in the rear, hindered their *gaza* against the infidel. The Ottomans then had to maintain that their conquests had always been religiously justified.⁸³

In the later 14th century, then, a number of factors pulled the Ottoman military forces toward a stronger identification as *gazis*. In tandem with this development, Murad himself acquired a public image as a *gazi* who spent “the whole of his life fighting for the faith out of love for God”.⁸⁴ This heightening of the *gazi* identity encouraged the production of *gazi* literature and the sultan’s use of *gazi* terminology for legitimation, not only in the case of the Anatolian conquests but in the Balkans as well. Descriptions of Murad’s conquests in the 15th-century chronicles all appear to stem from a *Gazavât-nâme* written shortly after the events.⁸⁵ The crusade atmosphere was also intensifying, with interventions by the Papacy and the Hungarians and with Byzantine participation. The Byzantine acceptance of vassal status should have ended the *gaza*, but

sequent outbreaks of the plague, cf. H. W. LOWRY, “Pushing the Stone Uphill: the Impact of Bubonic Plague on Ottoman Urban Society in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries,” *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 23, 2003, p. 93-132.

⁸² H. İNALCIK, *The Ottoman Empire: the Classical Age 1300-1600*, London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1973, p. 14.

⁸³ P. FODOR, “Ahmedî’s Dāsitān as a Source of Early Ottoman History,” *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungarica* 38, 1984, p. 51.

⁸⁴ H. İNALCIK, “The Origins of Classical Ottoman Literature: Persian Tradition, Court Entertainments, and Court Poets,” *Journal of Turkish Literature* 5, 2008, p. 28. For the central Anatolian historian Astarabadi as well, Murad I’s reign was the time of *gaza*; ANOOSHAHR, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

⁸⁵ İMBER, *Ottoman Empire, op. cit.*, p. 30; İNALCIK, “Origins of Classical Ottoman Literature,” *art. cit.*, p. 41-43; İnalçık identifies the author as Ahmedî.

because this acceptance was partial and half-hearted, relations between the two camps remained ambiguous. According to the *menakibnames*, “what the dervishes or *gazis* understood [by] conversion was not actually a change of faith but submission to the symbol or representative of Islam.”⁸⁶ Socialization and even collaboration between Byzantines and Ottomans became more frequent, and a considerable party at the Byzantine court favored accommodation. We learn this, however, from the complaints of this party’s opponents, often those with economic ties to the Italians, who denounced the accommodationists and espoused undying hatred for the Turks, and whose rhetoric seems to have been adopted unquestioningly by later historians.⁸⁷

Murad henceforth related to the Byzantine emperors politically as fellow monarchs and vassal subordinates rather than as despised infidels.⁸⁸ He was related to the Byzantine royal line, though often at cross purposes with them. His father had been a Byzantine ally and had married a Byzantine princess, and his mother was another Byzantine woman. Murad himself married a Bulgarian princess, whose sister married the Byzantine emperor’s son Andronicus. His son Bayezid married a Serbian princess.⁸⁹ Although they despised each other’s religion, Murad’s political competition with the Byzantine emperors was a family affair, especially visible when his son, Savcı, and his brother-in-law, Andronicus, jointly rebelled against their fathers in 1373 and were jointly punished.⁹⁰ For Murad,

⁸⁶ “Infidels”, then, were those who failed to recognize Muslim spiritual authority, whatever their ostensible religion; BAYRI, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

⁸⁷ NECİPOĞLU, *op. cit.*, p. 120, p. 124-126, p. 134-135, p. 231.

⁸⁸ Even Emperor Manuel II, who supposedly hated the Turks, wrote about the Ottoman army merely as fierce and distressingly uncultured warriors; DENNIS (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 46-50, p. 58, p. 74; E. A. ZACHARIADOU, “Manuel II Palaeologos on the Strife between Bāyezīd I and Kādī Burhān al-Dīn Ahmad,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 43, 1980, p. 471-481. Manuel himself mentioned that he found a more congenial companion in a Muslim teacher (*müderriş*), who may be a symbolic figure representing the better-educated Muslims he had met; S. W. REINERT, “Manuel II Palaeologos and his Müderriş,” in S. ĆURČIĆ, D. MOURIKI (ed.), *The Twilight of Byzantium: Aspects of Cultural and Religious History in the Late Byzantine Empire*, Princeton, Princeton University, 1991, p. 39-51.

⁸⁹ Cf., e.g., Z. YONCHEVA, “Orthodox Princesses in the Court of Ottoman Rulers,” *Études balkaniques* 36, 2000, p. 172; NECİPOĞLU, *op. cit.*, p. 121, n. 10. For the intermarriage policy of the Byzantine rulers of Trebizond, cf. BALIVET, *Romanie byzantine*, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

⁹⁰ CHALKOKONDYLES, *op. cit.*, p. 135-141; *Byzantium, Europe, and the Early Ottoman Sultans, 1373-1513: an Anonymous Greek Chronicle of the Seventeenth Century (Codex Barberinus Graecus 111)*, trans. M. Philippides, New Rochelle, NY, A. D. Caratzas, 1990, p. 19-20.

gaza functioned as a political instrument to be brought into play according to circumstances rather than as a personal identity.⁹¹

Murad's state at that time was becoming more islamized, not in the sense of religious intensity but of institutional development in the manner of the great bureaucratic empires of the Middle East. The institution of the *pençik* (the reservation of 1/5 of the booty of conquest for the treasury), which the chronicles attribute to Murad's time, symbolizes a more extensive adoption of historic Islamic administrative institutions and taxation practices during his reign.⁹² Mosques, minarets, *medreses*, *zaviyes*, bathhouses, and other Islamic institutions dotted the landscape in the newly conquered areas, complete with multifunctional staffs and complex foundation documentation.⁹³ Islamic judges were appointed to the fighting forces, and the land tenure system became the well-known *timar* system we know from later evidence. Turkish translations of Middle Eastern literature, both religious and secular, made the civilization of the broader Islamic world more widely accessible.⁹⁴ The introduction of these typically Islamic features brought with it the tension, seen throughout Islamic history, between a ruler's Islam open to civilizational borrowing from non-Muslim sources and a cleric's Islam concerned primarily with the purity of Islamic practices and beliefs. If Murad rallied his

⁹¹ The existence of a gap between sultanic and popular attitudes toward *gaza* is also visible in the period 1372-1375 when, despite the Byzantines' acceptance of vassal status, Ottoman soldiers entering Constantinople engaged in "horrible deeds", probably plunder and violence; NECİPOĞLU, *op. cit.*, p. 130 and p. 137.

⁹² AŞIKPAŞAZADE, *op. cit.*, p. 54; DARLING, "Development of Ottoman Governmental Institutions," *art. cit.*, p. 17-34.

⁹³ Cf. LOWRY, *Shaping of the Ottoman Balkans*, *op. cit.*, esp. his statement, p. 88-89, that in the 14th century it was rare for the conquerors to make churches into mosques, whereas in the 15th century the first thing the Ottomans did on conquering a town was to turn its most prominent church into a mosque as a political statement of "new ownership". This practice may be due as much to the rapidity of conquest as to a wish to dispossess the Christians; leadership not by sultans but by frontier *beys*, without the resources to build their own mosques immediately, may also have played a role.

⁹⁴ M. F. KÖPRÜLÜ, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, İstanbul, 1926; rpt. İstanbul, Ötüken, 1986, p. 340-350; A. UĞUR, *Osmanlı Siyaset-Nâmeleri*, İstanbul, MEB Yayınları, 2001; P. FODOR, "State and Society, Crisis and Reform, in 15th-17th Century Ottoman Mirrors for Princes," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungarica* 40, 1986, p. 220-221. At the same period there was considerable literary activity at the court of Aydın; cf. A. S. ÜNVER, "İlimler Tarihimizde Aydınoğlu İsa Beyle Şahsına ait Mecmuanın Ehemmiyeti Hakkında," *Belleten* 24, 1960, p. 447-455; B. FLEMMING, "Fahris Hüsrev u Şîrîn vom Jahre 1367: eine vergessene türkische Dichtung aus der Emiratszeit," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 115, 1965, p. 36-64, which may have affected the portrayal of Umur as a cultured man.

troops on battlefields like Kosovo Polye by shouting: “*Hey, gaziler!*”, he himself was not a holy warrior but a conqueror and emperor. This tension deepened during the reign of Murad’s successor, Bayezid I (1389-1402).

BAYEZİD I (1389-1402) AND BEYOND:
THE DEATH OF A COSMOPOLITAN IDENTITY

Bayezid I, in contrast to his father, was a surprisingly enigmatic figure who confounded both Christians and Muslims. He conquered Christian kingdoms and Muslim *beyliks* alike. He not only used his Christian vassals to conquer Muslim principalities in Anatolia, but he also brought them to the siege of Constantinople and the Crusade of Nicopolis. He was always on campaign and was feared by all, yet his reign was noted for advancements in cultural and administrative sophistication. In his youth he had governed Kütayha, the cultural capital of western Anatolia, and had become acquainted with its writers and poets.⁹⁵ By Christians he was considered to be haughty, brutal, the merciless victor at the Crusade of Nicopolis (1396) who slaughtered “the flower of European chivalry”, and “a persecutor of Christians like no other around him”.⁹⁶ According to the Ottoman chronicles, however, he was in bed with the Christians: he had a Serbian wife, young virgin slaves of both sexes, and Christian advisors who taught him to drink and carouse.⁹⁷

Bayezid’s record suggests that he intended the Ottoman Empire to be a hybrid, multi-religious and multi-cultural state, despite the fulminations of clerics on both sides.⁹⁸ He considered himself to be descended from

⁹⁵ İNALCIK, “Origins of Classical Ottoman Literature,” *art. cit.*, p. 28 and p. 42.

⁹⁶ DOUKAS, *op. cit.*, p. 62; REINERT, “Muslim Presence in Constantinople,” *art. cit.*, p. 147.

⁹⁷ AZAMAT (ed.), *Anonim, op. cit.*, p. 31-32. For the corresponding pro-Turkish party in Constantinople, cf. BALIVET, *Romanie byzantine, op. cit.*, p. 94-98; BALIVET, “Le personnage du ‘turcophile’,” *art. cit.*, p. 31-47; NECİPOĞLU, *op. cit.*, p. 120 and p. 124-127. The history of the turcophiles has also been suppressed; no mention of such a party appears in G. OSTROGORSKY, “The Ottoman Conquest of the Balkan Peninsula: Byzantium as a Turkish Dependency,” in G. OSTROGORSKY, *History of the Byzantine State*, trans. J. Hussey, New Brunswick NJ, Rutgers University Press, 1969, rev. ed., p. 533-552, or Donald MCG. NICOL, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium: 1261-1453*, London, R. Hart-Davis, 1972, p. 265-334. Some earlier instances of turcophilia are listed in HOPWOOD, “The Byzantine-Turkish Frontier,” *art. cit.*, p. 154.

⁹⁸ This goal does not preclude a desire to expand militarily or to incorporate the vassal states more fully into the empire; cf. NECİPOĞLU, *op. cit.*, p. 30-33.

Alexander the Great, the hero of Christians and Muslims alike, and he possessed a set of tapestries portraying Alexander's life.⁹⁹ The Byzantine emperors were his vassals, but so were several Muslim as well as Christian rulers. It was the emperor Manuel II who, by attempting to stir up a crusade against the Ottomans, intensified the religious aspect of their rivalry, though not necessarily from religious motives; his goal was to keep the Byzantine Empire from incorporation by the Ottomans.¹⁰⁰ Other Christians supported Bayezid, not only because of his power but also because he conciliated them by marrying their princess, listening to their advisors, and adopting their customs. When he besieged Constantinople, the common people agitated in favor of surrendering to him and refugees from the city fled to him.¹⁰¹ His regime employed a sophisticated fiscal/administrative system that drew from both Seljuk and Byzantine precedents; it was in his reign that the first provincial surveys of land revenue were carried out in Anatolia and the Balkans for the *timar* system.¹⁰² Having acquired both the West Anatolian cultural capital of Kütahya and the Byzantine cultural center of Thessalonica, Bayezid had a stable of writers and abundant patronage and was poised on the threshold of a new cultural development joining the best of both worlds. There were even attempts to reconcile Islam and Christianity.¹⁰³

The intervention of Timur in 1402 decisively changed all that, finally destroying the possibility of a hybrid identity and resolving the tension surrounding it, while introducing new fault lines in Ottoman society. For the legitimacy contest with Timur, Bayezid adopted a *gazi* rhetoric that would become the standard argument in the 15th century. Letters to Timur attributed to him described his descent from "Sultan Osman Gazi" who had made his conquests "with divine approbation".¹⁰⁴ They desig-

⁹⁹ KAFADAR, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

¹⁰⁰ In later bids for independence from the Ottomans, Manuel manipulated the sultan's relatives and his other Muslim allies in similar ways; H. İNALCIK, "Review of *Manuel II Palaeologus (1391-1425): a Study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship*, by J. W. Barker", *Archivum Ottomanicum* 3, 1971, p. 272-285.

¹⁰¹ NECİPOĞLU, *op. cit.*, p. 151, citing Chalkocondyles. While wealthy merchants and officials tended to favor the Venetians, many more modest tradesmen and minor officials favored the Ottomans; *ibid.*, p. 193 and p. 199.

¹⁰² H. İNALCIK, *Hicrî 835 Tarihli Süret-i Defter-i Sancak-ı Arvanid*, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1954, p. xv and p. 103; H. İNALCIK, "Arnavutluk'ta Osmanlı Hâkimiyetinin Yerleşmesi ve İskender Bey İsyanının Menşei," *Fatih ve İstanbul* 1/2, 1953, p. 155-156; and İNALCIK, "Ottoman Methods of Conquest," *art. cit.*, p. 109.

¹⁰³ LOWRY, *Nature of the Early Ottoman State*, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

¹⁰⁴ A. FERİDUN BEY, *Mecmu'a-i Münşe'ât-i Selâtin*, İstanbul, Dâr et-Tibâ'a el-'Amire,

nated warfare against Timur as *gaza* and the army *gazis*, like the forces of the “Great *Gazi*” of Aleppo, Nur al-Din Zangi; *gaza* against Timur was legitimate because he had made himself an apostate by attacking Muslim rulers, breaking promises, and violating women.¹⁰⁵

Bayezid was discredited by his defeat, and with him the cosmopolitan state he had created. The Ottoman conquest, begun as a joint Muslim-Christian enterprise, was clearly no longer that – now it was a Muslim enterprise that could be tainted by too close association with Christians. The conquest of Christian territory and the subjugation of Christians became the *raison d’être* of the Ottoman state, saved from annihilation by Timur’s recognition of its *gaza*. To advance in Ottoman leadership it was still not necessary to be born a Muslim, but it now became necessary to convert to Islam. A primary site of Christian-Muslim interaction beyond the marketplace became the Sufi convent, a locus not merely of exchange but of conversion.¹⁰⁶ Later chroniclers deprived Bayezid of the title of *Gazi* because of his defeat and the subsequent breakup of the empire, despite his warfare against the Crusaders and Constantinople. They reinterpreted his conciliation of Christians and his attempts to integrate them into the functioning of the state as illicit intercourse with slaves. They associated his unpopular bureaucratic centralization with sin and corruption, as opposed to the purity of nomadic autarky and *gaza*. As the last in a Khaldunian cycle of rulers, Bayezid had to be portrayed as corrupt and over-civilized and his successor as a simple but pure warrior emerging to begin a new cycle. That this was a historical construction is revealed by the fact that other historians, who did not employ the cyclical dynastic concept, recorded both that Bayezid was not corrupt and did not drink, and that he was a *gazi*.¹⁰⁷

Histories and epics written in the first decades of the 15th century embodied this dichotomy between *gaza* and corruption – or autarky and centralization – and it became one of the central features of Ottoman identity in later centuries. The epic poem of Ahmedî, the section of Aşıkpaşazade’s chronicle based on Yahşi Fakih, and the early 15th-century history of Çelebi Mehmed (later Mehmed I) by an anonymous author, all

1848-1849, 1:125, trans. in ANOOSHAHR, *op. cit.*, p. 125-126; Anooshahr suggests that Bayezid’s dispute with Timur occasioned this ideological formulation, but the letters may be a later composition.

¹⁰⁵ ANOOSHAHR, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

¹⁰⁶ LOWRY, *Shaping, op. cit.*, p. 94.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. AHMEDÎ, *op. cit.*, p. 19-22.

products of the years immediately after 1402, exalted *gaza* not only in their own time but as a foundational Ottoman characteristic from the start. They all depicted the early 14th-century Ottomans as zealous *gazis*, offering to infidels Islam or the sword. According to Ahmedî, Osman would “attack realms and kill the infidel” and Orhan “plundered the infidel day and night ... [and] enslaved women and children, whomever they found”. In İznik he “annihilated the infidel”, and “wherever there were stains of polytheism”, as in Bursa, he “seized it, laying waste to all the churches there”, although in fact the city surrendered and its churches and people were preserved.¹⁰⁸ This depiction of *gaza* was not islamically correct; according to the laws of Islam, if Christians and Jews, “People of the Book” and not polytheists, refuse to accept Islam but pay the poll tax, they and their women and goods may not be molested.¹⁰⁹ The picture drawn by Ahmedî is not historically correct, either; the Byzantines in Ottoman territory had not been annihilated, destroyed, or killed under Osman and Orhan but were still there in large numbers in Ahmedî’s time, still Christian, and still treated as valuable members of the state, even as partners in its construction. There was real destruction and enslavement, but not of the total kind that Ahmedî described; conquest over, the Ottomans resettled, reincorporated, and restored. Ahmedî created an imaginary picture of legendary *gazi* heroes, autarkic nomads whose Islam was pure, with which to criticize the behavior of Bayezid I in adopting Byzantine sophistication and centralization and attacking fellow Muslims in Anatolia, resulting in their disaffection and desertion to Timur.¹¹⁰ The depiction of *gaza* as all-destructive offers of Islam or the sword also appears in later chronicles, especially in their poetic sections. The stories of actual warfare in these same chronicles, however, are simply conquest – sometimes of Christians and sometimes of Muslims, sometimes in alliance with the Byzantines and sometimes not. Timur himself took a position as a fellow *gazi* and monarch of *gazis*, but he described his Indian

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 5-6. For Yahşi Fakih, cf. ZACHARIADOU, “Histoires et légendes,” *art. cit.*, p. 49 and p. 55; for the anonymous chronicler, cf. D. KASTRITSIS (ed. and trans.), *The Tales of Sultan Mehmed, Son of Bayezid Khan*, Cambridge MA, Harvard University, 2007, p. 1-39, or KASTRITSIS, *Sons of Bayezid*, *op. cit.*, p. 28-33.

¹⁰⁹ Ş. TEKİN, “XIV. Yüzyılda Yazılmış Gazilik Tarıkası ‘Gâziliğin Yolları’ Adlı bir Anadolu Türkçesi Metni,” *Journal of Turkish Studies* 13, 1989, p. 144-145.

¹¹⁰ FODOR, “Ahmedî’s Dâsitân,” *art. cit.*, p. 50. This picture also applied to the Christians the theme, drawn from earlier Seljuk chronicles, of the good Muslims and the wicked infidels (who in Seljuk times had been the Mongols); BELDICEANU-STEINHERR, “Péchés, calamités et salut,” *art. cit.*, p. 27-28, n. 54.

campaign as a delivery of the people from oppressive usurpers, while Nizam al-Din Shami's contemporary biography of Timur, the *Zafar-nama*, rewrote the sack of Delhi as a victory for monotheism and a cleansing from "the filth of the existence of unbelievers".¹¹¹ Whatever *gaza* was in reality, in literature it became a demonstration of Islamic purity and extremism.

It was the literary picture of early *gazis*, and not the actual history of accommodation, that formed the basis of Ottoman identity in the centuries to come. Subsequent chronicles distinguished the Ottomans from the other Turkish *beyliks* by their pursuit of *gaza* in Europe. The next two Ottoman rulers after the civil war, Mehmed I (1413-1421) and Murad II (1421-1451), although they continued the administrative and cultural development of the state and accepted Christians into the army, also employed Islamic legitimation for their struggles to reconquer former Ottoman territories and expand the empire; "the *gazis*" were the armies of the state, not the antinomian frontier raiders.¹¹² Ottoman competition with the Byzantines intensified as first the Ottomans, then the Byzantines found themselves fighting for their very existence. Both sultans – and the Byzantine emperor as well – stamped down on efforts still being made in some corners toward a Muslim-Christian partnership. The replacement of the Byzantines with the Timurids as the Ottomans' main ideological reference point reinforced a more exclusive "Turco-Islamic" identity rather than a cosmopolitan one.¹¹³

Mehmed I, under whose aegis the revenue survey system was revived, the first Ottoman mirror for princes was composed, and accounting manuals were copied in the bureaucracy, was clearly committed to the same administrative and civilizational goals as Bayezid I, though not to his cosmopolitanism.¹¹⁴ Both from necessity and from policy, however, he spent

¹¹¹ ANOOSHAHR, *op. cit.*, p. 119 and p. 127.

¹¹² Both Çelebi Mehmed's anonymous chronicler and the author of the 1414 panegyric poem *Halilnâme* portray him as endowed with the charisma of kingship and his forces as warriors for Islam, as well as using the rhetoric of Central Asian kingship; KASTRITSIS, *Sons of Bayezid*, *op. cit.*, p. 218 and p. 221; KASTRITSIS (ed.), *Tales of Sultan Mehmed*, *op. cit.*, p. 2ff.

¹¹³ KASTRITSIS, *Sons of Bayezid*, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

¹¹⁴ Mehmed doubtless did not reveal (or possibly did not espouse) these goals until after he gained the throne, since during the civil war among the sons of Bayezid he was supported by those who opposed imperial centralization and the expansion of the state; D. J. KASTRITSIS, "Religious Affiliations and Political Alliances in the Ottoman Succession Wars of 1402-1413," *Medieval Encounters* 13, 2007, p. 222 and p. 238; KASTRITSIS, *Sons of Bayezid*, *op. cit.*, p. 213-214.

most of his reign in the saddle, reconquering those parts of the empire that had become independent since the defeat by Timur and beating off attacks by the Byzantines and their allies. In his letters he positioned himself as a frontier *gazi* leader on behalf of, or in defiance of, the Timurids.¹¹⁵ Murad II, in contrast, was a cultured man, the greatest Ottoman literary patron to date, and a Sufi mystic who preferred to abandon the sultanate for the monastery. He emphasized the religious meaning of *gaza* and pursued an aggressive policy toward the Byzantines and Serbians designed to enhance his legitimacy as a “*gazi* sultan”. Called out of retirement by his advisors on the approach of a crusading army, he led his troops to victory at Varna (1444); the *Gazavâtnâme* commemorating his exploits demonstrated that he had not resigned the throne out of weakness or lack of dedication to the *gazi* path.¹¹⁶ *Gaza* at this point was clearly against Christians, had the purpose of establishing Islam as well as Islamic rule in the conquered regions, and led to the death, enslavement, or subordination of the Christian foe. The reaction against accommodation gained more strength from the Ottomans’ early 15th-century struggle against heresy and extremist Islam.¹¹⁷ Histories written in the second half of the century make *gaza* the Ottomans’ purpose from the beginning. The identity conflict dominating history-writing at that point (and Ottoman society as well) was between the *gazis* as old-time frontier raiders perpetually fighting against the infidel, and a bureaucratic state trying to pull resources from those *gazis* to fuel a standing army (also called *gazis*) that would conquer Muslims and Christians alike in the name of Islam and the Ottoman dynasty.¹¹⁸

Vestiges of the initial accommodationist position still remained in Ottoman identity and society. From the 1430s, Ottoman merchants traded extensively with Constantinople; although they no longer lived in the city but across the straits at Üsküdar, they crossed over daily to the city’s markets and were visited in turn by Byzantines.¹¹⁹ Christians who had submit-

¹¹⁵ ANOOSHAHR, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

¹¹⁶ H. İNALCIK, M. OĞUZ (eds.), *Gazavât-i Sultân Murâd b. Mehmed Hân*, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1978; C. IMBER (ed., trans.), *The Crusade of Varna, 1443-45*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2006, p. 41-106.

¹¹⁷ A. Y. OCAK, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Zındıklar ve Mülhidler (15.-17. Yüzyıllar)*, İstanbul, Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1998, p. 131-138.

¹¹⁸ İNALCIK, “How to Read Āshik Pasha-zāde’s History,” *art. cit.*, p. 145-146; O. ÖZEL, “Limits of the Almighty: Mehmed II’s ‘Land Reform’ Revisited,” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 42, 1999, p. 226.

¹¹⁹ NECİPOĞLU, *Byzantium*, p. 201-209; cf. p. 199-200. On the early Ottomans as tradesmen, cf. MATSCHKE, *art. cit.*, p. 88-96.

ted to Islamic domination were considered, even without conversion, not to be alien but rather participants in the Ottoman enterprise and potential *gazi* recruits. Christians were recruited for the *gaza* until at least the end of the century, Christian peasants protected the island of Limnos, and large numbers of Christians still held elite positions as *timar* holders in both the Balkans and Anatolia.¹²⁰ Efforts to reconcile Islam and Christianity did not end with the 14th century; they popped up every now and then in Ottoman history. Before his execution in the early 15th century, Şeyh Bedreddin Simavni (product of a mixed marriage) and his disciple Börklüce Mustafa preached a synthesis of Islam and Christianity to their followers from both faiths in Dobruca and the Izmir region. The Hurufî sect from Iran, teaching the unity of Islam, Judaism, and Christianity, spread widely among urban Christian and Muslim craftsmen in Anatolia and the Balkans despite heavy persecution for over a century after 1444. Even in the 16th century, Molla Kabız argued the superiority of Jesus over Muhammad before Sultan Süleyman and almost convinced him; he was only one of a number of Muslim “Jesus-lovers”.¹²¹ Moreover, an elite Byzantine refugee, a relative of Murad II’s widow who lived in the Ottoman Empire in the late 15th century, tells us it was thought that the Ottoman Empire had emerged from an agreement among four lords in northwest Anatolia, two Muslim and two Christian, who together sought to replace the faltering Byzantine rule in Anatolia and elected Osman as their leader.¹²² Even if the story itself is

¹²⁰ H. İNALCIK, “Timariotes chrétiens en Albanie au xv^e siècle d’après un registre de timars ottoman,” *Mitteilungen des österreichischen Staatsarchiv* 4, 1951, p. 118-138; D. A. KOROBEINIKOV, “Orthodox Communities in Eastern Anatolia in the Thirteenth to Fourteenth Centuries, Part 2: The Time of Troubles,” *Al-Masāq* 17, 2005, p. 17; LOWRY, *Nature of the Early Ottoman State*, *op. cit.*, p. 52-54 and p. 95-114.

¹²¹ DOUKAS, *op. cit.*, p. 120-121; A. GÖLPINARLI, *Simavna Kadıoğlu Şeyh Bedreddin*, Istanbul, Eti Yayınevi, 1966; İNALCIK, *Classical Age*, *op. cit.*, p. 182 and p. 190-193; more recently M. BALIVET, “Deux partisans de la fusion religieuse des chrétiens et des musulmans au xv^e siècle: le turc Bedreddin de Samavna et le grec Georges de Trebizonde,” *Vizantina* 10, 1980, p. 387; M. BALIVET, *Islam mystique et révolution armée dans les Balkans ottomans: vie du Cheikh Bedreddin, le “Hallâj des Turcs” (1358/59-1416)*, Istanbul, Éditions Isis, 1995; KAFADAR, *Between Two Worlds*, *op. cit.*, p. 143; OCAK, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Zındıklar*, *op. cit.*, p. 136-250. Some hypothesize a popular Jesus-sect: E. A. ZACHARIADOU, “Co-Existence and Religion,” *Archivum Ottomanicum* 15, 1997, p. 122, n. 8 and 9. For later examples, cf. R. MANTRAN, “Écrivains, penseurs et novateurs dans l’Empire ottoman aux xvii^e et xviii^e siècles,” *Cahiers de la Méditerranée* 37, 1988, p. 163-164; H. G. MAJER, “‘The Koran, an Ottoman Defter!’: Ottoman Heretics of the 18th Century,” in VEINSTEIN (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 299-310.

¹²² T. SPANDOUNES, *On the Origin of the Ottoman Emperors*, trans. and ed. D. M. Nicol, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1997, p. 15; cf. LOWRY, *Nature of the Early Ottoman State*, *op. cit.*, p. 55 and p. 64-65.

untrue, its retelling at that date indicates an attempt to justify an observed level of cooperation between people of both faiths in the leadership of the empire, perhaps in the face of contrary ideological winds.

The period after the conquest of Constantinople in 1453 was one of cultural if not religious syncretism. Mehmed II (1451-1481), as lord of “the two lands and the two seas” and master of The City *par excellence*, saw himself as the heir to the Roman Empire as well as to that of the Seljuks and Ilkhanids, another “second Alexander”. In his new capital he housed a balance of peoples, preserving its urban fabric and many of its inhabitants and repopulating it with Christians, Jews, and Muslims from all over the empire. He surrounded himself with members of the Byzantine elite and former Christians of the *devşirme*. He also sought to create an imperial culture drawing from Byzantine as well as Islamic sources; he himself knew Greek, read Greek books, and had Greek friends and intimates. He built himself one palace in the Byzantine style and one in the Timurid style, issued a law code in imitation of Justinian’s, and employed Byzantine and Anatolian writers as well as artists working in the Italian, Greek, Persian, and Turkish traditions. To lure the stars of East and West into his service, he sent money to Davvani in Iraq and Jami in the Timurid capital and relayed offers of work to Gentile Bellini and Constanzo di Ferrara in Italy.¹²³ He gave Christians and Jews corporate recognition in the empire, and his land and tax policies disadvantaged the old-time *gazis* and frontier Sufi orders in favor of ex-Christian military recruits.

The reaction of a segment of Ottoman society against these Byzantine-style practices found an embodiment in the histories written during the reign of Bayezid II (1481-1512).¹²⁴ Aşıkpaşazade, whose chronicle became a source for most subsequent historical works, wrote for the group of old-time *gazis* who had lost land and revenue to Mehmed II’s military enlargement schemes and who saw the empire taking a course that offended their religious and perhaps cultural sensibilities. He used *gazi* images from the chronicles of Ahmedî and the other early 15th-century writers as a rebuke to Mehmed II’s evenhandedness and his

¹²³ H. İNALCIK, “The Policy of Mehmed II toward the Greek Population of Istanbul and the Byzantine Buildings of the City,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 23/24, 1969-1970, p. 231-249; F. BABINGER, *Mehmed the Conqueror and his Time*, ed. W. C. Hickman, trans. R. Manheim, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1978; L. T. DARLING, “The Renaissance and the Middle East,” in G. RUGGIERO (ed.), *A Companion to the Worlds of the Renaissance*, Oxford, Blackwell Publishing, 2002, p. 60-62.

¹²⁴ İNALCIK, “The Rise of Ottoman Historiography,” *art. cit.*, p. 164-165.

dispossession of the heirs of the *gazi* leaders and radical Sufi *şeyhs* in favor of a bureaucratic cosmopolitanism reminiscent of Bayezid I's. Aşıkpaşazade's history portrayed the earliest Ottoman conquerors as motivated by pure Islam and tribal culture. Neşri and other ulema historians, by contrast, described the empire's founding fathers as zealous but orthodox Muslims. Events in the 16th century – the conquest of the Muslim holy places in the Arab world and the competition with the Shi'i Safavids – reinforced the empire's identity as a state in which Sunni Islam was the dominant element. This militant state Sunnism was envisioned as continuous with the Ottomans' *gazi* origins as described by Aşıkpaşazade, containing them within itself and preserving them so that they could be revived in new forms when circumstances demanded.¹²⁵

CONCLUSION

The recent research on the early period and the contradictory conclusions drawn from it demand the formation of a new narrative of the role of *gaza* in early Ottoman history. In place of a celebration of the Ottomans' *gazi* origins or an argument over whether the early Ottomans were or were not *gazis*, this narrative describes how an Ottoman *gazi* identity developed over time and outlines the circumstances that fostered this development. The identity of the original Ottoman state in western Anatolia was arguably one of accommodation and assimilation between Christians and Muslims, Byzantines and Turks. This original identity was not undisputed, and the dispute, fed by the circumstances of conquest in 14th-century Anatolia and the Balkans and by 15th-century politics in the capital, ended in the ascendancy of the more hierarchical and exclusionary identity of *gaza*. The *gazi* identification did not eliminate the accommodationist elements in Ottoman identity, but it made it impossible for them to prevail.

The presence of individuals who identified as *gazis* in the forces under Osman did not make the entire conquest a *gaza* or mean that the Ottomans must be defined as a *gazi* society. After the Ilkhanid state became Islamic, the impetus for embracing a *gazi* identity in western Anatolia came from the Crusader attacks, and it first affected the southern *beyliks*.

¹²⁵ This remained true even until the birth of the Republic, as shown by the award of the title *Gazi* to Mustafa Kemal.

During Orhan's reign the Ottomans could make claims to a *gazi* identity, but these claims were contested from several directions within Ottoman society itself. In Murad's time, however, ongoing success and fame in pursuit of the *gazi* path in the Balkans, or in leadership of those who pursued it, crystallized the centrality of *gaza* in the identity of the fighting forces, while *gaza* became an instrument of policy on the ruler's part. After being celebrated by Timur and immortalized in the chronicles and epic poetry of the 15th century, the *gazi* identity shifted to the state, where it was contained within the framework of imperial and Islamic institutions. "The *gazis*" were no longer merely autarkic frontier raiders but the disciplined army of the sultan, and the Ottoman state became a *gazi* state such as Osman's polity could never have been.

In the 15th century the concepts of *gaza* and *jihad*, which prior Anatolian authors had often distinguished from one another, came together again in the writings of historians. This is understandable in the light of Ottoman efforts during that period to present themselves as heirs of the Seljuks. If the caliphs alone could proclaim a *jihad*, and if the Seljuks as their heirs — and the Ottomans as *their* heirs — controlled the *gaza* as the latter-day manifestation of *jihad*, then the Ottomans *deserved* a leading role in the Muslim world and were preserved not by Timur's whim but by his recognition of their true position and value. Thus, the constitution of a *gazi* state can be considered as part of the Ottomans' 15th-century reformulation of their identity, which included also the alignment with the Seljuks and the search for Turkmen roots. That effort was barely a generation old when the conquest of Constantinople took the Ottomans in a different direction, and the cosmopolitan efforts of Mehmed II sparked another reconceptualization of Ottoman identity. It is less surprising, therefore, that this one did not fully succeed.

The reformulated *gazi* identity was highlighted for political purposes by later 15th-century chroniclers who opposed Mehmed's Byzantinization and its costs. Through the repeated employment of their chronicles as historical sources, subsequent generations came to consider it the foundational Ottoman identity. By another process of oversimplification, *gaza* became the dominant aspect of Ottoman identity in the eyes of Western Europeans, who knew nothing of the Ottomans' society and culture but who feared their military capability and their otherness. From the 16th century on, *gaza* shaped the standard narrative in histories and textbooks on both sides. It was always, however, only one thread in the complex identity of the Ottomans, and not at first the dominant one.

Although the Ottomans forged new identities over time, forgetting the old, the process of forgetting and remaking did not obliterate those older identities but absorbed them, creating a more complex and ambiguous whole. The Byzantines left us a very different image of their conquerors – as people with whom at times they could interact, intermarry, work, and live. Though less celebrated, this interconnection or accommodation also remained part of Ottoman identity for the life of the empire.

Linda T. DARLING, *Pour une reformulation du récit gazi : quand l'État ottoman fut-il un État gazi ?*

Les spécialistes débattent depuis un certain temps de la véritable nature de la première identité ottomane et, en particulier, de la définition et du rôle de la *gaza* dans cette identité. Il ne suffit pas d'affirmer qu'il n'est plus possible de considérer les premiers Ottomans comme des zélés combattants de la foi ayant pour but de donner aux infidèles le choix entre l'islam et l'épée. Afin de bannir les stéréotypes, nous avons également besoin d'un nouveau récit historique des débuts de l'Empire ottoman; ce récit historique, même approximatif, peut être utilisé non seulement comme un tremplin pour les spécialistes mais aussi comme un cadre pour l'enseignement et les manuels. À noter également que le rôle de la *gaza* dans l'activité militaire comme dans l'identité ottomanes a évolué dans le temps, en réponse à des circonstances particulières. Au fur et à mesure des conquêtes, les dirigeants ottomans ont trouvé de nouveaux usages de l'idéologie de la *gaza*. Cet article propose une reformulation du récit pour expliquer ces attitudes en continuelle évolution: les Ottomans sont apparus dans un contexte largement multiconfessionnel, mais, par la suite, d'abord les forces militaires, puis l'État ottoman ont adopté la légitimation par la *gaza* en même temps qu'une attitude plus exclusive sur le plan des religions. Une conquête qui n'était pas à l'origine une *gaza* en acquérait le caractère avec le temps. Loin d'être exhaustif sur l'ascendance d'Osman ou sur ses mouvements, cet article se donne comme tâche de rendre compte de la société que lui, ses contemporains et ses descendants ont créée de la fin du XIII^e siècle au début du XV^e siècle, en intégrant les données dont nous disposons à ce jour et en reformulant le récit historique à partir de là. À la suite d'une brève revue historiographique, il étudie les relations de la société ottomane avec ses voisins chrétiens au moment de la création de l'Empire et analyse le rôle de la *gaza* sous les règnes des souverains ottomans qui se sont succédé en dressant un tableau des changements sociaux plutôt qu'en revenant sur des détails contestés de la conquête. Cet exposé chronologique éclaire l'évolution, pendant le XIV^e siècle, de l'identité ottomane d'une position d'accommodation vers une attitude plus exclusivement *gazi* et montre comment les événements du XV^e siècle amenèrent les chroniqueurs à faire des premiers Ottomans des *gazi* à jamais.

Linda T. DARLING, *Reformulating the Gazi Narrative: When Was the Ottoman State a Gazi State?*

Scholars have debated the true nature of early Ottoman identity, and particularly the definition and role of *gaza* in it, for some time. It is not enough to protest that we can no longer regard the early Ottomans as zealous warriors for the faith whose purpose was to offer to the infidel Islam or the sword. To banish the stereotypes, we also need a new narrative of early Ottoman history that, although tentative, can be used not just as a springboard by specialists but as a framework for teaching and textbooks. We must also consider that the role of

gaza in Ottoman military activity and identity evolved over time in response to specific circumstances. Ottoman rulers found different uses for the ideology of *gaza* as the conquests progressed. This essay proposes a reformulation of the narrative to account for these evolving attitudes: the Ottomans arose in a largely multi-confessional context, but subsequently first the military forces and then the Ottoman state adopted both *gazi* legitimation and a more exclusive religious posture. A conquest that did not start out as a *gaza* became one over the course of time. This paper does not delve into the details of Osman's ancestry or movements but seeks to characterize the society he and his contemporaries and descendants created from the late 13th to the early 15th century, integrating the evidence we already have and reshaping the historical narrative around it. After a brief historiographical overview it examines Ottoman society's relations with its Christian neighbors at the time of the empire's foundation and discusses the role of *gaza* in the reigns of successive Ottoman rulers, charting broad social changes rather than rehearsing contested details of the conquest. This chronological exposition clarifies how in the 14th century Ottoman identity evolved from an accommodationist position toward a more exclusionary *gazi* stance, and how as a result of 15th-century events chroniclers established the early Ottomans as *gazis* for all time.

SKANDERBEG ET LES SULTANS : ANATOMIE D'UNE RÉBELLION CONTRE L'EMPIRE OTTOMAN*

La conquête ottomane des Balkans se déroula avec une vitesse extrême : en 1354, les Ottomans s'emparèrent de la forteresse de Gallipoli aux Dardanelles ; trente ans plus tard, ils arrivèrent à la côte adriatique ; trente-cinq ans plus tard, ils avaient soumis tout le territoire actuel de la Grèce centrale et septentrionale, l'Albanie et la Bulgarie, et ils avaient forcé les princes serbes à reconnaître leur suzeraineté ; cent ans plus tard, Constantinople tomba dans leurs mains ; cent cinq ans plus tard, la dernière principauté serbe succomba, suivie par le royaume bosniaque. Cent vingt ans après la conquête de Gallipoli, plus rien ne rappelait le monde politique du « Commonwealth byzantin »¹ dans les Balkans, sauf les principautés roumaines au nord du Danube. Nous n'entrons pas dans les détails de l'interprétation de cette marche victorieuse presque ininterrompue ; notons seulement que les victoires ottomanes furent remportées dans un contexte de guerre conventionnelle : des batailles et des sièges lors desquels les Ottomans réussirent à anéantir les élites politiques et militaires de leurs ennemis et de s'emparer de leurs centres

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* Texte d'un cours dispensé au Collège de France, le 27 mai 2010 ; je remercie M. Thierry Ganchou d'avoir bien voulu corriger le style.

¹ D. OBOLENSKY, *The Byzantine Commonwealth: Eastern Europe, 500-1453*, Londres, Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

politiques, économiques et ecclésiastiques². L'élimination de la partie des anciennes élites qui s'étaient opposées aux Ottomans mit aussi fin aux hostilités. Il y eut cependant une autre forme de résistance, moins spectaculaire, mais plus efficace : des nids rebelles dans les zones montagneuses des Balkans occidentaux, où le pouvoir central avait toujours été plutôt symbolique, où ni l'administration byzantine, ni celle du royaume serbe avaient jamais véritablement pris racine. Dans cette région, les Ottomans ne rencontraient plus de cible bien définie, ni de grandes forteresses, ni d'armées régulières, ni de commandement centralisé. En plus, ces régions s'avèrent peu accessibles à cause de leur structure géomorphologique : des montagnes, des forêts sans chemins, qui constituaient une véritable forteresse naturelle. C'est dans ce contexte que les Ottomans se heurtèrent à une résistance qu'ils ne brisèrent qu'avec un effort suprême³.

L'analyse de cette forme de résistance, dirigée par le noble albanais Georges Kastriote, se trouve au cœur de cet article. Nous utilisons le terme d'« anatomie » que nous empruntons à un ouvrage consacré à Owain Glyn Dŵr, héros national du Pays de Galles, contemporain de Kastriote, qui s'était opposé au début du xv^e siècle à la couronne anglaise. L'auteur de ce livre, l'éminent médiéviste britannique Rhys R. Davies, entama une analyse anatomique d'une rébellion en reconstruisant avant tout le profil social des groupes adversaires, leurs intérêts sociaux, économiques et culturels⁴. Ainsi, il raffina considérablement l'interprétation d'un moment-clé de l'histoire galloise. En renonçant à un simple récit des événements, il mit en évidence les forces motrices d'un soulèvement. Nous suivons cet exemple en découpant, pour ainsi dire, de manière chirurgicale notre documentation, en nous concentrant sur la reconstruction sociale d'une rébellion et de son étouffement.

Mais avant de passer à cette analyse, il faut que nous fassions justice à l'histoire événementielle en brossant vite le tableau d'une carrière politique extraordinaire⁵. Georges Kastriote est né en 1405 et était fils d'Ivan

² H. İNALCIK, « Ottoman Methods of Conquest », *Studia Islamica* 2, 1964, p. 103-129 ; C. IMBER, *The Ottoman Empire 1300-1481*, Istanbul, Isis Press, 1990 ; H. W. LOWRY, *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State*, Albany NY, State University of New York Press, 2003.

³ Nous nous permettons de renvoyer à notre monographie intitulée *Skanderbeg : der neue Alexander auf dem Balkan*, Ratisbonne, Pustet, 2009.

⁴ R. R. DAVIES, *The Revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1995.

⁵ Parmi les nombreuses biographies, citons seulement les dernières productions de l'historiographie albanaise qui reflètent toujours l'héritage de l'interprétation nationaliste

Kastriot, petit noble, qui avait construit une petite seigneurie dans les montagnes de l'Albanie centrale, sur les débris du royaume serbe, et qui fut forcé, finalement, de se soumettre au sultan, auquel il envoya comme otages ses quatre fils, dont Georges. Celui-ci intégra le corps des pages de Murad II, se convertit vite à l'islam⁶ et fit une brillante carrière dans l'armée du sultan pour lequel il lutta en Anatolie, contre Ibrahim de Karaman, en Serbie, où il contribua à soumettre le despote Georges Branković, en Valachie et même en Transylvanie, où il combattit le fameux Jean Hunyadi, l'ennemi le plus redouté des Ottomans jusqu'à sa mort en 1456⁷. C'est à ces exploits militaires que Georges devait son nom

de l'époque du dictateur Enver Hoxha, notamment K. FRASHËRI, *Skënderbeu: jeta dhe vepra*, Tirana, Toena, 2002 ; K. BIÇOKU, *Skënderbeu dhe Shqipëria në kohën e tij*, Tirana, Akademia e Shkencave e Shqipërisë, 2005. L'entrée de H. İNALCIK, « İskender Beg », in C. E. BOSWORTH, E. J. VAN DONZEL, B. LEWIS, Ch. PELLAT (dir.), *Encyclopédie de l'islam*, 2^e éd., Leyde-Paris, Brill-Maisonneuve et Larose, 1978, vol. IV, p. 144-146, constitue une contribution très importante sur le sujet. L'essentiel des sources est réuni dans J. RADONIĆ, *Đurađ Kastriot Skenderbeg i Albanija u xv veku*, Belgrade, Srpska Kraljevska Akademija, 1942.

⁶ M. BARLETIUS, *De vita, moribus ac rebus praecipue adversus Turcas, gestis, Georgii Castrioti, clarissimi Epirotarum principis, qui propter celeberrima facinora, Scanderbegus, hoc est, Alexander Magnus, cognominatus fuit, libri tredecim*, Strasbourg, apud Cratonum Mylium, 1537, p. 6, laisse supposer que la conversion est à situer dans un milieu derviche. Le biographe de Skanderbeg fournit, dans le cadre du rite de conversion, une description des derviches dans l'Empire ottoman. Nous ne connaissons pas le lieu ni la date de la conversion de Skanderbeg. Dans sa région d'origine, les débuts des ordres derviches sont également difficiles à dater ; cf. M. KIEL, *Ottoman Architecture in Albania (1385-1912)*, Istanbul, IRCICA, 1990, p. 174 sq. (sur les derviches à Kruja) ; H. KALESHI, « Albanische Legenden um Sari Saltuk », in *Actes du premier Congrès international des études balkaniques et sud-est européennes*, Sofia, 26 août-1^{er} sept. 1966 -VII- Littérature, ethnographie, folklore, Sofia, éd. de l'Académie bulgare des sciences, 1971, p. 815-828 ; M. KIEL, « A Note on the Date of the Establishment of the Bektashi Order in Albania », in A. POPOVIC, G. VEINSTEIN (dir.), *Bektachiyya: études sur l'ordre mystique des bektachis et les groupes relevant de Hadji Bektach*, Istanbul, Isis, 1995, p. 265 sq, qui renvoie à la tradition orale selon laquelle des derviches de l'ordre des bektachis se seraient installés dans la région de Konitsa à l'époque de Mehmed II.

⁷ BARLETIUS, *op. cit.*, p. 13 ; cf. M. SPREMIĆ, *Despot Đurađ Branković i njegovo doba*, Belgrade, Srpska Književna Zadruga, 1994, p. 215 sq. (sur la bataille de Tripolje) ; O. J. SCHMITT, « Die Venezianischen Jahrbücher des Stefano Magno als Quelle für die albanische und epirotische Geschichte (1433-1477) », in K. CLEWING, O. J. SCHMITT (dir.), *Südosteuropa: von vormoderner Vielfalt und nationalstaatlicher Vereinheitlichung*, Munich, Oldenbourg, 2005, p. 133-182 : p. 137 ; M. CAZACU, *Dracula*, Paris, Tallandier, 2004, p. 71 sq. ; E. C. ANTOCHE, « La bataille de la rivière de Ialomița (2 septembre 1442) : une victoire majeure de la chrétienté face aux armées ottomanes », *Cahiers du Centre d'études d'histoire de la défense* 9, 1999, p. 61-88 ; E. C. ANTOCHE, « Le rayonnement de l'art militaire hussite dans l'Europe orientale et le Moyen-Orient (xv^e-xvii^e siècles) », *Revista istorică* 14/5-6, 2003, p. 87-109 : p. 97 sq. ; E. C. ANTOCHE, G. IŞIKSEL, « Les batailles de Sibiu (22 mars 1442) et de la rivière de Ialomița (2 septembre

de guerre Skanderbeg ou İskender bey, ce qui signifie « seigneur Alexandre », une référence à Alexandre le Grand, figure de grand renom tant dans le monde musulman que dans le monde byzantin⁸. Le cas de Skanderbeg se serait inséré dans une longue série de convertis chrétiens qui soutinrent la conquête ottomane des Balkans s'il ne s'était pas rebellé contre le sultan en 1443. En effet, Skanderbeg déserta l'armée ottomane lors de l'approche d'une armée chrétienne sous le commandement de Jean Hunyadi ; dans sa région d'origine, il forgea une alliance de nobles qui, après la défaite des croisés à Varna en 1444, continua seule la lutte contre le sultan, lutte que Skanderbeg mena jusqu'à sa mort le 17 janvier 1468. Les rebelles devaient leur survie en grande partie aux conflits internes de l'Empire ottoman (passage du pouvoir de Murad II à Mehmed II) et aux choix stratégiques de Mehmed II dont le but principal fut de conquérir Constantinople et de s'emparer des mines d'argent serbes. La gloire de Skanderbeg est due au siège de la citadelle de Kruja en Albanie centrale en 1450 ; ce fut la première fois que les armées ottomanes échouèrent devant une grande forteresse chrétienne. Skanderbeg paya cher cette victoire : la plupart de ses alliés avaient déserté pour rejoindre le camp du sultan, sa seigneurie fut dévastée par les Ottomans et la menace d'une autre attaque le fit chercher la vassalité au royaume de Naples, à qui il céda Kruja ; une garnison napolitaine (ou, plus précisément, catalane) vint s'installer dans cette ville⁹. À partir de ce moment-là, Skanderbeg devint l'objet de la rivalité entre Naples et Venise en Adriatique méridionale. Jusqu'en 1466, il repoussa les attaques des gouverneurs ottomans des régions voisines, de la Macédoine et de la Thessalie, avec le soutien de Naples et quelques subsides du pape ; ses relations avec Venise étaient très tendues, car celle-ci voyait en lui surtout le vassal de Naples et pas un héros de la lutte contre le sultan. Après avoir conquis la Serbie (en 1459) et la Bosnie (en 1463), Mehmed II encercla

1442): essai de reconstruction d'après les sources de l'époque », in A. DUMITRAN, L. MÁDLY, A. SIMON (dir.), *Extincta est lucerna orbis: John Hunyadi and his Time*, Cluj-Napoca, Academia Română, 2009, p. 405-426.

⁸ O. J. SCHMITT, « Skanderbeg als neuer Alexander: Antikerezeption im spätmittelalterlichen Albanien », *Pirckheimer-Jahrbuch* 20, 2005, p. 123-144 ; D. EGRO, « Skënderbej: identitet i ndryshuar apo titullaturë turko-osmane », in F. DUKA (dir.), *Skënderbeu dhe Evropa*, Tirana, Akademia e Shkencave e Shqipërisë, 2006, p. 113-124.

⁹ C. MARINESCO, « Alphonse V, roi d'Aragon et de Naples, et l'Albanie de Skanderbeg », *Mélanges de l'École roumaine en France* 1, 1923, p. 1-135 ; C. MARINESCU, *La Politique orientale d'Alfonse V d'Aragon, roi de Naples (1416-1458)*, Barcelone, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1994 ; M. SPREMIĆ, « Vazali kralja Alfonsa Aragonskog », *Zbornik filozofskog fakulteta u Beogradu* 12, 1974, p. 455-469.

le nid rebelle. En deux campagnes, qu'il commanda en personne, il dévasta la seigneurie de Skanderbeg et étouffa toute résistance ; dans les régions de Dibra, de Mati et de Kruja, les pertes démographiques variaient entre 66 % et 75 % de la population. La victoire ottomane fut remportée au prix d'un véritable bain de sang¹⁰. Skanderbeg mourut vaincu et isolé ; Venise s'empara de Kruja et se débarrassa définitivement de la concurrence napolitaine dans la région¹¹.

Résister pendant un quart de siècle aux Ottomans est un fait plus que remarquable, survivre à une attaque menée par le sultan en personne l'est davantage, mais notre bref récit n'explique pas les motifs du soulèvement, ni les structures sociales de la région. Nous divisons notre analyse « anatomique » en deux parties : la première traitera de l'histoire structurale, la seconde essaiera d'aborder la personnalité du leader de ce soulèvement, car, soulignons-le, sans ce commandant charismatique, la rébellion aurait très vite et très tôt perdu haleine.

Commençons par une esquisse de la dimension spatiale :

L'espace de l'Albanie moderne constituait au Moyen Âge tardif une région frontrière entre le monde byzantino-orthodoxe et le monde catholique, et entre Albanais, Grecs, Slaves et Valaques. À cette époque-là, le terme « Albanie » ne désignait pas un espace ethnique homogène ou un État, mais plutôt une région à frontières floues qui accompagnaient l'expansion migratoire des albanophones, surtout vers le sud. Autour de 1400, un voyageur italien désignait la région de Naupacte/Lépante comme « Albanie », soulignant ainsi la dominance politique des seigneurs albanais, sans pour autant avancer l'existence d'une majorité ethnique de langue albanaise. Le mélange confessionnel et culturel qui caractérisait cet espace était typique des Balkans prémodernes¹².

La région dans laquelle se déroula le grand soulèvement contre le sultan est située entre la mer Adriatique, plus précisément la zone autour du port de Durazzo (Durrës), et les montagnes de l'actuelle région de la frontière avec la Macédoine ; au nord, elle était limitée par la plaine autour du lac de Scutari (Shkodra), au sud par la vallée du Shkumbin¹³.

¹⁰ SCHMITT, *Skanderbeg*, op. cit., p. 102.

¹¹ O. J. SCHMITT, « Skanderbegs letzte Jahre : west-östliches Wechselspiel von Diplomatie und Krieg (1464-1468) », *Südost-Forschungen* 63-64, 2004-2005, p. 56-123.

¹² O. J. SCHMITT, *Das venezianische Albanien (1392-1479)*, Munich, Oldenbourg, 2001, p. 47-56.

¹³ Citons les ouvrages classiques sur le Moyen Âge albanais : L. V. THALLÓCZY (dir.), *Illyrisch-albanische Forschungen*, 2 vol., Munich-Leipzig, Duncker & Humblot, 1916 ; M. V. ŠUFFLAY, « Istorija sjevernih Arbanasa : sociološka studija », *Arhiv za arbanasku*

Les grandes routes des caravanes passaient au nord et au sud de ce territoire rebelle ; d'un côté la route de Zeta qui liait les mines du Kosovo aux ports d'Alessio (Lezha) et de Scutari, et de l'autre côté la célèbre *Via Egnatia*, artère principale de communication entre Durazzo, Salonique et Constantinople, qui avait jadis facilité la conquête romaine des Balkans et permis aux Ottomans, au Moyen Âge tardif, d'avancer rapidement dans le sens de la côte adriatique. Les grands axes de commerce contournaient le territoire rebelle ou, plus exactement, les rebelles furent incapables de s'emparer de ces axes. La région sous leur contrôle était coupée en deux grandes vallées : celle du Mati et celle du Drin noir, flanquée à l'ouest par la grande plaine côtière de l'Adriatique, à l'est par les montagnes du massif du Šar qui s'élèvent à environ 2 700 m d'altitude.

Tandis que le sud de cette région d'« Albanie », qui correspond vaguement à l'actuelle Albanie méridionale, se trouvait sous administration ottomane, les villes côtières du nord étaient contrôlées, à partir de 1392, par la République de Venise. Entre ces deux grandes puissances vacillaient de petites seigneuries albanaises, vassales de Venise ou du sultan. Le grand soulèvement contre le sultan n'a jamais mobilisé les villes, ni celles qui étaient sous influence vénitienne, ni celles que défendaient les troupes ottomanes. Au contraire, les rebelles qui voulaient s'emparer des villes furent repoussés à plusieurs reprises par leurs habitants tant à Scutari et à Antivari (Bar), dans la sphère vénitienne (1448)¹⁴, qu'à Berat ottomane (1455)¹⁵.

Une première constatation importante est que le soulèvement avait un caractère essentiellement rural. Les rebelles et leurs chefs, des nobles ruraux, n'avaient rien à offrir aux populations urbaines dont les mauvais

starinu, jezik i etnologiju 2, 1924, p. 193-242 ; M. v. ŠUFFLAY, *Städte und Burgen Albaniens hauptsächlich während des Mittelalters*, Vienne-Leipzig, Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1924 ; A. DUCELLIER, *La Façade maritime de l'Albanie au Moyen Âge : Durazzo et Valona du XI^e au XV^e siècle*, Thessalonique, Idryma Meleton Hersonisou tou Aimou, 1981 ; A. DUCELLIER, *L'Albanie entre Byzance et Venise : X^e-XV^e siècles*, Londres, Variorum reprints, 1987.

¹⁴ J. VALENTINI, *Acta Albaniae Veneta* (dorénavant AAV) *saeculorum XIV et XV*, 25 vol., Palerme-Milan, Tosini-PIME, 1967-1975, n^{os} 5361, 5362, 5374, 5375 ; BARLETIUS, *op. cit.*, p. 76 sq. ; SCHMITT, *Das venezianische Albanien*, *op. cit.*, p. 302 ; SCHMITT, « *Jahrbücher* », *art. cit.*, p. 141 sq. Pour la déportation des généraux serbes en Italie, cf. Državni arhiv u Zadru, Arhiv Korčule 12/19/1 1450, f. 11 r^o, lettre du conte Francesco Lombardo au doge Francesco Foscari, 28 oct. 1448.

¹⁵ F. PALL, « I rapporti italo-albanesi alla metà del secolo XV », *Archivio storico per le provincie napoletane seria III* 4, 1965, p. 123-226, n^o 2 ; SCHMITT, *Skanderbeg*, *op. cit.*, p. 192-195.

souvenirs du régime de la noblesse locale à la fin du ^{xiv}^e siècle n'avaient pas été effacés. Les Vénitiens et les Ottomans, de leur côté, avaient convaincu les couches urbaines des avantages de leur domination, notamment l'intégration dans des circuits économiques et commerciaux lucratifs, tels la navigation de l'Adriatique et le commerce des caravanes à l'intérieur des Balkans¹⁶.

Une rébellion rurale donc ? Dans ce cas, les paysans sous domination ottomane et vénitienne auraient dû suivre les rebelles. Mais cela n'a pas été le cas ; au contraire, des régions entières restèrent hors de la zone rebelle ou s'opposèrent même à Skanderbeg et ses alliés. Quand ce dernier attaqua l'Albanie vénitienne, ses incursions furent repoussées par les habitants des villes et les *pronoiaires* de la plaine de Scutari (1448)¹⁷. Dans le sud ottoman, les paysans des plaines ne se joignirent pas aux rebelles non plus. Le contrôle de Venise et de l'Empire ottoman sur le monde rural des plaines s'explique par l'intégration de la petite noblesse locale dans un système de fiefs, la *pronoia* d'origine byzantine et serbe au nord, le système du *timar* au sud, qui consistait en la cession des impôts d'un ou plusieurs villages à un homme qui, en retour, prêtait ses services dans les troupes de la région, au nord, ou dans l'armée ottomane, au sud¹⁸. Les hommes qui bénéficiaient de ce système n'avaient aucune motivation de s'allier à un groupe de nobles qui les auraient soumis à leur contrôle ; au contraire, les *pronoiaires* vénitiens et les timariotes ottomans, tous deux originaires de la région, s'avéraient particulièrement loyaux envers leurs seigneurs respectifs.

Par la suite, il est impératif d'introduire dans notre analyse une deuxième dimension : le contraste entre la plaine et la montagne. En effet, ce contraste a des répercussions particulièrement fortes dans les Balkans occidentaux. Cela s'explique avant tout par les intérêts économiques opposés : dans les montagnes, l'élevage prévalait, tandis que le manque de blé était permanent ; le bétail, des moutons et des chèvres,

¹⁶ SCHMITT, *Das venezianische Albanien*, op. cit., p. 456-458 et p. 476-497.

¹⁷ SCHMITT, *Skanderbeg*, op. cit., p. 65.

¹⁸ SCHMITT, *Das venezianische Albanien*, op. cit., p. 167-172 ; G. VALENTINI, « Chiarimenti sulla natura della pronia bizantina attraverso la documentazione della sua continuazione in Serbia e Albania », in *Atti del congresso internazionale di studi bizantini*, Palermo, 3-10 apr. 1951, vol. 1., Rome, Associazione nazionale per gli studi bizantini, 1953, p. 488-510 ; I. BOŽIĆ, « Le système foncier en "Albanie vénitienne" au ^{xv}^e siècle », *Bollettino dell' Istituto di Storia della società e dello stato veneziano* 5-6, 1963-1964, p. 65-140 ; H. İNALCIK, « Timariotes chrétiens en Albanie au ^{xv}^e siècle d'après un registre de timars ottoman », *Mitteilungen des österreichischen Staatsarchivs* 4, 1951, p. 118-138.

avait un besoin constant de sel ; or le sel était un produit rare et précieux dans les Balkans occidentaux qui ne disposaient que d'une seule saline, celle de Soli (Tuzla) en Bosnie ; cela signifiait que de milliers de bergers dépendaient du sel marin provenant des possessions vénitiennes ainsi que du blé de la plaine. Les seigneurs de la plaine n'hésitaient pas à se servir de cette dépendance économique pour exercer de la pression politique sur les sociétés montagnardes : Venise bloqua à plusieurs reprises les caravanes qui approvisionnaient les régions de la montagne, ce qui fut d'une efficacité redoutable. De leur côté, les montagnards rejoignaient souvent la plaine pour se procurer, l'arme à la main, ce dont ils avaient besoin ; les paysans et les propriétaires des biens fonciers des plaines souffraient de ces incursions permanentes qui ne faisaient pas croître leur sympathie envers les bergers et leurs leaders politiques, les petits seigneurs de l'arrière-pays¹⁹.

Les frontières socioculturelles ne suivaient pas des critères ethniques ni confessionnels ; ce qui importait, c'étaient les différences économiques, sociales et de mentalité entre la ville et le village et entre la plaine et la montagne. Tandis qu'au nord, les districts des villes étaient structurés selon le modèle adriatique, c'est-à-dire composés de la commune de la ville principale et de son arrière-pays agraire, au sud, ces districts suivaient le modèle byzantin qui ne connaissait pas d'autonomie urbaine. Au nord, les villes veillaient à ce que les nobles des alentours ne s'emparent pas du pouvoir : ils préféraient Venise à la domination des grandes familles indigènes qui avaient le contrôle, autour de 1400, de quelques communes adriatiques. L'élite régionale, patriciens urbains, *pronoiaires* et timariotes de la plaine, nobles indigènes des collines et des montagnes, ne connaissaient pas de lien qui les aurait unis²⁰. Le même vaut pour les paysans de la plaine dont les intérêts différaient sensiblement de ceux des bergers et des paysans de la montagne. Les paysans de la plaine produisaient du blé destiné à l'exportation au monde adriatique, ils étaient intégrés dans des circuits économiques plus larges ; cela valait, certes, aussi pour les bergers qui vendaient leurs produits sur la côte, mais dont le contact avec le monde adriatique était très limité.

¹⁹ A. MATKOVSKI, *Nomadskoto stočarstvo vo Makedonija od XIV do XIX vek*, Skopje, Makedonska akademija na naukite i umetnostite, 1996 ; SCHMITT, *Skanderbeg*, *op. cit.*, p. 25-28.

²⁰ Sur la guerre entre les nobles albanais et les patriciens de Scutari en 1448, cf. SCHMITT, *Das venezianische Albanien*, *op. cit.*, p. 298-304.

Quelles étaient les régions qui prêtèrent leur soutien à la cause des rebelles ? Le nid du soulèvement se situe dans les régions de Dibra, du Mati et dans les collines autour du château de Kruja : une zone de collines et de montagnes, traditionnellement périphérique, dépourvue de centres urbains, loin des routes des caravanes, peu accessible et protégée par la nature. Nous ne savons que peu sur la structure sociale de cette région ; les *defter* ottomans ne furent rédigés qu'après l'étouffement de la révolte qui fut particulièrement violente dans cette zone²¹. Néanmoins, nous en retirons l'image d'une société agraire de petits paysans dans les plaines et les collines et de bergers dans les montagnes. C'était, comparée aux plaines côtières, une région pauvre. Les villages se trouvaient sous le contrôle de chefs locaux et de prêtres ; une petite noblesse avait réussi à former de seigneuries locales ou régionales. Tous ces petits seigneurs essayaient de s'emparer d'un port ou au moins d'un marché sur la côte adriatique ; l'exportation de produits agricoles constituait la plus importante source de revenus et en même temps presque la seule possibilité d'obtenir de l'argent, car, comme le notait l'historiographe post-byzantin Critobule, l'argent était rare dans ces montagnes où prévalait une économie d'échange²². Les familles nobles peuvent être classées en deux catégories. La première comprend des dynasties qui avaient déjà servi l'empereur byzantin, notamment les Araniti ; elles se concentraient dans le sud de l'espace albanais. La seconde concerne les *homines novi* qui avaient fait carrière sur les débris de Byzance et du royaume serbe, des seigneurs de la guerre dont les seigneuries étaient très instables ; coincées entre l'Empire ottoman, qui pénétrait vite dans leurs montagnes, et les puissances de l'ouest, Venise et Naples, toutes les deux étaient contraintes d'osciller entre les deux. La vassalité ottomane ou vénitienne était la règle au début du xv^e siècle ; le changement fréquent de ces liens de dépendance est un autre trait caractéristique de ce monde de petits seigneurs de la guerre²³.

²¹ M. SOKOŁOSKI, *Turski dokumenti za istorijata na makedonskiot narod : opširen popis defter od xv vek*, Skopje, Arhiv na Makedonija, vol. 2, 1973 ; vol. 3, 1976 ; S. PULAHA, *Lufta shqiptaro-turke në shekullin xv : burime osmane*, Tirana, Universiteti Shtetëror i Tiranës, 1968.

²² KRITOBULOS in RADONIĆ, *op. cit.*, n° 223.

²³ F. BABINGER, *Das Ende der Arianiten*, Munich, Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1960 ; F. BABINGER, « Von Amurath zu Amurath », in F. BABINGER, *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen zur Geschichte Südosteuropas und der Levante*, Munich, Trofenik, 1962-1975, vol. 1., p. 128-157 ; S. N. ASONITIS, « Relations between the Venetian Regimen Corphyoy and the Albanians of Epirus (14th-15th centuries) », in *The Mediaeval*

Culturellement, la population de la zone montagneuse appartenait, dans sa majorité, au monde byzantin : ils étaient majoritairement orthodoxes, l'Église catholique n'ayant pénétré que la partie nord-ouest de cette région. Soulignons cependant que les frontières confessionnelles s'avéraient très floues et qu'au xv^e siècle, l'Église catholique gagnait du terrain, tandis que l'Orthodoxie, affaiblie par la chute des États byzantino-slaves, reculait. Plusieurs monastères catholiques constituaient de véritables avant-postes du monde occidental dans les montagnes de l'Albanie septentrionale.

En dehors de la population sédentaire, on trouve dans les registres ottomans un nombre important de Valaques, surtout le long de la partie centrale de la *Via Egnatia*. Kruja et Mati étaient des zones presque exclusivement albanophones, tandis qu'à Dibra, les plaines comptaient de nombreux habitants aux noms slaves²⁴. Les anthroponymes ne servent pas à identifier des groupes ethniques, mais ils renvoient à des influences culturelles, dans ce cas à la tradition orthodoxe de rite slave dans sa version serbe qui descendait la grande vallée du Drin noir tout droit du patriarcat de Peć au Kosovo, et dans sa version bulgare qui rayonnait de l'archevêché d'Ohrid²⁵.

La fluidité des appartenances confessionnelles, culturelles et politiques entre l'héritage culturel byzantin et slavo-orthodoxe, les influences catholiques et méditerranéennes de l'Adriatique et l'Empire ottoman marquent cette région et ses sociétés. Des sociétés qui étaient tout sauf homogènes, du point de vue confessionnel comme linguistique ou culturel.

Albanians, International Conference Proceedings, Athens, May 3-5, 1996, Athènes, Ethniko Idryma Erevnon, 1998, p. 271-291 ; S. N. ASONITIS, *To Nótio Iónio κατά τον όψιμο Μεσαίωνα*, Athènes, Ergo, 2005 ; S. ĆIRKOVIĆ, « Tradition Interchanged : Albanians in the Serbian, Serbs in the Albanian Late Medieval Texts », in *The Mediaeval Albanians*, op. cit., p. 195-208 ; K. GIAKOURIS, « The Ottoman Advance and Consolidation in Epirus and Albania during the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries », *Ηπειρωτικό Ημερολόγιο* 2004, p. 217-244 ; P. PETTA, *Despoti d'Epiro e principi di Macedonia : esuli albanesi nell'Italia del Rinascimento*, Lecce, Argo, 1999 ; H. İNALCIK, « Arnawutluk », in H. A. R. GIBB, J. H. KRAMERS, É. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL, J. SCHACHT, B. LEWIS, Ch. PELLAT (dir.), *Encyclopédie de l'islam*, 2^e éd., Leyde-Paris, Brill-Maisonneuve, vol. I., 1960, p. 670-678 ; D. EGRO, *Christianity versus Islam in the Early Stages of the Ottoman Conquest in Albanian Lands (14th-16th centuries)*, Thèse de Doctorat, Bilkent Üniversitesi, Ankara, 2003 ; P. XHUFİ, *Dilemat e Arbërisë : studime mbi Shqipërinë mesjetare*, Tirana, Pegi, 2006.

²⁴ D. ĆORĖIEV, « Die Bevölkerung im makedonisch-albanischen Grenzgebiet im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert nach osmanischen Quellen », *Südost-Forschungen* 65/66, 2006-2007, p. 117-136 ; cf. maintenant D. ĆORĖIEV, *Naselenieto vo makedonsko-albanskiot graničen pojas (xv-xvi vek)*, Skopje, Institut za nacionalna istorija, 2009 ; pour les Valaques de Çermenika, cf. A. STOJANOVSKI, *Raja so specijalni zadolženija vo Makedonija (vojnucci, sokolari, orizari i solari)*, Skopje, Institut za nacionalna istorija, 1990, p. 45.

²⁵ SCHMITT, *Skanderbeg*, op. cit., p. 25-28.

Ivan Kastrioti, le père de Skanderbeg, en est le meilleur exemple²⁶ : dans une lettre au doge de Venise, il rappelle les débuts de sa carrière qui remontent à la bataille d'Ankara et à la défaite du sultan Bayezid I par les Mongols de Tamerlan en 1402²⁷. Ivan savait qu'il devait ses conquêtes au désastre ottoman ; le relèvement ottoman limita vite sa politique expansive qui, en 1420, lui avait permis de contrôler, probablement pendant un laps de temps très court, la route des caravanes qui liait Prizren à la côte adriatique. Les Ottomans le soumirent à la suite de deux campagnes, en 1428 et en 1430, et le forcèrent d'envoyer ses quatre fils comme otages à la cour ottomane. Ivan fut citoyen de Venise et vassal ottoman en même temps ; né orthodoxe, il se convertit à l'islam sous le nom de Hamza. Il épousa une noble serbe, très probablement une princesse de la dynastie des Branković²⁸ ; en tant que seigneur orthodoxe, il légua des villages en Macédoine occidentale au monastère serbe de Hilandar (mont Athos), ce qui ne l'empêcha pas de s'approcher de l'Église catholique en Albanie septentrionale et de nouer un rapport très étroit avec une institution qui promettait de l'aide contre les Ottomans. Repoš, un de ses fils devint moine orthodoxe et se retira jusqu'à la fin de ces jours à Hilandar, où son père avait érigé une tour, la « tour albanaise » (Arbanaški pirg). Pour les moines serbes de Hilandar, il fut un seigneur albanais, pour le chroniqueur albanais Jean Muzaki qui écrivit au début du XVI^e siècle, le fils d'Ivan, Skanderbeg, fut un homme « de nature serbe »²⁹. Pourrait-on mieux saisir la complexité socioculturelle

²⁶ A. DUCELLIER, « La façade maritime de la principauté des Kastriote de la fin du XIV^e siècle à la mort de Skanderbeg », in DUCELLIER, *L'Albanie, op. cit.*, p. 119-136 ; F. DUKA, « Tokat e Kastriotëve : zona Krujë-Dibër (shek. XV-gjysma e parë e shek. XVI) », in DUKA (dir.), *Skënderbeu, op. cit.*, p. 34-47 ; S. PULAHA, « Les Kastriote devant la conquête ottomane des années 1420-1430 », *Studia Albanica* 8/1, 1971, p. 103-127 ; D. RADESHI, « Principata e Kastriotëve », *Buletin i Universitetit Shtetëror të Tiranës : seria e shkencave shoqërore* 15/4, 1961, p. 27-41 ; SCHMITT, *Skanderbeg, op. cit.*, p. 29-36.

²⁷ AAV, n° 3169.

²⁸ B. PETROVSKI, « Voisava Tribalda », in Ćerç Kastrioti Skenderbeg 1405-1468, Skopje, 2006, p. 67-78.

²⁹ Ch. HOPF, *Chroniques gréco-romanes inédites ou peu connues publiées avec notes et tables généalogiques*, Berlin, Weidmann 1873, p. 334 : « Scanderbeg huomo valente e per natura Serviano, le virtù del quale furno tante ch'era estimato non solum dall'Albanesi, ma anco da ogn'altra nazione » ; V. PETKOVIĆ, « “Arbanaški pirg” u Hilandaru », *Arhiv za arbanašku starinu, jezik i etnologiju* 1, 1923, p. 196-197 ; A. FOTIĆ, *Sveta Gora i Hilandar u Osmanskom Carstvu XV-XVII vek*, Belgrade, Balkanološki institut SANU-Sveti Arhijerejski sinod Srpske pravoslavne crkve-Manastir Hilandar, 2000, p. 247 s. ; B. BOJOVIĆ, « Mont Athos, les princes roumains, Jean Castriot et la Tour albanaise (Arbanaški pirg), dépendance de Chilandar », *Balkanica* 37, 2006, p. 81-87.

de cette zone frontalière que la famille Kastriote dominait au début du xv^e siècle ?

Ayant épousé lui-même une princesse slave, Ivan Kastriote veillait à ce que ses nombreux enfants se marient avec la descendance des familles nobles de la région. Les liens familiaux ainsi créés, l'armée loyale d'environ 2 000 guerriers sur laquelle il pouvait compter, le commerce de blé et de produits d'élevage étaient des facteurs stabilisants pour la seigneurie qui, cependant, n'eut jamais la moindre chance de tenir tête à l'Empire ottoman.

Son fils, Skanderbeg, basa son pouvoir sur les mêmes structures. En effet, les résultats de l'identification de ses partisans sont éloquentes : c'étaient des paysans et des bergers des montagnes entre Kruja et Dibra qui lui prêtaient secours ; ces guerriers, qui par ailleurs n'étaient que légèrement armés – sans cuirasses, combattant avec des épées, des lances et des arcs³⁰, les arbalètes et les armes à feu étant aussi rares que précieuses – étaient commandés par de jeunes nobles dont les plus fidèles descendaient de familles peu connues³¹. Le chroniqueur Jean Muzaki souligne qu'il s'agissait avant tout de jeunes nobles qui luttèrent aux côtés de Skanderbeg pour obtenir de la gloire et pour s'exercer dans le métier d'armes. Le grand biographe de Skanderbeg, le prêtre Marin Barletius fournit les noms des plus fidèles, noms qui n'apparaissent guère dans les sources occidentales et ottomanes : notamment les familles Kuka, Berisha, Perlat et Manesi ; le chroniqueur Muzaki ajoute Moise Gjuraica, Muzaki d'Angelino, Gjini Muzaki, « chacun capable de commander un grand nombre de guerriers »³². La plupart de ces petits seigneurs ne survécurent pas à un quart de siècle de guerre continue. Selon les mots du chroniqueur Muzaki, la lutte se serait déroulée « non sans la mort de beaucoup de nos seigneurs et chevaliers »³³. Les quelques survivants se réfugièrent à Venise vers 1470 ; ils y racontèrent les exploits de leur seigneur Skanderbeg aux premiers biographes de ce dernier. Retenons que de cette armée personnelle de Kastriote manquent quasi totalement des membres des grandes familles nobles de l'Albanie médiévale.

³⁰ L. TOTARO (éd.), *Enea Silvio Piccolomini: i commentarii*, Milan, Adelphi, 1984, p. 1160 ; RADONIĆ, *op. cit.*, n° 222.

³¹ SCHMITT, *Skanderbeg, op. cit.*, p. 89-102.

³² (D. FRANCO,) *Commentario de le cose de Turchi, et del s. Georgio Scanderbeg, principe di Epyrro, con la sua vita, et le vittorie per lui fatte, con l' aiuto de l' altissimo Dio, et le inestimabili forze, et virtu di quello, degne di memoria*, (Venise,) Bindoni, 1541, p. 34 v°.

³³ HOPF, *op. cit.*, p. 275.

Du côté de la logistique, c'était le clergé catholique et quelques familles patriciennes de Raguse qui se chargeaient des missions diplomatiques aux cours occidentales, en Italie et en Bourgogne, du commerce des produits agricoles et – élément essentiel pour la survie militaire – de l'achat d'armes et de poudre, effectué d'habitude à Raguse, dans le plus grand secret. Examinons quelques cas typiques : pendant 20 ans (1444-1463) l'abbé du monastère bénédictin de Rotezo (Ratac), Georges Pellinus, gérait les relations extérieures de Skanderbeg³⁴ ; il négocia à plusieurs reprises une trêve entre Venise et son seigneur ; presque chaque année, il se rendait en Italie : en 1451, 1456, 1457, 1458 et 1462 à Venise, en 1457 à Rome ; c'est lui qui contribua essentiellement à la préparation de la croisade de Pie II en Albanie, en convainquant Skanderbeg de rompre avec le sultan. Sans cet abbé, qui jouissait d'un grand prestige parmi les nobles albanais, le conflit entre la Sérénissime et Skanderbeg aurait dégénéré en conflit désastreux pour la cause catholique. Mais le cas de Pellinus démontre également que ceux qui avaient choisi de s'opposer aux Ottomans devaient s'y appliquer en faisant d'énormes efforts et en subissant des souffrances physiques et psychiques. Peu avant la fin de sa vie, usé par la guerre et les nombreux voyages, l'abbé se procura une demeure à Venise en déclarant au sénat que « le pays d'Albanie n'est plus rien pour moi »³⁵. Le successeur de Pellinus fut un homme d'une tout autre envergure : originaire de Drivasto, ville située à l'entrée de la haute montagne, marquée par la domination du clergé catholique et par un catholicisme à la frontière de l'Orthodoxie et de l'islam, Paul-Ange, archevêque de Durazzo s'avéra être un homme aussi rude que cultivé³⁶. Il commença aussi sa carrière par des missions diplomatiques en Italie ; en 1456, il accompagna l'archevêque uniaste de Krajina à Rome³⁷. Nommé archevêque de Durazzo et chef de l'Église catholique en Albanie, il ne se contenta pas de continuer les efforts de l'abbé Pellinus : il voyait plus loin et plus grand. C'est lui qui fit connaître à Skanderbeg les textes des historiens classiques, ceux de Plutarque avant tout, sur le glorieux passé épirote des Albanais ; c'est lui qui inventa une nouvelle dimension idéo-

³⁴ M. SPREMIĆ, « Ratačka opatija kod Bara », *Zbornik radova Filozofskog fakulteta u Beogradu* 8, 1964, p. 191-215 ; S. MARKOVIĆ, « Benediktinska opatija Sv. Marije Ratačke kod Bara : acta et diplomata iuridica », *Croatica Christiana Periodica* 53, 2004, p. 151-202 ; SCHMITT, Skanderbeg, *op. cit.*, p. 95-97.

³⁵ AAV, n° 6541.

³⁶ O. J. SCHMITT, « Paul Angelus, Erzbischof von Durazzo, und seine Bedeutung für den Türkenkampf Skanderbegs », *Thesaurismata* 30, 2000, p. 127-161.

³⁷ Bibliothèque nationale de France, Manuscrits italiens, 1587, f. 117 r°.

logique de la lutte contre le sultan en célébrant Skanderbeg comme le « nouvel Alexandre », qui rêva d'un royaume albanais catholique et qui semble avoir obtenu de la part de Pie II la promesse de sa création, en échange de la participation de Skanderbeg à la croisade du pape humaniste (notons que l'archevêque n'oublia pas sa propre ascension : le cardinalat l'attendait en cas de succès). Paul-Ange visita infatigablement les cours italiennes (Naples, Rome, Venise, Milan) d'où il remporta des cuirasses précieuses, cadeaux de Francesco Sforza, duc de Milan et admirateur de Skanderbeg. Il vécut assez longtemps pour voir ses rêves s'écrouler : la mort de Pie II, à qui il avait placé tous ses espoirs, le pillage et la destruction de l'Albanie par Mehmed II, la mort de son seigneur ; il le suivit peu après, en 1469³⁸.

Ceux qui travaillèrent dans la plus grande discrétion au sein de la suite de Skanderbeg furent assez efficaces. Portons notre regard sur la petite cour de Kastriotë : sa correspondance était rédigée en slavon, en grec et surtout en latin et en italien par une poignée de chanceliers ; la chancellerie était un mélange culturel et ethnique : le protonotaire, Pierre Smachi, était Albanais ; le *djak* (scribe), Ninac Vukosalić, était très probablement Slave du Sud et portait le titre de *kanžiler*, version slavisée du latin *cancellarius* ; il administrait, entre autres, le compte bancaire de Skanderbeg à Raguse³⁹. Pour ses documents latins, Skanderbeg avait aussi recours à de notaires originaires de l'Italie ou de la région, exerçant en Albanie vénitienne. Les titres n'avaient pas d'importance ; les structures administratives étaient floues mais flexibles ; les liens de loyauté s'avéraient beaucoup plus importants qu'une lourde hiérarchie administrative. Le cas de la famille Gazulli est emblématique⁴⁰ : Gjon Gazulli (ca. 1400-1465), docteur de l'université de Padoue, érudit apprécié dans les cours de l'Italie et de l'empereur Sigismond, recteur des grandes églises de Raguse, fut chargé de pourparlers secrets à Raguse en vue d'achat d'armes ; il fut également chargé de l'administration de l'aide financière du pape du recrutement des ingénieurs et des artisans pour la construction d'une petite flotte. Ce fut lui que Skanderbeg envoya à la cour du roi Matthias Corvin afin de coordonner l'offensive contre Mehmed II. Un autre

³⁸ SCHMITT, *Skanderbeg*, op. cit., p. 97.

³⁹ RADONIĆ, op. cit., n° 180 ; SCHMITT, *Skanderbeg*, op. cit., p. 98.

⁴⁰ J. TADIĆ, « Johannes Gazulus, dubrovački humanist XV veka », *Zbornik radova Filozofskog fakulteta u Beogradu* 8, 1964, p. 429-454 ; J. DRANÇOLLI, *Gjin Gazulli : astronom dhe diplomat i shekullit xv*, Prishtina, Rilindja, 1984 ; SCHMITT, *Skanderbeg*, op. cit., p. 98-99.

Gazulli, le chevalier Pal, voyageait beaucoup au service de Skanderbeg : on le trouve en 1454 à Rome, en 1456 en Bourgogne et à Milan, en 1458 de nouveau à Rome et à Raguse ; l'année suivante il entreprit le même voyage qu'il répéta une troisième fois en 1461 ; on le trouve en 1463 devant le sénat de Venise et en 1465 devant le pape Paul II⁴¹. Le troisième des Gazulli, Andrea, nous est connu comme ambassadeur du despote de la Morée à Raguse en 1457 et comme membre de la suite de Skanderbeg en 1462⁴². Ces hommes étaient actifs dans plusieurs domaines : la diplomatie, les affaires bancaires, l'achat d'armes et de technologie militaire. Dans la suite de Skanderbeg, on trouve un nombre important d'aventuriers : par exemple, un chevalier anglais, un certain John Newport dont le pape se méfiait⁴³ ; un certain Stefanus Maramonte, ambassadeur de Skanderbeg à Milan en 1456⁴⁴ ; un maître orfèvre de Raguse du nom de Georges⁴⁵ ; un certain Stjepan Radojević qui, en 1466, procura à Budua des navires pour un voyage à Split⁴⁶ ; un certain Ruscus, originaire de Cattaro, qui prétendait à la cour de Milan avoir servi Skanderbeg comme trésorier⁴⁷. Au milieu des années 1450, on trouve même une poignée de croisés français qui avaient traversé l'Adriatique pour combattre les Ottomans.

Les patriciens marchands qui conciliaient affaires lucratives et soutien logistique du Prince albanais constituaient une catégorie à part. La famille Gondola ou Gundulić entreprenait dans les mêmes domaines que Gazulli : la diplomatie, les affaires bancaires, le recrutement d'ingénieurs pour le chantier naval et la construction de la forteresse de Rodoni sur une péninsule entre Durazzo et Scutari. Les mêmes Gundulić investirent des sommes considérables dans le commerce de blé (notons seulement un contrat de 1 450 ducats pour l'achat de blé dans le territoire de Skanderbeg)⁴⁸.

⁴¹ PALL, *art. cit.*, p. 160, n. 154 ; Državni arhiv u Dubrovniku, *Consilium rogatorum* 3/15, f. 222 v° ; Archivio di Stato di Roma, Camerale I, Mandati, vol. 834, f. 96 r° ; vol. 836, f. 157 r°.

⁴² Državni arhiv u Dubrovniku, *Consilium rogatorum* 3/15, f. 100 r° ; 3/17, f. 46 v°.

⁴³ I. PARRINO, *Acta Albaniae Vaticanae : res Albaniae saeculorum XIV et XV atque cruciatam spectantia*, vol. 1, Vatican, Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1971, n° 307 ; Archivio di Stato di Milano, Archivio visconteo-sforzesco, carton 46, rapport du 11 févr. 1458.

⁴⁴ PALL, *art. cit.*, n° 3 ; SCHMITT, *Skanderbeg, op. cit.*, p. 100.

⁴⁵ AAV, n°s 6973 et 6693.

⁴⁶ Državni arhiv u Dubrovniku, *Diversa Notariae* 26/49, f. 142 v°-143 r°.

⁴⁷ Archivio di Stato di Milano, Archivio visconteo-sforzesco, carton 353, Ruscus Theodori de Cattaro au duc Francesco Sforza, 22 juin 1466.

⁴⁸ SCHMITT, *Skanderbeg, op. cit.*, p. 100.

Malgré le fait que, des points de vue linguistique et culturel, ces membres de la suite de Skanderbeg furent majoritairement albanophones, de nombreuses positions clés se trouvaient dans les mains de Slaves ; par ailleurs, on y rencontre des orthodoxes et des catholiques ; cependant, le nombre des derniers augmentait continuellement, ce qui s'explique par la perte de territoire orthodoxe à l'est – territoire assez tôt reconquis par les Ottomans – et par le rôle croissant du clergé catholique albanais et du soutien – diplomatique et financière avant tout – de l'Église romaine en général. Ce qui saute aux yeux, c'est le manque d'un organigramme administratif – pas de grands offices, pas de grands titres, pas de résidence permanente non plus. Tous ceux qui cherchaient des structures d'un État centralisé devraient être frustrés par cette constatation. Mais ce fut proprement ce manque d'administration classique, cible facile des armées ottomanes, qui permit aux rebelles de survivre un quart de siècle. À l'approche des Ottomans, la suite disparaissait dans les forêts et les montagnes ; il n'y avait pas de chancellerie, ni de trésor, ni de capitale à détruire. La suite de Skanderbeg fonctionnait comme l'état-major mobile d'une guérilla de montagne ; elle n'était pas aussi impressionnante que les cours serbe ou byzantine, mais elle était en même temps beaucoup moins vulnérable et, soulignons-le, au moins aussi efficace que les structures politiques des grands États balkaniques du Moyen Âge.

Ce qui frappe dans le contexte albanais c'est le manque de soutien de la part de la famille. En effet, les neveux qui trahirent leur oncle charismatique sont presque légion. Un des pires ennemis de Skanderbeg fut son neveu Hamza. Ce dernier l'avait accompagné en 1443 en Albanie, mais probablement déçu par la naissance de son cousin, ce qui mit fin à ses espoirs d'héritage, passa aux côtés des Ottomans et conduisit une armée ottomane au cœur de la région rebelle ; Skanderbeg ne détruisit cette armée qu'au dernier moment. Hamza se repentit et fut déporté par Skanderbeg pour quelques ans en Italie ; selon la rumeur, le sultan le fit tuer lorsqu'il essaya de reconduire sa famille de la cour ottomane en Albanie⁴⁹. Tandis que le cas de Hamza est connu au monde postérieur grâce aux récits des biographes de Skanderbeg, les exploits de Repoš Thopia, un autre neveu, sont moins célèbres, mais plus emblématiques pour l'Albanie de l'époque. Son père Muzaki Thopia tomba en 1455 devant Berat ; Skanderbeg s'empara de son héritage ce qui humilia le fils survivant. Celui-ci déserta aux côtés du sultan et ravagea, dans les derniers mois de la vie de son oncle,

⁴⁹ BARLETIUS, *op. cit.*, p. 235 *sq.*

l'Albanie centrale⁵⁰. Nous passons les cas d'autres neveux qui avaient ouvert des cols aux armées des sultans – dont un fut empalé sur ordre du sultan⁵¹ – ou qui commandaient des unités ottomanes, ce qui coûta la vie à un parmi eux, décapité par son oncle en personne. Et les frères et sœurs de Skanderbeg ? Les frères disparaissent vite : Repoš meurt sur le mont Athos⁵² et les traces de Constantin et de Staniša se perdent vite⁵³ ; restent les sœurs dont seulement Mamica, la mère du traître Repoš, joua un certain rôle : les Vénitiens l'éloignèrent du port de Durazzo où elle s'était réfugiée après la mort de son mari parce qu'ils craignaient sa possible collaboration avec les Ottomans⁵⁴.

Restent l'épouse et le fils. Skanderbeg se maria très tard, à l'âge d'environ 50 ans, avec une noble albanaise, Andronika Araniti dont le père avait commandé le grand soulèvement anti-ottoman des années 1430⁵⁵. Araniti Komnino – ou Komninović, comme il s'appelle lui-même dans une lettre au roi de Naples⁵⁶ – vivait à l'ombre de son beau-fils, ce qu'il supportait mal. Il finit ses jours comme voïvode ou commandant à la solde de Venise. L'amertume de cet Araniti se retrouve dans le cas de nombreuses familles de la noblesse ancienne, les Thopia, les Muzaki, les Balsha ou Balšići, des dynasties régionales de renom qui partagèrent le même sort : elles furent écartées par Skanderbeg, avide de s'emparer de leurs ressources matérielles et humaines⁵⁷. Sommes-nous étonnés de lire que ces familles ne soutinrent que tièdement la lutte de Skanderbeg ? Sommes-nous surpris d'observer comment Skanderbeg fit jeter les Balsha dans les prisons de son suzerain Alphonse V de Naples⁵⁸ ? Après la mort de Skanderbeg, les Balsha revendiquèrent leur héritage auprès du sénat

⁵⁰ Archivio di Stato di Milano, Archivio visconteo-sforzesco, carton 353, Gherardo de Collis à Francesco Sforza, Venise, 22 nov. 1466.

⁵¹ SCHMITT, « Skanderbegs letzte Jahre », *art. cit.*, n° 22 et 28 ; R. MAISANO (éd.), *Giorgio Sfranze, Cronaca*, Rome, Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, 1990, p. 176.

⁵² HOPF, *op. cit.*, p. 295.

⁵³ AAV, n° 5062.

⁵⁴ Š. LJUBIĆ, *Listine o odnošajih između južnoga slavenstva i Mletačke republike -X- Od godine 1453 do 1469*, Zagreb, Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1868-1891, p. 446.

⁵⁵ SCHMITT, *Skanderbeg, op. cit.*, p. 32, p. 126, p. 131 et p. 291 *sq.* ; cf. aussi G. VALLONE, « Castriota Scanderbeg und Granai Castriota in Italien », in M. GENESIN, J. MATZINGER, G. VALLONE (dir.), *The Living Skanderbeg : the Albanian Hero between Myth and History*, Hambourg, Verlag Dr. Kovač, 2010, p. 261-313.

⁵⁶ RADONIĆ, *op. cit.*, n° 54.

⁵⁷ F. DUKA, « Muzakajt-lidhja e fuqishme midis kohëve paraosmane dhe osmane », *Studime historike* 2004/1-2, p. 7-17.

⁵⁸ HOPF, *op. cit.*, p. 300.

de Venise et lorsque celui-ci tergiversa, ils menacèrent de s'approcher des Ottomans, ce qui provoqua une réaction violente de la part de la Sérénissime qui supprima cette famille de la vie politique⁵⁹. Au début du xvi^e siècle, les Muzaki cultivaient, dans leur exil napolitain, une mémoire plutôt hostile à Skanderbeg qui avait dépossédé de leurs biens tant de familles nobles. La chronique des Muzaki résume bien l'attitude de ces seigneurs : à leurs yeux, Skanderbeg, issu de la basse noblesse de Dibra, fut un *homo novus* dont on admirait cependant le don de guerrier et de stratège⁶⁰.

C'est pourquoi ils l'élurent, en 1444, chef militaire et qu'ils le « laissèrent tomber » quand l'énorme armée de Murad II s'approcha, en printemps 1450, des frontières du territoire rebelle⁶¹. Survivre, cela était le but principal de ces seigneurs ; survivre entre Ottomans, Venise et Naples. Cela explique le rapide changement de côtés de ces seigneurs, qui s'alliaient aux sultans pour leur tourner le dos dès que ces derniers avaient quitté la région. Ils savaient se battre, pas pour la cause de Skanderbeg ou une cause supérieure, mais pour la protection de leur suite et de leur famille. Et ils veillaient jalousement à garder leur indépendance, c'est pourquoi chacun parmi eux menait sa diplomatie, se rangeant aux côtés des grandes puissances comme vassal, temporaire dans la plupart des cas. Comme Skanderbeg fut l'homme de Naples, ses concurrents s'approchèrent de Venise. Cela ne les empêcha pas, de temps à autre, de se joindre pour attaquer les Ottomans. Ce qui explique leur défaite devant les remparts de Berat, c'est l'absence d'une structure militaire centrale.

Après avoir examiné la société des rebelles, passons à ses adversaires. L'anatomie d'une révolte ne peut pas se borner aux seuls rebelles et laisser leurs adversaires, triomphants à la fin, dans l'ombre. Les adversaires : les Ottomans, bien sûr, dirait-on. Mais cela n'est pas tout. Car de nombreux chrétiens, orthodoxes et catholiques, figurent dans la longue liste des adversaires de Kastriote, liste qui rend visible toute la complexité du soulèvement. Commençons par les ennemis chrétiens albanais. Nous venons de remarquer que la noblesse albanaise voulait se débarrasser de la politique centralisatrice du sultan, mais elle ne souhaitait pas pour autant remplacer un seigneur trop puissant par un autre, Skanderbeg,

⁵⁹ O. J. SCHMITT, G. SAINT-GUILLAIN, « Actes inédits concernant Venise, ses possessions albanaises et ses relations avec Skanderbeg entre 1464 et 1468 », *Turcica* 31, 1999, p. 247-312, n^{os} 67-69 ; O. J. SCHMITT, « Jahrbücher », *art. cit.*, p. 166 sq.

⁶⁰ HOPF, *op. cit.*, p. 298.

⁶¹ Državni arhiv u Zadru, Arhiv Korčule 12/19/1, f. 64 r^o.

qui était à leurs yeux un simple *homo novus*, plutôt jeune, issu d'une famille peu connue. C'est pourquoi presque tous les grands seigneurs quittèrent, à un certain moment donné, les rangs des rebelles pour se mettre à l'abri de la dominance de Skanderbeg, soit en se rapprochant de Venise, soit en se soumettant aux Ottomans⁶².

Le meilleur exemple en est les Dukagjin, grande dynastie en Albanie septentrionale, déchirée en deux grandes branches⁶³. Un des plus dangereux et des plus acharnés ennemis personnels de Skanderbeg fut Leka Dukagjin, homme brutal et rusé qui avait éliminé la branche pro-vénitienne de sa dynastie et oscillait entre le sultan et Venise afin d'atteindre son but principal : maintenir une relative autonomie dans ses montagnes peu accessibles, garantir l'approvisionnement de sa suite en blé et en sel ; il cultivait une haine viscérale pour son concurrent Skanderbeg et même lorsque, en 1463, il joignit la croisade contre Mehmed II, il fit savoir au sénat de Venise qu'il ne voulait « pas être sous Skanderbeg »⁶⁴. Leka et Skanderbeg se livraient à une lutte sans merci dans laquelle Kastriote ne parvint pas à soumettre son adversaire têtue. En fait, c'est Leka qui survécut : tandis que la seigneurie des Kastriote fut écrasée par les Ottomans, les Dukagjin s'intégrèrent dans l'Empire ottoman, comme dynastie des Dukagjin-zade islamisés⁶⁵.

Laissons de côté les petites guerres de Skanderbeg contre d'autres seigneurs albanais, pour passer au deuxième grand ennemi, la République de Venise. La Sérénissime contrôlait les ressources économiques de l'Albanie côtière du nord, entre Durazzo et Scutari : le blé, le sel, les pâturages, les grandes routes, l'accès à la mer, donc tout dont avait besoin le chef des rebelles. Les populations urbaines, les chefs des villages et les *pronoiaires* des plaines redoutaient les seigneurs des montagnes et se rangèrent du côté de Venise pour tenir à l'écart ces montagnards qui descendaient dans la plaine. La guerre était inévitable, une guerre de chrétiens contre chrétiens, certes, mais la religion ne jouait aucun rôle ; ce fut un conflit entre la montagne et la plaine, conflit millénaire dans les Balkans occidentaux. Dans le cas de Skanderbeg, son alliance avec les

⁶² SCHMITT, *Skanderbeg, op. cit.*, p. 127-134 (sur les familles Muzaki, Araniti, Balšić).

⁶³ I. BOŽIĆ, « O Dukadinima », in I. BOŽIĆ, *Nemirno pomorje XV veka*, Belgrade, Srpska književna zadruga 1979, p. 332-384 ; L. MALLTEZI, « Dukagjinët dhe Skënderbeu », in DUKA (dir.), *Skënderbeu, op. cit.*, p. 83-102 (qui ne semble pas connaître le travail de Božić).

⁶⁴ AAV, n° 7633.

⁶⁵ SCHMITT, *Skanderbeg, op. cit.*, p. 135-143.

ennemis de Venise, la Serbie, la Hongrie et Naples, contribua à aggraver la situation, car cette alliance internationalisa un conflit régional. Lutte sans merci de la part des Vénitiens qui invitèrent le sultan Murad II à attaquer Skanderbeg. Lutte sans merci de la part de Skanderbeg qui pilla et ravagea les plaines et mit le siège devant les villes, mais fut battu dans les collines, près de la ville de Bar⁶⁶. Malgré des armistices, malgré l'alliance conclue en 1463, la méfiance ne disparut jamais ; peu avant sa mort, Skanderbeg se plaignit amèrement de la duplicité des Vénitiens⁶⁷ ; il avait raison, car ces derniers massacrèrent la garnison napolitaine de Kruja et fermèrent les portes à Skanderbeg qui arrivait avec des renforts catalans. Sur les débris de la seigneurie des Kastriote, il y avait deux vainqueurs qui hissèrent leurs drapeaux et signes : les Ottomans et la République de Saint-Marc. Notons en marge que la dernière hérita de la lutte de Skanderbeg et ne résista que dix ans après la mort de Kastriote, pour céder finalement ses possessions albanaises à Mehmed II.

Le manque d'analyses du côté ottoman a longtemps constitué une grave lacune dans les recherches sur Skanderbeg. Si nous tranchons avec la même lame la société ottomane qui soumit finalement les rebelles, les résultats sont en fait étonnants. Commençons tout de suite par la constatation la plus importante : les ennemis se connaissaient, parfois intimement ; rien ne serait plus erroné que de se faire une image d'une lutte entre rebelles et adversaires exotiques, asiatiques, des hordes anatoliennes qui envahissaient les montagnes de l'Albanie centrale. En retraçant les parcours de quelques chefs ottomans, on pénètre profondément dans une société « albanaise » en transition du système byzantino-serbe à la domination ottomane.

Deux familles en servent d'exemple emblématique : celles de Balaban paşa et de Hızır bey.

Hızır bey était un concurrent de Skanderbeg⁶⁸ ; commandant ottoman de Kruja, il fut destitué et remplacé par Skanderbeg ; quand ce dernier tomba en disgrâce et fut éloigné de l'Albanie, Hızır reprit le poste à Kruja ; il survécut au début du grand soulèvement et se retira en Macédoine. Trente ans plus tard, il prit sa revanche ; avec l'autre grand renégat, Balaban, il dévasta systématiquement la seigneurie de Skanderbeg, purgeant des derniers résistants les villages des deux côtés des grandes

⁶⁶ AAV, n° 5357 ; BARLETIUS, *op. cit.*, p. 85 *sq.* ; SCHMITT, *Skanderbeg, op. cit.*, p. 65-69.

⁶⁷ SCHMITT, « Skanderbegs letzte Jahre », *art. cit.*, appendice n° 2.

⁶⁸ DUKA, « Tokat », *art. cit.*, p. 36 ; SCHMITT, *Skanderbeg, op. cit.*, p. 166-168.

montagnes autour de Kruja⁶⁹. Quelle humiliation pour Skanderbeg que de voir son ancien ennemi timariote dans son château de Stellush ! Et que dire des fils de Hızır ? L'un d'eux, Abdullah, fut installé par le sultan au nord de l'ancienne seigneurie de Skanderbeg, près de la frontière avec l'Albanie vénitienne, zone dans laquelle se retira Skanderbeg dans les mois avant sa mort ; l'autre fils, Behaderi, s'installa dans le château de Petrela que le grand Kastriote avait jadis utilisé comme place forte pour contrôler la vallée de l'Erzen ; le troisième fils en finit avec les rebelles dans les hameaux au nord de Petrela⁷⁰. L'humiliation de Skanderbeg atteint son apogée lorsque le sultan nomma commandant de Sinë, village d'origine des Kastriote, un ancien esclave de Hızır bey⁷¹.

Balaban paşa fut un ennemi encore plus dangereux⁷². Anciennement au service du père de Skanderbeg, il évolua vite dans l'armée ottomane. Appelé le « petit » (*küçük*), il servit, comme Hızır, en 1423 dans le château de Kruja et administra la douane ottomane devant les portes du port vénitien de Durazzo⁷³. Les officiers ottomans à Kruja, cette poignée d'Albanais islamisés, avec leurs concurrences et leurs haines sont une des clés essentielles pour comprendre le soulèvement. Skanderbeg et Balaban se trouvèrent dans la même armée, mais la différence hiérarchique avait été effacée par le système ottoman qui ne connaissait pas de noblesse héréditaire. Contrairement au fils de son ancien seigneur, Balaban ne trahit pas le sultan ; au contraire, il aurait été un des premiers Ottomans sur les remparts de Constantinople, le 29 mai 1453⁷⁴. Comme d'autres officiers ottomans dans les Balkans, il fonda sa propre dynastie : Mehmed II nomma son fils Ilyas commandant de la forteresse de Sobri qui protège le défilé très important entre Skopje et Tetovo, route principale des armées ottomanes vers l'Albanie ; Ilyas y laissa sa vie⁷⁵. Il fut remplacé par son fils Hamza, signe de la grande confiance du sultan en cette famille⁷⁶ ; il n'est pas étonnant qu'un neveu de Balaban, Ali, combattît

⁶⁹ PULAHA, *Lufta*, op. cit., p. 364.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ SOKOŁOSKI, *Turski dokumenty*, op. cit., p. 339.

⁷² SCHMITT, *Skanderbeg*, op. cit., p. 146-148.

⁷³ AAV, n° 2779.

⁷⁴ FRANCO, op. cit., p. 34 r°.

⁷⁵ K. BIÇOKU, « Dibra dhe Koxhaxhiku në kohën e Skënderbeut », *Studime historike* 2003/1-2, p. 7-29 ; K. BIÇOKU, « Shtrirja lindore e zotërimeve të Kastriotëve », in DUKA (dir.), *Skënderbeu*, op. cit., p. 61-82 ; pour les sources, cf. H. ŠABANOVIĆ, *Krajište Isa-bega Ishakovića : zbirni katastarski popis iz 1455. godine*, Sarajevo, Orijentalni institut u Sarajevu, 1964, p. 95 sq.

⁷⁶ ŠABANOVIĆ, *Krajište*, op. cit., p. 423.

Skanderbeg⁷⁷. En 1466, Mehmed II donna ordre à Balaban d'en finir avec Skanderbeg ; le *paša* mit le siège devant Kruja où il avait servi, comme son camarade Hızır, trente ans auparavant. Il poursuivit Skanderbeg dans les vallées profondes de Dibra. Il envoya une ambassade au roi Ferrante de Naples, suzerain de Skanderbeg ; il maria sa fille avec un neveu de Skanderbeg ; comme Hızır, il fit tout pour humilier son ancien concurrent dans l'armée ottomane. Skanderbeg ne toléra pas cela ; dans un dernier effort, il mobilisa les guerriers des montagnes et se rua sur Balaban qui fut tué par une flèche.

Les liens entre adversaires étaient encore plus profonds dans les cas des traîtres de la famille des Kastriote : rappelons seulement les exemples de Hamza et de Repoš.

On trouve les mêmes liens profonds entre adversaires au niveau des grands commandants ; prenons l'exemple du gouverneur de Skopje, la grande forteresse des Ottomans dans les Balkans centraux. La ville fut conquise en 1392 par le célèbre général Paša Yiğit dont le fils İşak l'orna de mosquées, de hammams, d'*imaret*, de caravansérails⁷⁸. Le même İşak écrasa la rébellion du père de Skanderbeg. Quand il mourut, il légua à son fils İsa une fortune immense et une sorte de seigneurie dans la marche militaire entre la plaine macédonienne et la montagne albanaise : les timars dont il bénéficiait. İsa reprit immédiatement l'héritage politique de son père et mena une lutte incessante contre le fils de l'adversaire de ce dernier : Skanderbeg. Il s'appuya notamment sur les timariotes de sa suite dont les « fiefs » se trouvaient près de la zone de combat, dans la plaine de Polog et dans les villages des *derbenci*, les gardiens des cols, le long de la route qui lie Tetovo à Ohrid. C'est à İsa bey que Murad II et Mehmed II confièrent la suppression des rebelles⁷⁹ ; en 1448, il rassembla les *akıncı* pour attaquer le château de Svetigrad qui barrait l'entrée dans la haute montagne albanaise⁸⁰ ; en 1455 ce fut İsa qui anéantit

⁷⁷ SCHMITT, « Skanderbegs letzte Jahre », *art. cit.*, p. 77.

⁷⁸ H. KALEŠI, *Najstariji vakufski dokumenti u Jugoslaviji na arapskom jeziku*, Priština, Zajednica naučnih ustanova Kosova, 1972, p. 89 *sq* ; ŠABANOVIĆ, *Krajište*, *op. cit.*, p. 69 *sq* ; SCHMITT, *Skanderbeg*, *op. cit.*, p. 162-163.

⁷⁹ SCHMITT, *Skanderbeg*, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

⁸⁰ La localisation de ce château a provoqué une longue discussion qui semble loin d'être terminée ; cf. T. TOMOSKI, « Pitanje Kodžadžika (prilog istoriji Debra i susednih predala u doba Skenderbega) », in *Simpozium o Skenderbegu, Priština, 9-12 maj 1968*, Priština, Institut Albanologjik, 1969, p. 195-200 ; S. ANTOLJAK, « Kade bil Svetigrad? », *Glasnik na Institutot za nacionalna istorija 1977/2-3*, p. 6-92 ; S. ANTOLJAK, « Ku gjendej Sfetigrad? », *Gjurmime albanologjike* 8, 1978, p. 47-72 ; A. STOJANOVSKI, « Obid da se otrfli pretpostavkata deka Svetigrad e Kodžadžik », *Glasnik na Institutot za nacionalna*

l'armée chrétienne devant Berat en infligeant à Skanderbeg une défaite humiliante. D'ailleurs, il ne fut pas le seul gouverneur régional à écraser le soulèvement à la périphérie occidentale de l'Empire ottoman. Son homologue en Thessalie, mais aussi les timariotes de la Serbie ottomane luttèrent également contre la suite de Skanderbeg. On ne peut pas évoquer la Thessalie sans mentionner les *uç bey* de cette plaine riche et fertile : la famille des Evrenosoğlu. Ali, fils d'Evrenos participa au siège de Kruja en 1450 et à la bataille de Berat, il défendit Svetigrad contre l'attaque de Skanderbeg et mena des prisonniers nobles à Constantinople. En 1457, il détruisit les forteresses de Skanderbeg sur deux péninsules entre Durazzo et Alessio et réclama au doge de Venise une rémunération parce qu'il avait libéré la Sérénissime d'un voisin encombrant⁸¹.

On a déjà parlé du déchirement de la noblesse albanaise en deux parties, une chrétienne et une ottomane. Voilà maintenant quelques noms : comme gouverneur de Tetovo ou Kalkandelen, ville aux pieds des montagnes rebelles, le sultan avait nommé Hasan bey de la grande famille sud-albanaise des Zenebish ; Hasan bey fut timariote à Tetovo et dans le grand village de Gostivar au sud de Polog⁸². Un de ses voisins était un Dukagjin, membre de la dynastie des montagnes en Albanie septentrionale, ennemis acharnés de Skanderbeg⁸³.

Concluons : les chefs rebelles et leurs adversaires non seulement se connaissaient, mais ils appartenaient parfois au même groupe social bien défini des renégats albanais qui servaient dans les années 1420 et 1430 à la forteresse de Kruja : d'un côté l'ancienne noblesse déclassée par le nouveau régime, de l'autre des officiers d'origine humble qui devaient leur carrière à l'Empire ottoman. Mais, comme nous venons de voir, les clivages s'avèrent encore plus complexes : tensions entre nobles et paysans, certes, mais la noblesse ne fut pas unie : elle se penchait en partie aux côtés des sultans et en partie aux côtés des puissances adriatiques :

istorija 1978/1-2, p. 225-237 ; M. BISLIMI, « Svetigrad : lokalizacija, hronologija i osvojuvanjeto ot strana na Osmanlite », in *Ĝerĝ Kastrioti Skenderbeg 1405-1468*, Skopje, 2006, p. 45-53 ; F. NOLI, *Historia e Skënderbeut (Gjergj Kastriotit), mbretit të Shqipërisë 1412-1468 : prej Peshkopit Theofan, e botuar prej Shoqërisë Korçare "Arësimi"*, Boston, Shtypshkronja e Diellit, 1921, p. 59, n. 5 ; K. BİÇOKU, « Shtirirja lindore », *art. cit.*

⁸¹ M. KIEL, « Das türkische Thessalien : etabliertes Geschichtsbild versus osmanische Quellen », in R. LAUER, P. SCHREINER (dir.), *Die Kultur Griechenlands in Mittelalter und Neuzeit*, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996, p. 109-196 ; AAV, n^{os} 6602 et 6603 ; PALL, *art. cit.*, p. 156, n. 146.

⁸² ŠABANOVIĆ, *Krajište*, *op. cit.*, p. 85 sq. ; SCHMITT, *Skanderbeg*, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

⁸³ ŠABANOVIĆ, *Krajište*, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

l'Albanie ne fait pas exception du grand schisme de l'élite balkanique de l'époque. Ajoutons que ce qui vaut pour la noblesse est confirmé par une analyse des couches paysannes. Les *defter* ottomans montrent que l'armée ottomane fourmillait de petits nobles régionaux, de chefs de village et de communauté pastorale, et que les routes et les cols étaient défendus contre les rebelles par des chefs locaux ; ajoutons que les *defter* qui couvrent les montagnes de la Macédoine occidentale⁸⁴, la route qui menait à Ohrid, enregistrent les pertes énormes des timariotes ottomans ; le rythme très accéléré des remplacements des timariotes dans la plaine de Polog, limitrophe elle aussi, laisse supposer le même développement⁸⁵. Tous ces éléments nous conduisent à la conclusion qu'il s'agissait avant tout d'un conflit régional qui doit, certes, être mis dans le contexte de la conquête ottomane des Balkans. Mais des deux côtés, on trouve avant tout des Albanais, des Slaves du Sud, des Valaques, tous des chrétiens orthodoxes. Cependant, les religions périphériques, le catholicisme et l'islam, ce dernier récemment enraciné dans les Balkans, constituaient des marqueurs clairs et privés d'équivoque : aucun catholique ne se rangea du côté des Ottomans, aucun musulman du côté des rebelles. Voilà le tableau ethno-confessionnel du grand soulèvement, un tableau qui correspond parfaitement à la situation dans tous les Balkans : une orthodoxie sous la double menace de l'Union et de la conquête ottomane, entre un empire musulman en pleine expansion et un monde catholique décidé de résister.

Le soulèvement doit être examiné dans son contexte régional, mais la gloire de Skanderbeg s'explique par la dimension européenne de son combat, par le fait qu'il fut le seul seigneur balkanique, au moins au sud du Danube, qui réussit, temporairement, d'arrêter l'élan ottoman. Nous avons déjà fait allusion aux alliés chrétiens de Skanderbeg ; maintenant, il faut systématiser davantage ces remarques. Commençons par les alliances et les relations dans les Balkans. Jusqu'à sa chute en 1459, le despotat serbe constituait l'État le plus riche et le plus stable dans la région. Les liens entre la dynastie des Branković et les Kastriote furent étroits ; Skanderbeg, nous l'avons vu, était le fils d'une princesse slave, probablement d'une Branković⁸⁶ ; mais ce qui est certain c'est que Skanderbeg maria son fils Ivan avec une princesse serbe de cette dynastie ;

⁸⁴ A. STOJANOVSKI, *Dervendžistvoto vo Makedonija*, Skopje, Institut za nacionalna istorija, 1974.

⁸⁵ ŠABANOVIĆ, *Krajište*, op. cit., p. 70 sq. ; K. BIÇOKU, *Për Skënderbeun*, Tiranë, Shtëpia Botuese Botimpex, 2005, p. 125.

⁸⁶ B. PETROVSKI, « Voisava Tribalda », art. cit.

ainsi, il se lia avec le réseau de la haute noblesse balkanique, de façon indirecte même avec la dynastie impériale de Byzance, les Paléologues ; ce qui est aussi bien attesté dans nos sources est que Stéphane Branković, un des derniers princes serbes du parti anti-ottoman, trouva refuge en Albanie et y épousa la belle-sœur de Skanderbeg, une princesse de la famille des Araniti ; nous savons aussi que le célèbre despote Georges Branković avait fait envoyer à Skanderbeg de l'argent de son compte bancaire à Raguse⁸⁷. Certes, le Despote et Skanderbeg poursuivaient des politiques très différentes ; le prince serbe défendait la cause orthodoxe et se méfiait des puissances catholiques, de la Hongrie avant tout, c'est pourquoi il accepta le statut de vassal du sultan et ne soutint pas les croisés de Varna en 1444 ; Kastriote, cependant, passa de l'orthodoxie au catholicisme : il noua une alliance très étroite avec la famille Hunyadi et jouissait du soutien financier et militaire du pape ; en 1463 il participa au grand projet de croisade de Pie II⁸⁸. C'est dans son rattachement au monde catholique que Skanderbeg se distingue des autres princes orthodoxes des Balkans. Lui qui avait servi dans les armées ottomanes ne savait que très bien que la vassalité n'était qu'une étape vers la soumission complète ; et lui qui, comme nous verrons tout de suite, avait rompu définitivement avec le sultan, refusa « l'apaisement » à l'orthodoxe. Il choisit son camp et y resta fidèle jusqu'au bout.

Des patriciens ragusains prêtèrent, nous l'avons vu, un soutien précieux à Skanderbeg ; leur République, cependant, se montra plus prudente. En fait, elle avait trop d'intérêts commerciaux dans l'Empire ottoman pour se permettre de se ranger ouvertement aux côtés de Skanderbeg. Les marchands ragusains continuaient à exploiter les mines serbes, à envoyer leurs caravanes dans les Balkans de l'intérieur. Raguse était vulnérable, c'est pourquoi elle accepta de payer un tribut au sultan. Coincée entre l'empire des sultans et le monde catholique, la petite République, ennemie et concurrente de Venise, oscillait habilement entre ces mondes sans jamais se compromettre⁸⁹. En 1461, elle offrit à Skanderbeg un

⁸⁷ RADONIĆ, *op. cit.*, n^{os} 70-71 ; SPREMIĆ, *Despot, op. cit.*, p. 646 ; SCHMITT, *Skanderbeg, op. cit.*, p. 44-45.

⁸⁸ SCHMITT, *Skanderbeg, op. cit.*, p. 243-256.

⁸⁹ B. I. BOJOVIĆ, *Raguse (Dubrovnik) et l'Empire Ottoman (1430-1520): les actes impériaux ottomans en vieux-serbe de Murad II à Selim I^{er}*, Paris, Association Pierre-Belon, 1998, p. 21 sq. ; I. BOŽIĆ, *Dubrovnik i Turska u XIV i XV veku*, Belgrade, Naučna knjiga, 1952 ; RADONIĆ, *op. cit.*, n^{os} 3, 14, 24, 34, 57, 60 ; cf. M. SPREMIĆ, *Dubrovnik i Aragonci (1442-1495)*, Belgrade, Zavod za izdavanje udžbenika Socijalističke Republike Srbije, 1971.

accueil triomphant lorsque ce dernier alla en Italie pour soutenir le roi Ferrante contre la rébellion de ses barons⁹⁰ ; mais cinq ans plus tard, elle pria Skanderbeg, en quête désespérée de secours contre Mehmed II, de renoncer à une visite⁹¹. Les autres voisins régionaux, comme la Bosnie et l'Herzégovine, entretenaient des rapports amicaux avec le seigneur albanais, mais c'étaient eux qui lui demandaient du soutien militaire contre Mehmed II⁹². De leur côté, ils étaient incapables d'envoyer des troupes ou des subsides dans les montagnes de Kastrioti. Du côté grec finalement, Skanderbeg arrangea un mariage d'un de ses neveux avec une noble dame moréote ; mais étant donné le désastre de la Morée byzantine, il n'était pas non plus question d'une aide active.

Cette aide, comme nous l'avons déjà signalé, vint de l'Occident, du royaume de Naples et des papes : Alphonse V, roi d'Aragon et de Naples, suzerain du seigneur albanais de 1451 jusqu'à sa mort en 1458, seigneur de Kruja que Skanderbeg lui avait cédée, était convaincu que seulement une offensive pourrait barrer l'expansion ottomane vers l'Adriatique qui constituait une menace extrêmement grave pour le royaume de Naples⁹³ ; la chute d'Otrante en 1480 confirma pleinement la justesse de cette analyse. Alphonse ne se contenta pas de promesses ; il envoya en Albanie des corps d'expédition, de l'argent et des ravitaillements. En 1455, il lança la grande offensive qui échoua devant Berat ; sans en être découragé, il prépara une grande croisade en Albanie⁹⁴. Ce n'est pas par hasard qu'il glorifia les guerriers tombés à Berat comme martyrs et fit répandre la légende que, la nuit après la bataille, la lune aurait fait briller les corps des chrétiens morts tandis que les victimes musulmanes seraient restées dans l'obscurité⁹⁵. La mort de ce roi fut un coup très rude pour Skanderbeg ; Ferrante, fils et successeur d'Alphonse, réussit à peine à sauver son trône dans une guerre qui dura jusqu'en 1464 ; il accepta le serment de vassalité

⁹⁰ RADONIĆ, *op. cit.*, n^{os} 210-212 et 214 ; PALL, « Rapporti », n^{os} 18 et 21 ; BARLETIUS, *op. cit.*, p. 290 sq.

⁹¹ B. HRABAK, « Dubrovnikasit dhe Gjergj Kastrioti Skënderbeu », *Përparimi* 1967/1, p. 125-168 ; 1968/2, p. 304-309.

⁹² S. ĆIRKOVIĆ, *Herceg Stefan Vukčić-Kosača i njegovo doba*, Belgrade, Izdavačka ustanova naučno delo, 1964, p. 227-230 et p. 247 sq. ; S. ĆIRKOVIĆ, « Đurađ Kastrioti Skenderbeg i Bosna », in *Simpozium o Skenderbegu*, *op. cit.*, p. 51-56.

⁹³ SCHMITT, *Skanderbeg*, *op. cit.*, p. 187-205.

⁹⁴ F. SENATORE (dir.), *Dispacci sforzeschi da Napoli -I- 1442-2 luglio 1458*, Salerne, Carlone, 1997, p. 92.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

que Skanderbeg lui prêta la même année en échange d'un fief dans les Pouilles⁹⁶ ; mais Skanderbeg dut vite se rendre compte que Ferrante préférait contester l'hégémonie vénitienne en Adriatique, même en nouant des contacts avec les Ottomans et en discutant un projet de mariage avec la maison ottomane, que continuer la politique de son père. On comprend donc pourquoi, étant donné l'hostilité de Venise et la passivité de Ferrante, Skanderbeg s'orienta à l'État de l'Église, ses ambassades à Milan et en Bourgogne n'ayant qu'un caractère plutôt symbolique. La mort d'Alphonse coïncida avec l'élection du pape Pie II, fervent partisan de l'idée des croisades ; son prédécesseur, Calixte III avait déjà envoyé une petite flotte en Adriatique et soutenu Kastriote avec quelques subsides, mais surtout avec une rhétorique fulminante, glorifiant le seigneur albanais qu'il désignait comme « athlète du Christ »⁹⁷. Pie II cependant planifiait une grande offensive par la mer et par la terre à laquelle il voulait participer en personne ; nous avons déjà évoqué le rôle du clergé catholique albanais dans ses projets. Pie II, grand humaniste sur le trône de Saint-Pierre, forgea aussi la nouvelle image de Skanderbeg comme nouvel Alexandre, roi des Épirotes, qui chasserait les nouveaux Persans, les Ottomans. Skanderbeg, roi d'un royaume catholique en Albanie, dans le style de l'humanisme antiquisant⁹⁸ : quelle transformation culturelle d'un ancien officier ottoman ! La mort de Pie II pétrifia les hommes de Skanderbeg. En Albanie, on parlait d'empoisonnement et l'on ne se faisait plus d'illusions sur la fin de la guerre⁹⁹. Le successeur de Pie II, le Vénitien Paul II, ne montra qu'un intérêt tiède pour la croisade ; la visite personnelle de Skanderbeg à Rome, en hiver 1466-1467, tourna en désastre ; Kastriote repartit pour l'Albanie les mains vides.

La troisième personne clé dans la vie de Skanderbeg fut Jean Hunyadi, régent du royaume de Hongrie¹⁰⁰. En fait, tandis que les souverains italiens n'offraient que de l'argent, quelques soldats et surtout des promesses, ce chevalier hongrois coordonna avec Skanderbeg deux grandes

⁹⁶ SCHMITT, SAINT-GUILLAIN, « Actes », *art. cit.*, n° 4 ; PALL, « Rapporti », *art. cit.*, p. 132 sq.

⁹⁷ PARRINO, *Acta*, *op. cit.*, n° 260.

⁹⁸ SCHMITT, « Skanderbeg als neuer Alexander », *art. cit.*

⁹⁹ BARLETIUS, *op. cit.*, p. 332 ; FRANCO, *op. cit.*, p. 32 v°.

¹⁰⁰ F. PALL, « Le condizioni e gli echi internazionali della lotta antiottomana del 1442-1443, condotta da Giovanni di Hunedoara », *Revue des études sud-est européennes* 3, 1965, p. 433-463 ; F. PALL, « Skanderbeg et Ianco de Hunedoara », *Revue des études sud-est européennes* 6, 1968, p. 5-21.

offensives, en 1444 et en 1448, qui constituèrent une vraie menace pour l'Empire ottoman. L'alliance de ces deux hommes remonte probablement à la fin des années 1430, quand Skanderbeg avait participé à des incursions ottomanes en Transylvanie. Hunyadi seul était capable de mobiliser des milliers de soldats, d'envahir les Balkans ottomans avec une artillerie lourde et des chariots de combat du type hussite. Comme dans le cas des rois de Naples, la relation survécut la mort de l'allié et s'étendit à son fils et successeur ; avec Mathias Corvin, Skanderbeg projeta, en 1464, une troisième offensive terrestre¹⁰¹ ; en fait, les Hongrois pénétrèrent en Bosnie, mais ne réussirent pas à joindre leurs forces avec les hommes de Skanderbeg. Comme Ferrante, le jeune roi Mathias poursuivait d'autres buts politiques : il rêvait de conquêtes en Autriche et en Bohême. L'année 1464 décida le sort de Skanderbeg : la mort de Pie II, l'échec hongrois en Bosnie, le désintérêt du roi de Naples coïncidèrent avec la ferme volonté de Mehmed II d'étouffer enfin ce nid de résistance située à son flanc occidental. Lorsque Mehmed II se mit en marche, en printemps 1466, Skanderbeg n'avait plus d'alliés fiables.

En analysant le réseau des relations internationales de Skanderbeg, nous nous sommes approché de la seconde – et plus courte – partie de notre analyse, la dimension personnelle ou biographique. En fait, pour comprendre le soulèvement contre les sultans, il est nécessaire d'examiner la personnalité de son leader, personnalité qui reste, dans une bonne mesure, dans l'ombre, faute de sources. Cela pourrait surprendre, à première vue du moins, mais les biographies de Skanderbeg ont été rédigées un demi-siècle après sa mort, et, curieusement, nous ne disposons que d'une poignée de témoignages de diplomates qui avaient rencontré Skanderbeg en personne et qui nous ont laissé leurs impressions. Il y a deux approches de sa personne qui s'imposent : la légende, répandue déjà au xv^e siècle et les quelques rapports des diplomates italiens. Skanderbeg était perçu de ses contemporains « albanais » comme héros, titre dont on se méfie justement de nos jours, mais qui constituait une conception clé des sociétés de la montagne sur lesquelles il appuyait sa seigneurie. Les biographes albanais du Moyen Âge tardif – Barletius et Franco – racontent de nombreuses histoires sur les exploits de leur héros, ses faits d'armes, son épée miraculeuse que seul lui savait manier, son cheval qui mourut en versant des larmes après la mort de son seigneur ; dans leurs écrits, nous lisons des chansons qui glorifiaient Skanderbeg de son vivant ; les

¹⁰¹ SCHMITT, *Skanderbeg, op. cit.*, p. 203 sq. et surtout p. 259.

biographes célèbrent les vertus physiques et morales de Kastriote en mélangeant des miroirs de princes et l'idéal guerrier des montagnes balkaniques¹⁰². La légende s'est emparée vite de Skanderbeg, des contes de son cheval qui volait d'une montagne à l'autre, des araignées qui cachaient avec leurs toiles ses refuges¹⁰³. Il est hors de doute que Skanderbeg jouissait d'un énorme charisme, qui correspondait, aux yeux des bergers et des paysans qui le suivaient, à l'idéal du leader guerrier. Un rapport diplomatique sur la bataille de Berat confirme cette image¹⁰⁴ ; il nous montre Skanderbeg, la cinquantaine, au milieu de la mêlée, en train de percer un chemin de fuite pour ses troupes vaincues, quittant en dernier le champ de bataille. Un autre rapport nous raconte l'anecdote de l'enlèvement d'un baron italien qui avait trahi le roi Ferrante ; Skanderbeg l'enleva de ses propres mains, à l'étonnement de la cour napolitaine¹⁰⁵. Le comportement de Kastriote laissa perplexe les Italiens ; son intervention dans la guerre de succession de Naples pour venir au secours du fils d'un roi qui l'avait protégé auparavant – un fils auquel Skanderbeg ne devait, aux yeux de ses contemporains italiens, aucune prestation de soutien vassal – correspondait à la conception albanaise de l'amitié, mais pas au système de diplomatie d'intérêt à la Machiavel¹⁰⁶. Citons aussi le rapport le plus intéressant, le seul procès-verbal d'entretien avec Skanderbeg, rédigé par deux diplomates milanais à Rome, en décembre 1466¹⁰⁷. Il nous montre un homme clairvoyant, mais qui ne cache pas son amertume, qui ne comprend que trop bien que les enjeux diplomatiques de l'Italie et l'hostilité de Venise provoqueraient sa ruine finale. Notons en marge que Skanderbeg ne fut pas seulement un excellent guerrier et général, mais aussi un diplomate expérimenté et polyglotte. Les diplomates du duc de Milan louaient son italien parfait : « il parle comme nous tous »¹⁰⁸, disaient-ils. Des voix plus critiques s'élevaient au sein de la noblesse albanaise, la chronique de la famille Muzaki les exprime :

¹⁰² SCHMITT, *Skanderbeg*, op. cit., p. 80-89.

¹⁰³ M. SIRDANI, *Skanderbegu mbas gojëdhânash*, Shkodra, Shtypshkronja Françeskane, 1926 ; G. MARLEKAJ, « Scanderbeg nelle tradizioni popolari albanesi », in *Atti del V convegno internazionale di studi albanesi*, Palerme, Centro Internazionale di Studi Albanesi, 1969, p. 221-238 : p. 234.

¹⁰⁴ PALL, « Rapporti », art. cit., n° 2.

¹⁰⁵ F. STORTI, *Dispacci sforzeschi da Napoli -IV- 1° gennaio-26 dicembre 1461*, Salerne, Carlone, 1998, n°s 220 et 222.

¹⁰⁶ SCHMITT, *Skanderbeg*, op. cit., p. 230-233.

¹⁰⁷ SCHMITT, « Skanderbegs letzte Jahre », art. cit., appendice n° 2.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

bien qu'appréciant les qualités militaires de Skanderbeg, le chroniqueur relate comme celui-ci avait humilié et dépossédé les grandes dynasties ; il n'omet pas de remarquer l'origine très modeste du grand-père de Kastrioti, petit chef de deux villages dans une région pauvre et peu accessible.

Malgré ces témoignages, une approche biographique s'avère peu prometteuse. Contrairement aux princes italiens contemporains dont la personnalité est bien saisissable dans les rapports diplomatiques, Skanderbeg appartient à ce monde balkanique où même les personnages les plus marquants restent dans l'ombre. Néanmoins, il n'est pas exagéré de dire que sans Skanderbeg, le soulèvement aurait été étouffé assez tôt. Ancien officier ottoman, il connaissait parfaitement son ennemi ; sa ténacité et sa prouesse militaires mobilisaient à plusieurs reprises les montagnards, même après des défaites écrasantes. Par ailleurs, il y avait un côté personnel de la lutte contre le sultan, côté que nous avons déjà traité, partiellement du moins : ces petits conflits avec les officiers ottomans de Kruja n'auraient jamais déclenché une rébellion d'une telle envergure. Skanderbeg avait un motif personnel très fort : venger son père Ivan, tué sur ordre du sultan Murad II en 1437¹⁰⁹. En fait, Skanderbeg répondit en « faisant tuer le frère du sultan », comme nous en informe un rapport milanais de la cour pontificale, rédigé sept mois après la chute de Constantinople¹¹⁰. Qui a été ce sultan ? Mehmed II, sultan régnant à cette époque. Et qui fut ce frère tué ? Il est invraisemblable qu'il s'agisse du prince Bayezid assassiné dans sa crèche par son frère après la mort de Murad II. Tout laisse supposer que Skanderbeg fut impliqué dans l'assassinat mystérieux du prince héritier Alaeddin Ali çelebi, fils préféré de Murad II, tué lors de sa campagne en Anatolie peu avant la grande attaque de Hunyadi, en juin 1443¹¹¹. Sur cet assassinat les sources gardent un silence profond ; l'ordre semble être venu de la cour du sultan, mais qui l'avait donné ? Certainement un personnage très haut placé. Qui avait un motif ? D'abord, la sultane Mara Branković dont les deux frères ont

¹⁰⁹ I. DUJČEV, « Georgi Kastrioti Skenderbeg v slavjanskata literatura ot XV-XVII v. », in *Georges Kastrioti Scanderbeg : 1468-1968*, Sofia, Izdatelstvo na Bălgarskata Akademiya na Naukite, 1970, p. 79-110 : p. 91.

¹¹⁰ Archivio di Stato di Milano, Archivio visconteo-sforzesco, carton B. 41, Sceva de Curte et Jacobo Trivulzio à Francesco Sforza, Rome, 10 janv. 1454.

¹¹¹ F. BABINGER, *Mehmed der Eroberer und seine Zeit : Weltentstürmer einer Zeitenwende*, Munich-Zurich, Bruckmann, 1953 [réimpr. 1987], p. 21 sq. ; B. CVETKOVA, *La Bataille mémorable des peuples : le sud-est européen et la conquête ottomane, fin XIV^e-première moitié du XV^e s.*, Sofia, Sofia-Presse, 1971, p. 274.

été aveuglés par son époux ; puis, le jeune Mehmed qui avait, certes, seulement 12 ans à l'époque, mais qui avait déjà fourni des preuves de volonté d'accéder au pouvoir¹¹² : c'est lui qui profita le plus de la mort de son frère. Selon la source citée, Skanderbeg fut impliqué dans l'assassinat, mais ce n'était pas lui qui exécuta ; en 1443, il servait à Nikopol, sur le Danube¹¹³. Son biographe Barletius qualifie Mehmed II de fratri-cide¹¹⁴. En même temps, il tient à souligner le rapport personnel très étroit entre Mehmed et Skanderbeg. Dans toute cette histoire mystérieuse, seulement deux éléments s'appuient sur des sources fiables : la mort du prince et la revanche de Skanderbeg.

Mais la coïncidence des événements est tout de même étonnante : en juin 1443, Alaeddin Ali çelebi est assassiné ; en même temps, le prince Ibrahim de Karaman attaque les Ottomans en Anatolie. Ibrahim fut allié à Jean Hunyadi qui se mit en marche trop tard, en automne, en compagnie du père de la sultane, le despote serbe Georges Branković, très probablement parent de Skanderbeg dont la mère fut, selon toute probabilité, une princesse Branković ; l'attaque hongroise, soutenue par le despote, est couronnée de succès grâce à la désertion d'un certain officier ottoman, du nom de Skanderbeg¹¹⁵. Un peu trop de hasards. Bien que nous ne disposions que de très peu de sources sur la préparation de la grande attaque de 1443, celles-ci permettent de supposer une ample coordination au cœur de laquelle se trouvaient une fronde au sein de l'armée ottomane ainsi que les ennemis des Ottomans dans les Balkans – la Hongrie, la Serbie, la Morée byzantine, les Valaques du Pinde – et en Anatolie (le Karaman). La flotte vénéto-bourguignonne et la croisade de Varna furent beaucoup moins dangereuses pour les Ottomans que cette alliance régionale. L'assassinat du prince héritier troubla le sultan Murad II dans un moment décisif¹¹⁶. Sans doute, jamais après la bataille d'Ankara, l'Empire ottoman ne s'est trouvé face à une crise plus grave.

¹¹² BABINGER, *Mehmed*, op. cit., p. 22 sq.

¹¹³ N. TODOROV, B. NEDKOV, *Turski izvori za bālgarskata istorija : serija XV-XVII/2*, Sofia, Izdatelstvo na Bālgarskata Akademija na Naukite, 1966, p. 161.

¹¹⁴ BARLETIUS, op. cit., p. 318 ; cf. A. PERTUSI, *Martino Segono di Novo Brdo vescovo di Dulcigno, un umanista serbo-dalmata del tardo Quattrocento : vita e opere*, Rome, Istituto storico italiano, 1981, p. 128 ; SCHMITT, « Jahrbücher », art. cit., p. 137.

¹¹⁵ C. IMBER, *The Crusade of Varna, 1443-45*, Aldershot-Burlington, Ashgate, 2006 ; SCHMITT, *Skanderbeg*, op. cit., p. 46-59.

¹¹⁶ F. BABINGER, « Von Amurath zu Amurath », in F. BABINGER, *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen zur Geschichte Südosteuropas und der Levante*, vol. 1., Munich, Südosteuropaverlag, 1960, p. 128-157.

Mais il y survécut ; il battit ses ennemis en Anatolie et en Europe, en divisant les alliés chrétiens : le Prince serbe quitta le champ hongrois pour devenir vassal du sultan, en rendant ainsi impossible l'hégémonie de la Hongrie catholique. Les Ottomans, nous l'avons déjà dit, avaient très habilement joué la carte confessionnelle. L'échec de la grande alliance de 1443 scella, dans une bonne mesure, le sort de Skanderbeg. Pendant un quart de siècle, ce dernier essaya de forger d'autres coalitions offensives, avec peu de succès, comme nous venons de voir. Il faut le souligner très clairement : le soulèvement de Skanderbeg visait à déjouer la domination ottomane en Europe. Skanderbeg ne se faisait pas d'illusions sur le destin d'un petit État vassal à la périphérie de l'empire des sultans. Il s'agissait de choisir entre l'offensive suivie d'une victoire, en tant que membre d'une vaste alliance chrétienne et anatolienne, et l'anéantissement par les armées du sultan. Notons seulement en marge qu'en Anatolie aussi, Kastriot disposait d'un bon réseau de relations et d'informateurs qui lui permettaient de renseigner le pape sur les chantiers navals ottomans et l'émir de Karaman sur les rebelles albanais¹¹⁷.

Mehmed II voyait en Skanderbeg un ennemi redoutable ; comme son père, il essaya de le neutraliser en lui offrant une seigneurie vassale. Les rebelles gênaient, mais sans soutien extérieur, ils ne pouvaient que lancer des raids dans les plaines sous contrôle ottoman, en Albanie méridionale ou devant Ohrid et Skopje¹¹⁸. Ce fut seulement lorsque Mehmed II comprit que Skanderbeg ne cessait pas d'appeler au secours des croisades qu'il se décida à écraser le soulèvement.

Cela nous mène à une interprétation générale du phénomène Skanderbeg : pour l'historiographie albanaise du xx^e siècle, il n'est pas douteux que le grand Kastriot eût à la tête d'un mouvement national et fondât un État national albanais¹¹⁹. Pour l'historien turc Halil İnalcık, un des meil-

¹¹⁷ Archivio di Stato di Milano, Archivio visconteo-sforzesco, carton 41, Sceva de Curte et Jacobo Trivulzio à Francesco Sforza, Rome, 10 janv. 1454 : « *Dice [l'ambassadeur de Scanderbeg, n.d.a] cose mirabilissime dela potentia del Turcho et delo apparato fa per questo bon tempo. Fra l'altre cose dice ch'el Turcho non era uxato poter fare galee grosse, perchè non havea li legni, mo dice ha facto tagliare tanti legni a Constantinopoli e facti conducere ad Andronopoli et ogni dì ne fa conducere et ha tanti mestri in li quali etiam ve sonno molti Christiani che fa far lo mundo de galee. E già dice esserve facte tante e conducere a Constantinopoli che parano un' altro Constantinopoli in mare. Et dice mille altre cosse maravigliose et da impaurire altruy* » ; cf. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cod. 6216, f. 107 r^o.

¹¹⁸ SCHMITT, *Skanderbeg*, op. cit., p. 179-182.

¹¹⁹ D. EGRO, « *Kritika e historiografisë shqiptare : rasti i Skënderbeut* », in *Gjergj Kastrioti-Skënderbeu në historinë e Shqipëtarëve*, Tirana, Universiteti i Tiranës, 2005, p. 120-

leurs connaisseurs du xv^e siècle ottoman, Skanderbeg fut un rebelle local dont les sultans se débarrassèrent facilement¹²⁰. Nous espérons avoir montré qu'une interprétation nationale, voire ethnique de la rébellion ne peut pas s'appuyer sur les sources, que les lignes de conflit s'avèrent extrêmement complexes, que les motifs des rebelles étaient multiples, que seule la soif de vengeance de son leader n'aurait pas mobilisé un tel mouvement de longue haleine.

Une première piste d'interprétation est de comparer le soulèvement de Skanderbeg avec d'autres formes de résistance contre l'Empire ottoman. Il s'agissait d'une réaction à l'intégration d'une région montagnaise dans le système administratif, surtout fiscal, de l'empire des sultans. Les sources contemporaines évoquent la « liberté » que les montagnards revendiquèrent. Liberté signifiait avant tout la continuation de la vie traditionnelle, c'est-à-dire l'absence d'un État fort dans les montagnes, l'absence de l'obligation de payer des impôts et de se soumettre à un système juridique centralisé. L'Albanie rebelle ne constitue pas du tout un cas unique : en Anatolie, des rebellions pareilles éclatèrent : après la défaite militaire des chefs régionaux et leur soumission au pouvoir central, certaines zones périphériques, en règle générale montagneuses, refusèrent la centralisation du pouvoir¹²¹. Des rebellions locales dans les montagnes accompagnèrent pendant des siècles la domination ottomane dans les Balkans et en Anatolie ; remarquons seulement que ce furent des soulèvements des montagnards albanais qui avaient préparé, cent ans auparavant, la fin de l'empire des sultans en Europe. Les timariotes et les auxiliaires que les Ottomans avaient recrutés parmi la population en Albanie et en Macédoine sont la meilleure preuve que les communautés orthodoxes de la région étaient, après l'élimination de leurs anciens seigneurs chrétiens, bien prêtes à s'intégrer dans le système ottoman. La plaine « se tint tranquille », les villes ne furent pas atteintes par le mouvement rebelle. Comme en Anatolie,

137 ; F. HADRI, « Vështrim i përgjithshëm mbi historiografinë shqiptare Skënderbegiane », *Gjurmime albanologjike* 1985, p. 65-95.

¹²⁰ H. İNALCIK, « İskender Beg », *art. cit.* ; cf. B. BILMEZ, « Skanderbeg in the Turkish Historiography : an Attempt towards a Critical Assessment », in GENESIN, MATZINGER, VALLONE (dir.), *The Living Skanderbeg*, *op. cit.*, p. 185-222.

¹²¹ Ces remarques doivent beaucoup à un entretien avec M^{me} Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr ; cf. H. SOHRWEIDE, « Der Sieg der Safaviden in Persien und seine Rückwirkungen auf die Schiiten Anatoliens im 16. Jahrhundert », *Der Islam* 41, 1965, p. 95-223 ; B. ATSIZ, « Das Albanerbild der Türken nach osmanischen Chroniken des 15.-16. Jahrhunderts », *Münchener Zeitschrift für Balkankunde* 1, 1978, p. 15-25.

ce fut la montagne qui s'opposa au nouvel empire. Mettre dans un contexte régional la rébellion de Skanderbeg nous aide à la comprendre, mais en même temps il faut se demander pourquoi, dans les Balkans et en Occident, le nom de Skanderbeg symbolisa pendant des siècles la résistance anti-ottomane. Cela s'explique par la durée du soulèvement et par son internationalisation : Skanderbeg avait compris qu'un chef de la montagne ne survivrait qu'avec le soutien de ses alliés extérieurs et aussi qu'il lui fallait un but politique positif : refuser de payer des impôts, refuser les juges de la plaine, cela peut motiver des bergers et des petits paysans, mais cela ne constitue pas un programme politique¹²². C'est pourquoi Skanderbeg prêta une oreille attentive aux projets du clergé catholique albanais qui rêvait d'une seigneurie stable et reconnue par les États chrétiens de l'Occident, d'un nouveau royaume adriatique. Bien que le soulèvement de Skanderbeg ressemble dans ses structures sociales et dans ses multiples motivations primitives à d'autres mouvements d'opposition dans les Balkans et en Anatolie, il les dépasse dans sa dimension idéologique. Skanderbeg ne mena pas de guerre religieuse, mais comme l'islam était la religion de ses adversaires et comme être musulman signifiait avant tout appartenir au camp ottoman, il combattit les musulmans en se définissant comme prince chrétien. L'écroulement de ses rêves ravagea la région rebelle : en deux campagnes, Mehmed II fit table rase de l'Albanie rebelle. Peu avant sa mort, Skanderbeg n'eut plus d'hommes à le suivre. Des données italiennes et byzantines sur le nombre des victimes sont corroborées par les *defter* ottomans qui nous montrent des régions peu ou plus habitées ; des vagues de réfugiés arrivèrent en Italie, d'autres se retirèrent dans les montagnes de l'Albanie septentrionale où se formèrent, de nouveau, des tribus comme communautés économiques et défensives de bergers. Le choc fut tellement rude que les survivants changèrent même leur ethnonyme : le terme *Shqiptar* remplaçait progressivement le terme *Arbër* qui désigne l'Albanais chrétien¹²³. Mehmed II avait gagné, grâce à une guerre totale, une guerre qui a continué pendant l'hiver, la déportation ou l'élimination des hommes et du bétail dans la région rebelle. Jamais, ni avant ni après ces campagnes, un sultan n'avait si brutalement imposé son pouvoir aux montagnards. Les méthodes furent radicales, mais produisirent l'effet souhaité : la défaite totale des insurgés.

¹²² SCHMITT, *Skanderbeg*, op. cit., p. 58 sq.

¹²³ SCHMITT, *Skanderbeg*, op. cit., p. 296.

Malgré la catastrophe, Skanderbeg entra dans la légende qui se transforma lentement, durant les ^{xix}^e et ^{xx}^e siècles, en un mythe national qui est, même de nos jours, extrêmement puissant¹²⁴.

¹²⁴ O. J. SCHMITT, « Skanderbeg reitet wieder: Wiederfindung und Erfindung eines (National-)Helden im balkanischen und gesamteuropäischen Kontext (15.-21. Jahrhundert) », in U. BRUNNBAUER, A. HELMEDACH, S. TROEBST (dir.), *Schnittstellen: Gesellschaft, Nation, Konflikt und Erinnerung in Südosteuropa, Festschrift für Holm Sundhaussen zum 65. Geburtstag*, Munich, Oldenbourg, 2007, p. 401-418.

Oliver Jens SCHMITT, *Skanderbeg et les sultans: anatomie d'une rébellion contre l'Empire ottoman*

Le soulèvement de Georges Kastriote, surnommé Skanderbeg, constitue un chapitre clé de la conquête ottomane des Balkans. Cet article qui se base sur les résultats des recherches entreprises dans les dernières années propose une nouvelle interprétation de la période 1443-1468. Il se concentre notamment sur le contexte régional en fournissant une analyse des élites de la région ; sur les ennemis chrétiens des rebelles ; sur le contexte balkanique du soulèvement et particulièrement sur le lien entre Skanderbeg et les adversaires de l'Empire ottoman dans la région ; et sur la dépendance du prince albanais des conjonctures de la grande politique italienne ; enfin, sur les causes de l'échec de la rébellion.

Oliver Jens SCHMITT, *Skanderbeg and the Sultans: Anatomy of a Rebellion against the Ottoman Empire*

The uprising of George Kastriota, known as Scanderbeg, constitutes a key event in the Ottoman conquest of the Balkans. Based on new archival evidence, this article tries to offer a new interpretation of the 1443-1468 period. The focus is put on the regional context and an analysis of competing local elites ; on regional Christian foes of the rebels ; on the Southeast European context, especially the connection between Scanderbeg and regional adversaries of the Ottoman empire ; on Scanderbeg's involvement in Italian politics ; and on the causes of his eventual defeat.

AN OTTOMAN PRINCE
WEARING A QIZILBASH *TĀJ*:
THE ENIGMATIC CAREER OF SULTAN
MURAD AND QIZILBASH AFFAIRS
IN OTTOMAN DOMESTIC POLITICS,
1510-1513

I ————— INTRODUCTION

It has long been recognized that the formation of the Qizilbash as a socio-religious entity during the late 15th and the early 16th centuries was intimately linked to the Ottoman-Safavid political confrontation. Hence the struggle between the two states fundamentally influenced the ideological background and religious orientation of the Qizilbash movement.¹ Accordingly, modern Safavid historiography has discussed aspects of the influential role of early Qizilbashes in shaping the Safavid state.²

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¹ A number of scholars among specialists on both Ottoman and Safavid history, and the religious history of Anatolia, drew attention to the dominant political character of the early Qizilbash movement during the late 15th and early 16th centuries. However, the only comprehensive study evaluating the Qizilbash movement within the context of Ottoman-Safavid confrontation hitherto published is Hanna Sohrweide's article in *Der Islam*. Cf. SOHRWEIDE, 1965. For a study focused on the relations between the two states, relatively overlooking Qizilbashes themselves, cf. ALLOUCHE, 1983. For a later attempt to picture the emergence of the Qizilbash movement within the political confrontation of the Ottoman and Safavid states, cf. YILDIRIM, 2008.

² For an introductory reading on the origins, development, and aspects of the Qizilbash

The impact of the Qizilbash movement on Ottoman internal politics and the religious orientation of the empire, however, has not been adequately treated.³

Classical Ottoman historians since the reign of Selim I (1512-1520) show a deliberate effort to keep the Qizilbash issues outside the Ottoman sphere of legitimacy, especially on religious and ideological levels. However, a closer examination of their works alongside the archival evidence leaves no doubt that Qizilbash affairs during the early decades of the 16th century were by no means an external problem for the Ottoman administration, but an intrinsically interconnected socio-religious and political phenomenon that had deep roots and consequences at home. The intimacy of Qizilbash affairs with Ottoman domestic politics is best demonstrated in the affiliation of two Ottoman princes, namely Prince Şehinşâh⁴ (d. 1511) and Prince Murad (d. 1513-1514?), with the Qizilbash movement.

This article scrutinizes the involvement of a prominent Ottoman prince, namely Sultan⁵ Murad, the son of Sultan Selim's brother Sultan Ahmed (d. 1513), in Qizilbash movements in the course of the Ottoman civil war between 1510 and 1513. It evaluates Sultan Murad's adherence to the Qizilbash movement through an attempt to investigate the role of Qizilbash affairs in the Ottoman domestic politics. I will argue that Murad's interest in the Qizilbash movement was essentially interconnected with political developments in the early-16th-century Ottoman Empire. Murad's cooperation with the Qizilbash of the province (*vilâyet*) of Rum was either encouraged or approved by his father through purely political concerns: by doing so Ahmed aimed to recruit additional

movement and identity, the following studies may be consulted: AUBIN, 1959, 1984, 1988; MAZZAOUI, 1972; MÉLIKOFF, 1975; SAVORY, 1980; ROEMER, 1985; BABAYAN, 2002.

³ For an attempt to observe aspects of the Qizilbash impact on Ottoman politics, cf. BELDICEANU-STEINHERR, 1975.

⁴ He was among four living sons of Bayezid II (d. 1512) when the dynastic struggle broke out in 1510. When the other sons of Bayezid II – Sultan Ahmed (d. 1513), Sultan Selim (d. 1520), and Sultan Korkud (d. 1513) – began to struggle for the throne, Prince Şehinşâh strangely refrained from any dynastic claims. This must most probably be because of his Qizilbash leanings, which is clearly revealed by contemporary archival documents. As a matter of fact, he died in 1511 without witnessing the final combat of Selim and Ahmed. For Prince Şehinşâh, cf. YILDIRIM, 2008, p. 399-400, fn 1342.

⁵ The title "Sultan" was, in the Ottoman classical period, used not only for Ottoman rulers but also for other members of the dynasty. In the early-16th-century Ottoman context the epithet seems to be rather an indication of dynastic lineage. In this article, I will stay loyal to the formulaic expression of the contemporary sources and employ the epithet "sultan" along with "prince".

fighting force against Selim's powerful army. Nevertheless, in a short while, Sultan Murad and his father conflicted on how to use armed Qizilbashes in the dynastic struggle. Ahmed, as a strong candidate to the Ottoman throne, obviously had to maintain distance – at the very least – from Qizilbash elements, whose central concern was indeed nothing else but to trouble, if not root out, the Ottoman administration in Anatolia. When the Qizilbash insurgents started to shake Ottoman authority in the province of Rum, therefore, Ahmed immediately cut off his tacit alliance with the Qizilbashes and even called Murad back to his camp. Nevertheless, Murad pursued a different line of struggle against his uncle Selim. He believed in a closer partnership with the Qizilbashes of the region and with their spiritual and temporal patron Shāh Ismā'īl. However, he could not effectively employ Qizilbash power in the Ottoman dynastic struggle against Selim's army. Rather, he himself seems to have become an instrument in the hands of Shāh Ismā'īl to weaken the Ottoman rule in Anatolia.

SCHOLARSHIP TO DATE

Sultan Murad's Qizilbash affiliation was first noticed by modern scholars during the early 20th century. However, a contextual analysis of his Qizilbashism in the light of contemporary events and its religio-political implications has not yet been attempted. Among modern historians it was Hüseyin Hüsameddin who first drew attention to Qizilbash activities in the province of Rum, particularly in Amasya, under Sultan Ahmed's governorship. Although rightfully evaluating events in the context of the dynastic struggle between Selim and Ahmed, Hüseyin Hüsameddin's account falls short of perceiving the proper sectarian and "ethnic"-cultural nature of the contemporary developments.⁶ Apart from a clear nationalist tone dominating his approach, Hüseyin Hüsameddin more or less repeats the *Selim-nāme* type of history writing.⁷ Perhaps the most interesting point in his account is

⁶ For some shortcomings of Hüseyin Hüsameddin's account, cf. *infra*, fn. 19.

⁷ It is now a well-known fact among Ottoman historians that Selim's unusual succession by forcing his father to abdicate and some of his harsh practices, which were clearly beyond Islamic law and the Ottoman tradition, created serious discontent among several echelons of the Ottoman society. This must account for the appearance during the reign of Selim I of a recognizable style of history books called *Selim-nāme*, dedicated to his

his silence on the Qizilbash affiliation of Sultan Murad; on one occasion he even depicts Sultan Murad as defending Amasya against Qizilbash insurgents.⁸ Throughout the long section about Sultan Ahmed's government in Amasya, he severely criticizes Ahmed, accusing him of falling under the illusion of the Persian (*Acemî*) literati and thus disregarding the rising Shī'ite threat.⁹ Nevertheless his attack limits itself to Ahmed's ignorance and fondness for pleasure. Indeed a careful reading unveils Hüseyin Hüsameddin's prudent labor towards keeping the dynasty's name clear from ideological and religious attachments to the Qizilbash movement.

Çağatay Uluçay's series of three articles appearing in *Tarih Dergisi* are still the most informative publications on the activities of Sultan Murad during the civil war.¹⁰ Nevertheless, though resorting to relatively rich archival documents, Uluçay's work fails to provide an analytical framework for discussion. In many aspects his study bears heavy traces of the *Selim-nâme* tradition. In addition to the obvious Selim-centric approach, his implicit Sunni-dominated view, which regards Qizilbashes as "faulty others", taints Uluçay's assessments, as well as remarkably hinders his recognition of the Qizilbash role in contemporary Ottoman domestic politics. Similarly, he does not attempt to provide any contextual scrutiny of Murad's adherence to the Qizilbash movement. Yet the archival evidence first introduced by Uluçay is still among the principle sources for the contemporary events and will be utilized by the present study as well. As far as Sultan Murad's Qizilbash connection is concerned, Selahattin Tansel's well-known studies,

reign with the foremost aim of clearing Selim's name and legitimizing his unprecedented acts. Examples of the *Selim-nâme* genre even proliferated under the auspices of Selim's son Süleyman. Though relatively rich in number and certainly valuable in content, the *Selim-nâme* literature has not received the attention of modern scholars as it deserves. Among a few examples might be counted the inventory study of Tekindağ, which unfortunately falls short of discussing the historiography of this peculiar genre; the study of Uğur, promising in title but not fulfilling in content; and two works of Kerslake on the *Selim-nâme* by Celalzâde Mustafa. Cf. TEKINDAĞ, 1970; UĞUR, 1985; KERSLAKE, 1975 and 1978. For a recent attempt of a critical analysis of both the *Selim-nâme* literature and the secondary publications on *Selim-nâmes*, cf. ÇİPA, 2007, p. 73-127.

⁸ According to Hüseyin Hüsameddin, Sultan Murad defended Amasya against the assault of Qizilbashes under Zinnün's command. Cf. HÜSEYİN HÜSAMEDDİN, 1927, p. 263. As will be discussed below, however, Hüseyin Hüsameddin's account does not only fail on Murad's stand against the Qizilbash affairs, but also includes serious mistakes concerning the narrative account of contemporary events.

⁹ Cf., for example, *ibid.*, p. 269.

¹⁰ ULUÇAY, 1954a, 1954b, 1955.

which were published years later than Uluçay's articles, provide a negligible contribution to the field in terms of both historical data and methodology.¹¹

Following these two efforts to probe this critical period of the Ottoman history – however much they were rather like modern extensions of *Selim-nāme* literature – has been a long silence. Two recent dissertations simultaneously attempted to revisit the governing factors during Sultan Selim's succession. Erdem Çıpa focuses on the Rumelian supporters of Selim against his father and brothers. Developing his arguments around the foremost role – as he argues – of the Rumelian military, Çıpa pays less attention to the role of Qizilbash affairs during the struggle for succession.¹² My own dissertation deals with the issue as part of a more comprehensive survey on the origins of the Qizilbash movement in Anatolia.¹³

As summarized, the available scholarship is concerned with Sultan Murad and his Qizilbash affiliation only indirectly, in the context of the civil war between Selim and Ahmed. Consequently the significance and the historical implications of his conversion to the Qizilbash sect has not been adequately elucidated. This study thus stands for the first attempt to develop a biography of Sultan Murad, though limited to his last years, and to understand the reasons for and nature of Murad's Qizilbash affiliation, with special reference to the Qizilbash influence on contemporary Ottoman domestic politics.

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE CIVIL WAR, 1510-1513

Before embarking on an analysis of Sultan Murad's deeds, it is necessary to provide a brief panorama of the Ottoman domestic political climate which surrounded Murad's career. During the last years of his reign, Bayezid II (1481-1512) left governmental issues in the hands of his viziers, obviously because of his old age and worsening health conditions. The Sultan's insufficiency automatically raised the question of succession, which eventually led to a civil war among the contesting princes Ahmed (Murad's father), Korkud, and Selim. Since Korkud

¹¹ TANSEL, 1966 and 1969.

¹² Barely referring to the Qizilbash movements in the province of Rum, Çıpa's interest in Sultan Murad and his deeds is limited to a few sentences. Cf. ÇİPA, 2007, p. 31-32.

¹³ Cf. YILDIRIM, 2008.

could not attain enough support from among the power circles, the real struggle occurred between Ahmed and Selim. Although Ahmed had secured the favour of his father and viziers at the beginning, Selim successfully garnered the Janissaries' support and eventually succeeded his father.

In 1510, the tacit contest between the princes turned into an open fight. Realizing his disadvantageous position at Trebizond, Selim left the city for Kefe, where his son Süleyman had been recently appointed as governor. However, Selim's intention was to obtain a governorship in Rumelia, which was strictly banned according to the customary law (*kānun-ı kadīm*). For this purpose, he moved from Kefe and landed on Romanian shores with a sizable army. Against the strict prohibition and constant warnings of the Porte, Selim marched towards Edirne, finally managing to wrench the governorship of Semendire.

While Selim was struggling with his father in Rumelia, Anatolia was facing a rebellion led by Shāhkulu, a Qizilbash leader acting in the name of Shāh Ismā'īl. During the late spring of the year 1511, Ahmed, who was the governor of Amasya at the time, was ordered to join the imperial army commissioned to suppress the Shāhkulu rebellion. This was a strategic maneuver on the part of Bayezid II and his grand vizier Ali Pasha, who was appointed as the commander-in-chief of this army. The intention was to enthrone Sultan Ahmed by taking advantage of the prestige that would be gained by a military success against Shāhkulu. On the other hand, Selim, who had already managed to get the governorship of Semendire, did not leave Edirne, most probably suspecting his father's intention in favour of Ahmed.

Nevertheless, things did not go according to Bayezid II's plan. The improvident and untimely attack of the grand vizier cost him not only a disgraceful defeat but also his life. Both the failure against the Qizilbash and the loss of Ali Pasha severely damaged Ahmed's advantageous position against Selim. Furthermore, Ahmed's weak leadership during the campaign seriously diminished the support among Janissaries for his dynastic claims, which had already been weak enough.¹⁴ Yet Selim's impatient move on his father in August (1511) provided a last chance for Ahmed. The military confrontation between Selim and his father in Çorlu, just miles from Istanbul, ended in Bayezid II's decisive

¹⁴ For a detailed account of Shāhkulu rebellion and its consequences, cf. ULUÇAY, 1954a, 1954b, 1955; TEKİNDAG, 1959; YILDIRIM, 2008, p. 345-415.

victory. Selim had to flee to Kefe, seriously destroying the legitimate ground for his dynastic claims.

Once again, Bayezid and his viziers decided to call Sultan Ahmed to ascend to the throne. When Ahmed arrived at Üsküdar, however, a *coup d'état* by Janissaries reversed his fortune. Ahmed had no choice but to return to Anatolia where he could call up additional troops from among the locals. It must be because of his deep disappointment and anger that Ahmed made another mistake by besieging Konya and finally capturing it by force. By doing so, Ahmed fell in a position of rebellious prince. Taking the advantage, Selim's supporters in Istanbul used Ahmed's disobedient act as a pretext to force Bayezid II to consent to Selim's succession. Eventually Bayezid II had to give up his support for Ahmed and called Selim to Istanbul.¹⁵ Welcomed especially by the Janissaries, Selim ascended to the throne as the ninth Ottoman Sultan on April 24, 1512, while Ahmed was de facto ruling Anatolian principalities garrisoned in Konya.¹⁶

After firmly establishing his control over Istanbul and the Rumelian principalities, Selim marched upon Ahmed, crossing to Anatolia on July 29. On April 15, 1513, the final clash between the two brothers ended with Selim's decisive victory. Ahmed was captured and executed immediately. Within a short time, all male members of the Ottoman house, except Selim's son Süleyman and Ahmed's son Murad, were strangled. In the summer of the year 1513, Selim's sultanate (rule) was thus absolutely established.¹⁷

One may argue that Selim paradoxically owes the Ottoman throne to his formidable enemy, namely the Qizilbash. When the struggle for the throne broke out, Qizilbash affairs became the primary issue deeply influencing the balance of powers within the governmental apparatus. Indeed, it was by and large the attitude and acts of each prince against the Qizilbash problem that ultimately determined their allies within the state institutions.

Among the sons of Bayezid II, Selim pursued the most consistent as well as the most aggressive policy against the Qizilbash. Since the early days of his governorship in Trebizond, Selim declared himself a staunch

¹⁵ Cf. ULUÇAY, 1954b, p. 117-120; TANSEL, 1966, p. 284-295; YILDIRIM, 2008, p. 449-461.

¹⁶ For further details of events, cf. ULUÇAY, 1954a, 1954b, 1955; YILDIRIM, 2008, p. 416-499.

¹⁷ For a detailed account of developments, cf. YILDIRIM, 2008, p. 494-498.

enemy of the Qizilbash, and remained the same until his death in 1520. Meanwhile, Ahmed seems to have failed to develop a coherent policy regarding the Qizilbash issue. The available evidence reflects his attitude as quite an ambiguous one. On the one hand, his principal military confidants, both people of the province of Rum and the tribes of the Taş-ili region were at the same time the principal audience of the Qizilbash message.¹⁸ Some of his acts, on the other hand, clearly demonstrate that Ahmed had no sympathy for the Qizilbash movement and ideals. What can be said with certainty is that he established a kind of problematic relationship with the Qizilbashes of Anatolia. His interest in the Qizilbash-affiliated groups seemingly derived from certain pragmatic reasons: namely to employ dissident Qizilbashes, whose military capability had already been proved, against Selim. In terms of ideology and socio-cultural perception, on the other hand, one can hardly observe, in the available documentation, an affinity of Ahmed to the Qizilbash movement.

One of the most concrete results of Ahmed's vague attitude toward the Qizilbashes came out with the augmentation of Qizilbash propaganda in the province of Rum. Contemporary archival reports permit us to surmise that Ahmed's "soft" policy created in the region a somewhat tolerant atmosphere for Qizilbash activities not only in rural areas but also among the urban high cultural echelons. Hüseyin Hüsameddin provides several examples for the fact that a number of statesmen and *ulemā* at the court of Ahmed felt uncomfortable with this situation. Upon realizing that their warnings would have no result in Ahmed's palace, most of them joined the entourage of Selim, who had already declared himself as the champion of the anti-Qizilbash fight.¹⁹ In con-

¹⁸ We have clear evidence showing that some of Ahmed's trustee tribesmen were in contact with Shāh Ismā'īl. For an analysis of Ahmed's allies and their connection with the Qizilbash movement, cf. *ibid.*, p. 461-469.

¹⁹ Cf. HÜSEYİN HÜSAMEDDİN, 1927, p. 247-248, p. 254, p. 257-258. According to Hüseyin Hüsameddin, Ahmed's interest in the Qizilbash movement went far beyond pragmatic concerns. He argues that Ahmed obviously supported Persian ('*Acem*') scholars and literati against their Turkish colleagues; thus he favored Persian culture at the cost of Turkish culture. To Hüseyin Hüsameddin, these Persian-cultured men propagated the "love of the house of Muhammed" (*Hubb-i Āl-i Aba*), which was a sign of Shī'ism and supported Shāh Ismā'īl in Amasya and the surrounding region. Therefore, Ahmed directly supported the spread of Shī'ism in the province of Rum. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 242-249. However, Hüseyin Hüsameddin's arguments include serious errors. In many aspects, he simply reflects the mentality of *Selīm-nāme* authors, adding new mistakes to the *Selīm-nāme* literature in some other aspects. First of all, his nationalist approach clearly distorts the

trast to Ahmed's vague attitude, his son Murad seems to have made up his mind rather clearly.

The following pages will attempt to show that Murad's interest in the Qizilbash movement had immediate links with the heated contest among the Ottoman princes, and thus was overwhelmingly dominated by political interests. His primary aim in initiating into this movement was to channel Qizilbash military power into the civil war, of course in favor of his father. One may discern three different phases of Sultan Murad's Qizilbash career within the Ottoman civil war. Until Ahmed was expelled from Istanbul by the rebelling Janissaries in the fall of the year 1511, he showed no sympathy towards the Qizilbash movement; on the contrary, he had some leading Qizilbashes imprisoned. Nevertheless, his attitude towards them changed drastically when Ahmed was forced to return to Anatolia while Selim was invited to Istanbul. This marks the beginning of Murad's Qizilbash career. In the beginning, he seems to have acted as an agent of his father, and thus recruited Qizilbash fighters for Ahmed's cause. However, Ahmed soon renounced his alliance with the Qizilbash forces. Yet Murad did not follow his father but continued to act in concert with Qizilbash insurgents, hoping to form a secure front against Selim's imperial army. This disagreement between Murad and his father seems to have surfaced immediately after Selim's ascendance to the Ottoman throne on April 24, 1512. When he realized that the local Qizilbash leaders' loyalty was to Shāh Ismā'īl but not to him, it was too late for Murad to return. Hence, in the last phase of his career, Murad had no option but to tie his fortune to the auspice of Shāh Ismā'īl.

historical framework. He attempts to depict the struggle between Selim and Ahmed as a struggle of Turkish culture and tradition against Persian culture and tradition. In this picture, Selim was the champion of the Turkish tradition against Ahmed's patronage of Persian culture. This sort of classification obviously contradicts the historical realities. Furthermore, Hüseyin Hüsameddin identifies sunnism with Turkish culture – and with Selim's party – and shī'ism with Persian culture, which was, to him, supported by Ahmed. This is a clear misrepresentation stemming from the retrospective approach of Hüseyin Hüsameddin. It is known that the Shī'ī domination in Persia was chiefly an enterprise of Shāh Ismā'īl and his Qizilbash disciple-comrades. Thus the Persian literati in Ahmed's palace in Amasya, if existed as Hüseyin Hüsameddin argues, could barely have been shī'ite. Following Hüseyin Hüsameddin's account, Çağatay Uluçay develops the same attitude, depicting Prince Ahmed as a patron of Qizilbash missionaries in the province of Rum. To him, the prominent *sufis*, that is adherents of the Safavid order, enjoyed a great prestige in Ahmed's court. Cf. ULUÇAY, 1954a, p. 56-57. İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı even goes further depicting Prince Ahmed and his son Murad as leaders of the Qizilbash insurrection. Cf. UZUNÇARŞILI, 1995, p. 256.

Sultan Murad was the eldest of Ahmed's four sons.²⁰ The author of *Amasya Tarihi* writes that Sultan Ahmed arranged a celebration for the circumcision of his sons Murad and Alaeddin in 896 (1490-1491).²¹ We can assume therefore that at that time Murad was at an age between 6 and 10. He was governing the sub-province (*sanjak*) of Çorum when his father left Amasya in charge of suppressing the Shāhkulu rebellion. In the spring of the year 1511, Ahmed called him from Çorum to act as his proxy in Amasya.²² From then on, Sultan Murad de facto ruled the province of Rum until he went to Iran in the late spring or early summer of the year 1512.

Contemporary sources provide little information on Sultan Murad's earlier attitude against the rising Qizilbash agitation. Yet one may deduce from a short expression in one of the contemporary archival reports that he was not a friend of the Qizilbash. The letter of a certain Yusuf, one of the prominent spies of Selim in Anatolia, relates Murad's collaboration with the Qizilbash of the region. Yusuf reports that Sultan Murad released İsa Halife-oğlu, who was imprisoned by Murad himself when Sultan Ahmed left the region.²³ It is clear from the same report that İsa

²⁰ The others were Alaeddin, Süleyman, and Osman. Cf. HÜSEYİN HÜSAMEDDİN, 1927, p. 251.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 237.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 262; ULUÇAY, 1954b, p. 127.

²³ In the Topkapı Palace Archives (hereafter TPA), Istanbul, there are a number of intelligence reports sent by Yusuf to Sultan Selim. It is clear enough from these letters that Yusuf was one of the most prominent spies working for Selim in the court of Ahmed. Yusuf explains his own situation in a letter addressed to *Padişah-ı âlempenâh*, obviously Sultan Selim. In the beginning Yusuf explains that he had always been among the loyal servants of the Sultan; although he had been looking forward to joining Selim's suit, he could not yet find an opportunity to leave Ahmed's entourage. Yusuf says that at that time he was offered by Ahmed to inspect the situation of Qizilbash affairs in the province of Rum and the deeds of Sultan Murad; but he had not accepted this mission since he thought it might be a test of his loyalty, for he felt Sultan Ahmed was suspicious about his fidelity. As can be seen from the rest of his letter, Yusuf finally found an opportunity to leave Sultan Ahmed's camp: he joined a small army of 2,000 men dispatched to the province of Rum under the command of Sultan Süleyman, the younger son of Sultan Ahmed. Yusuf also states that he had already sent another letter with a certain Hüseyin, explaining his situation. The same Hüseyin returned with some orders of the Sultan (Selim), which were pursued prudently by Yusuf. Yusuf finishes his letter by explaining that although he was under the surveillance of Sultan Süleyman and his men, he was looking for an opportunity to escape. Upon finding a suitable way, he would immediately leave Ahmed's side and come to kiss Selim's feet. Unfortunately, the document is undated and Yusuf does not clarify the location of Sultan Ahmed, from where they set out for the province of Rum.

Halife-oğlu was one of the most prominent Qizilbash khalifas in the province of Rum. As will be discussed shortly, Murad did not only release him but formed a Qizilbash army relying on the latter's prestige in the region.²⁴

Although Yusuf's letter is not dated, Murad's cooperation with prominent Qizilbash khalifas must have taken place after the fall of the year 1511. It appears then that Murad imprisoned the most influential Qizilbash khalifa of the region in the spring of 1511, when his father had just departed from Amasya. One should keep in mind that at that time Ahmed was invited to join the imperial army, which was commissioned to suppress the Shāhkulu rebellion. More importantly, he was intended to succeed Bayezid II. As we surmise from Yusuf's letter, Murad's Qizilbash policy was suddenly reversed after the fall of the year 1511, when Ahmed was expelled from Istanbul.

As summarized above, on April 24, 1512, Selim took control of Istanbul. Thence, the central powers of the empire (i.e. the Janissaries, the imperial bureaucracy and the *ulemā*) quickly shifted to his side, leaving Ahmed in the position of a rebellious prince. Contemporary intelligence reports, mostly written by Selim's spies in Anatolia, reveal that following the enthronement of Selim I, most of the military in Ahmed's entourage – especially those enjoying high ranks in the Ottoman governmental system – started to seek ways of switching to Selim's side.²⁵ Against the

But his description of events suggests that it must have been written shortly after Selim's ascendance to the throne. It is clear from his report that Yusuf completed his mission at Ahmed's side and was looking for an opportunity to leave. Yusuf says Ahmed dispatched a force of 2,000 men to the province of Rum. But he does not clarify the reason. Their mission should not have been suppressing the Qizilbash insurgences in the region for its size is obviously less than enough. Taking into account these two points it seems reasonable to assume the date of this document is April-May 1512, when Sultan Ahmed was in Karaman. Cf. TPA E 5877.

²⁴ "... There was a man in Çorum called İsa Halife-oğlu who had been imprisoned by Sultan Murad when Sultan Ahmed left the region. [Now Murad] released [him- İsa Halife-oğlu]. He is one of the leaders [of Qizilbashes], the other being Davud Halife-oğlu, and all the sufis [Qizilbash] around İskilip either have gone or are going to their camp..." (cf. TPA E 7292; translations are mine unless otherwise stated).

²⁵ The letter of Mir-'alem Mustafa, who was a spy for Selim in Anatolia, clearly reflects the pessimistic atmosphere in Ahmed's court. Although the letter is not dated, the course of events related in the document makes it clear that it must have been written after Selim's succession and before his crossing to Anatolia, thus around May 1512. Mustafa says that most of the *sipāhīs* in Ahmed's army were staying there simply because of the fear that Ahmed might harm their families; they were awaiting an opportunity to join Selim's army. He further relates that a high officer in Ahmed's army was in secret communication with him, requesting his intervention to gain the forgiveness of Sultan Selim

resolute support of the Janissaries for Sultan Selim, as well as the increasing support of *sipāhis* and *akıncıs*, Ahmed's most reliable military supporters appeared as the tribal forces from central and southern Anatolia, who were at the same time somehow linked to the Qizilbash movement. Indeed we have evidence showing Ahmed's coalition with Turkoman tribes such as Turgutoğlu, Varsak, etc., already before losing his advantageous position. Following Selim's accession, however, he seems to have extended his cooperation even further to the Qizilbash insurgents against the Ottoman regime.

The radical change in Murad's Qizilbash policy therefore must have been directly related to Ahmed's search for military support against Selim. Indeed, contemporary Ottoman historians provide short but revealing accounts regarding the reasons why Murad adhered to the Qizilbash movements. A contemporary narrative source explains this relationship within a similar context of reasoning, though in a quite conspiratorial way.²⁶ It is argued in *Selim-nāme* that Murad's joining the Qizilbash community was a political tactic tailored at the court of Ahmed. Disturbed by his brother's accession, Ahmed sought to attain the support of Anatolian forces, both within and without the Ottoman military. His plan was first to establish a government in Anatolia and then march on Selim. On the other hand, the Shāhkulu revolt, alongside other developments, had clearly shown that the Qizilbashes of Anatolia had considerable military power. Ahmed sought to gain the support of this militia.²⁷

(cf. TPA E 2667). On the other hand, in his report on the deeds of Murad and the Qizilbashes of Rum, Yusuf, another spy for Selim, underlines that upon the corroboration of the prince with the Qizilbashes, his *paşas* were seeking ways to flee from Murad's suite (cf. TPA E 7292).

²⁶ *Selim-nāme*. Its author became the subject of dispute among scholars. According to Şehabettin Tekindağ, the author was Kemal Paşa-zāde. Although the content of this *Selim-nāme* and *Defter IX* of Kemal Paşa-zāde shows close similarity, the former includes some valuable details which are totally absent in the latter. Based on this fact, Tekindağ inclines toward accepting the idea that Kemal Paşa-zāde authored two separate works on the reign of Selim I (cf. TEKINDAĞ, 1970, p. 208-209). Ahmet Uğur notices that although the name of the author is not mentioned, the work is identical with the *Selim-nāme* by Sa'dī, preserved in Topkapı Sarayı, Revan, 1277. Uğur says that certain minor differences between the two works make it unlikely that Kemal Paşa-zāde could be the author of this work (Sa'dī b. Abdülmüte'āl wrote his *Selim-nāme* during the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent and his work has been translated in the framework of a doctoral dissertation; cf. SPEISER, 1946). Nevertheless, as Ahmet Uğur calls attention, the content of Sa'dī's work is derived from *Defter VIII* and *Defter IX* by Kemal Paşa-zāde (cf. UĞUR, 1985, p. 15). For the sake of caution, throughout the present study the work will be cited simply as "*Selimnāme*".

²⁷ *Selim-nāme* says: "Again his confidants suggested to him that it would be a clever

Celalzāde Mustafa follows a similar line of narration. To him, upon realizing that the soldiers and *sipāhīs* of Anatolia were compulsorily inclined to obey their *pādishāh* (Selim must be referred to here by the word *pādishāh*), Ahmed's confidants advised him to gain the support of the Qizilbash, who were numerous. According to the plan, one of his sons was to convert to the Qizilbash sect and to wear the *tāj* of the Shāh so that he would gather an army from among them. For this purpose Ahmed had his son Murad profess adherence to the Qizilbash sect, wearing their red head gear and abandoning the rituals of Islam.²⁸ Celalzāde emphasizes that the Qizilbash had already prepared their weapons and other necessary tools of war before this incident. On learning of Murad's conversion, the Safavid disciples of the region felt so pleased that in a couple of days more than 20,000 Qizilbash fighters gathered about him.²⁹

We have strong archival evidence showing that Murad's collaboration with the leading Qizilbash khalifas was indeed dominated by pragmatic concerns, which might well be regarded as a corollary of his father's policy of recruiting additional troops against Selim. A contemporary intelligence report housed in TPA sheds light on the issue. It is said here that during a drinking gathering (*sohbet-i hamr*), some of his trustees advised Murad to free İsa Halife-oğlu so that he could gather thousands of fighters without any expense. Murad pursued the idea. He freed İsa Halife-oğlu and made him one of his close men. Then they dispatched

move if he allowed the impression to be spread abroad that one of his sons revolted against him. He could then gather around himself the discontent and unruly elements, and thus two groups could be acting against Sultan Selim at the same time. Ahmed agreed to this and informed his son Murad, who was his deputy in Amasya, to pretend that he was in revolt; and when Murad did so, within a few days several thousand of Kızılbaş rallied to his side." Cited and quoted in UĞUR, 1985, p. 209.

²⁸ Fisher deduces from Italian sources that not only had Ahmed had his son Murad profess adherence to the Qizilbashes but he also married one of his daughters to Shāh Ismā'īl (cf. FISHER, 1948, p. 110). Nonetheless, Ottoman sources do not confirm this assertion.

²⁹ "Sultan Ahmed, then being in Anatolia, realized that the fortune of the kingship was sliding towards his adversary and the soldiers in Rumelia became totally obedient to Selim. As a solution, his advisors brought forward the idea that in this district (Vilāyet-i Rūm) there are countless Qizilbashes; if they had one of his [Ahmed's] sons to join in the Qizilbash movement and to wear the head gear (tāj) of the Shāh they could recruit quite a number of soldiers without expense so that they could oppose Selim's powerful army. Upon Sultan Ahmed's approval, they had his oldest son Sultan Murad profess Qizilbash belief, to put on the red head gear, and to abandon the rituals of Islam. When they heard this, the Qizilbashes of the region became so excited that they started to gather around him. In a couple of days the armed Qizilbash who were summoned numbered more than twenty thousand" (cf. CELĀL-ZĀDE MUSTAFA, *Selim-nāme*, p. 166).

messengers to khalifas in every corner of the province of Rum, ordering them to organize *sufis* (Qizilbashes) under their supervision. In this way they gathered thousands of armed Qizilbashes each day.³⁰ Murad's garnering of Qizilbash support, however, was not without price. In order to secure the allegiance of Safavid followers, he had to be initiated into the Qizilbash movement. Celalzāde Mustafa, a contemporary observer, and the archival evidence confirm that he did so. Murad's initiation was symbolized by wearing the *tāj* (red headgear) sent by Shāh Ismā'īl.³¹

The point should be made that while highlighting political concerns as stimulus of Murad's deeds, our sources remain silent on the religious nature of his Qizilbash affiliation. As indicated earlier, the Ottoman sources in general pursue the principle of shielding dynastic members from the Qizilbash ideals.³² Our archival sources, as well as contempo-

³⁰ The related part of the report reads: "Another news is that Sultan Murad released İsa Halife-oğlu from prison in Çorum and each day gathered one thousand Qizilbash around him, who were ready for his commands without any payment. He [Murad] really did as they spoke during a drinking party: he released him [İsa Halife-oğlu] and made one of his trustees; then he sent messengers to the Qizilbash leaders [khalifa] in the region explaining the situation and asking them to congregate in his camp. Then they [Qizilbashes] revealed their usual sectarian behavior [openly] and started to curse the companions of the Prophet, to rob and kill people..." (cf. TPA E 6522). Yusuf's above-mentioned intelligence report relates events in similar terms. Yusuf too underlines that after freeing İsa Halife-oğlu, Murad moved together with him and with other prominent khalifas of the region. Murad dispatched couriers to nearby regions and gathered Qizilbashes around him (cf. TPA E 7292).

³¹ The above-mentioned anonymous intelligence report, for instance, clearly states that "Sultan Murad wore the Qizilbash *tāj* and recruited soldiers from among the Qizilbashes of the region." (TPA E 6522).

³² The archival documents used in this study were produced in the course of the events, while the ultimate victor of the struggle had not yet been determined. Thus, their account stands closer to historical reality. In the meantime, one should keep in mind that the extant documents are reports by Selim's supporters; thus they bear a noteworthy pre-Selim attitude in reporting contemporary events. Without doubt, the picture would be rather perfect if we could resort to intelligence reports of Ahmed's supporters, which must have been produced but are unfortunately not available to us. As supporters of Selim's party in the civil war, our reporters paid special attention to amplifying the banditry of Murad's Qizilbash forces (or rather his Qizilbash allies). By doing so, they obviously aimed to erode the legitimate ground of Ahmed's dynastic claims. Besides their biased attitude, however, there is no reason to doubt the veracity of the narrative accounts they provide with. However, the narrative sources must be treated more carefully. Differing from archival documents, these narratives were written after the civil war. Furthermore, they were written by chief bureaucrats, whose main concern was to enforce the legitimate ground of Selim's rule. As a natural result, these works were oriented to "sanctify" Selim's struggle on the one hand, and to prove the falseness of Ahmed's claim on the other. One should remember that, after defeating Ahmed, Selim executed all male members of the dynastic line except his own son Süleyman. As indicated earlier, *Selim-nāmes* were written primarily

rary narratives, seem to follow this principle. The two groups of sources both clearly emphasize political motives in assessing Murad's involvement in the Qizilbash movement. Nevertheless, they are quite careful in camouflaging the religious implications of Murad's action.

SULTAN MURAD ON HIS OWN

As discussed above, Murad's interest in the Qizilbash movement was initially approved, if not encouraged, by his father. Nevertheless, regarding how to deal with the Qizilbash forces, Ahmed and Murad soon fell into conflict. Upon realizing the fact that a connection with the Qizilbash movement was damaging his popularity in the eyes of the Sunni population, Sultan Ahmed not only broke his tacit alliance with the Qizilbash forces but also turned against them. As will be delineated, he did not even hesitate to engage in an open clash with the insurgents. Ahmed also called Murad back to join his suite. On the other hand, Murad strongly believed in the necessity of the Qizilbash support in order to win the dynastic struggle. Murad's disagreement with his father seems closely related to Selim's official ascension to the throne, which gave him a virtual control over the central powers, as well as Rumelian timariots and *akıncı* troops. Contrary to his father, Murad must have realized that the Anatolian military resources of the empire would not suffice to defeat Selim.

Hence, by April 1512 at the latest, we can see two separate political and military formations against Selim's suzerainty. On one side, Sultan Ahmed continued his opposition relying mainly on his close circles from Amasya and tribal forces from central and southern Anatolia. On the other side, Sultan Murad counted totally on Shāh Ismā'īl's support, expecting victory with the help of Qizilbash forces. As will be discussed below, Murad also tried to persuade his father to accept an alliance with

to justify Selim's deeds in the course of the civil war. Hence, they recognizably attempt to frame activities of Murad (as principal supporter of Ahmed) as rebels or as betraying the established Ottoman order and traditional values. On the other hand, one should keep in mind that the writers of these narrative histories were high ranking bureaucrats who had served under Selim I and his son Süleyman I. Hence the suggestion that they had access to the earlier spy reports and developed their stories on them should be considered seriously. If this was the case, though we have no evidence for such a connection, the ultimate source of the contemporary events appears as the abovementioned spy reports. Anyhow, these narrative sources provide us with valuable information, which is absent in archival documents.

Shāh Ismā'īl. However, the latter refused this offer even in his most hopeless situation.³³

During Ahmed's absence in the province of Rum, the Qizilbash agitation gained impetus, climaxing in the spring of the year 1512. The Qizilbash movement in the region was organized under two leaderships: on the one hand, Sultan Murad and some important Qizilbash khalifas such as İsa Halife-oğlu and Kara İskender led the Qizilbash forces in the Çorum-Amasya-İskilip region. On the other hand, Nur Ali Halife, commissioned directly by Shāh Ismā'īl, organized the Qizilbashes of Tokat and Sivas. Although the two wings held a meeting in Niksar, near Tokat, they did not merge but again diverged, pursuing different trajectories.

Shortly after releasing İsa Halife-oğlu, Murad seems to have been compelled to follow a Qizilbash agenda. Apart from wearing the Qizilbash *tāj*, contemporary spy reports related him as having a central role in organizing the Qizilbash uprisings in the Çorum-Amasya-İskilip region.³⁴ The above-mentioned anonymous report argues that Murad was converted to the Qizilbash sect by the inducement of Kara İskender. After becoming Qizilbash, Murad gathered more than 10,000 armed men. The same report makes the point that they were indeed gathering under the command of İsa Halife-oğlu rather than Murad himself; and their number was increasing day by day.³⁵

Yusuf's report, which was most probably composed in late April or early May of 1512, relates events in a quite similar way. According to him, Murad sent messengers to surrounding cities and recruited fighters.

³³ According to Ottoman narrative sources, the Qizilbashes gathered around Murad committed so many injustices and outrages against the people of the region that Ahmed feared to lose his popular support. Hence, he renounced Qizilbashes and ordered Murad to rid himself of them. However, at that point Murad was no longer a sincere follower of his father. Rather he consulted with a certain Kara İskender, one of the leading Qizilbash khalifas in the region. Kara İskender expressed the view that the people would follow those leaders who held power, which Sultan Ahmed no longer had. Therefore, it was only to Shāh Ismā'īl that the people could turn for refuge (CELÂL-ZÂDE MUSTAFA, *op. cit.*, p. 210). Celalzâde's account seems similar but contains valuable details. In his version, when Murad asked them to help his father, the leaders of the Qizilbash army said that they offered their allegiance since he (Murad) had put on the *tāj-ı Shāhî* and chosen the Qizilbash path; likewise, they could move only with the permission of Shāh Ismā'īl. The Qizilbash leaders suggested Murad to start with going to the Shāh and receive his authorization; if the Shāh should approve, then they would provide support to him and his father. Accordingly, they set off for Iran (*ibid.*, p. 167). As indicated above (fn 32), however, these accounts must be treated critically.

³⁴ Again this assertion of Selim's spies must be treated with suspicion.

³⁵ Cf. TPA E 6522. This document also states that after pillaging many villages and killing many people, these rebels gathered in the plain of Geldigelen to the south of Amasya.

Within five or six days, more than 10,000 men gathered in Geldigelen. Yusuf's report also reveals that some prominent dignitaries of the region too received the Qizilbash *tāj* and joined Murad's entourage. An interesting detail recorded in this report must be mentioned here. Yusuf relates that Murad sent a *tāj* to the qadi of Amasya ordering him to wear it. Upon receiving the *tāj*, the qadi said "*this is a royal order (emr-i pādishāhī) so let me put it on*" and he wore the *tāj*.³⁶ By emphasizing this event, Yusuf underlines the fact that Murad constituted a serious threat to Selim's rule.

As understood from these two reports, Sultan Murad was in Amasya while Qizilbashes were gathering in Geldigelen. The anonymous report also says that another 20,000 armed men gathered in Amasya. They entered the city by expelling religious scholars (*hocalar*) and commanders (*paşalar*). After killing a great many people, these Qizilbashes with Sultan Murad moved to Geldigelen.³⁷

Murad assigned Kara İskender as governor of İskilip. The inhabitants of the city were then terrorized; some of them fled to mountains and others took shelter in the fortress of the city. Both documents underline that the Qizilbash activities created great horror and distress among the people of the region, who sent messengers to Sultan Ahmed for help. Upon hearing about the situation, Sultan Ahmed dispatched an army of 10,000 soldiers under the command of Davud Pasha and Kızıl Ahmed-oğlu.³⁸ In the meantime, Qizilbash bands moved towards Sivas. They also sent a messenger to the Shāh.³⁹ Both documents state that their intention was to march on Alaüddevle, the Dulkadir ruler.⁴⁰

³⁶ Cf. TPA E 7292.

³⁷ "...More than twenty thousand Qizilbashes gathered in Amasya; they killed a number of people among the religious scholars and the adherents of the Halvetī sufi brotherhood. They took Sultan Murad to Geldigelen. There too they engaged in great banditry. They captured the city repelling the scholars and generals..." (Cf. TPA E 6522). Again, the banditry of Murad's forces is intentionally highlighted by the spy. Both the anonymous report and Yusuf's letter record that on their way to Geldigelen, Murad and his Qizilbash contingents encountered the qadi of Çorum. According to the anonymous report, he was killed while Yusuf says he was robbed and one of his hands was cut off by Qizilbashes (cf. TPA E 6522 and TPA E 7292).

³⁸ The anonymous reporter says Ahmed's army was on the way at that time.

³⁹ "...And he gave İskilip to Kara İskender. The inhabitants are frightened, some taking refuge in the castle, others fleeing into the mountains. They sent messengers to Sultan Ahmed demanding help. The latter, then, dispatched an army under the command of Davud Paşa-oğlu and Kızıl Ahmed-oğlu, which is now on its way. This is the news that Nebi Halife related. And the Qizilbash troops have arrived at Sivas, setting on fire the towns along their way, and sent a messenger to the Shāh..." (cf. TPA E 6522).

⁴⁰ Cf. TPA E 6522 and TPA E 7292.

According to these intelligence reports, Murad's activities in the province of Rum seem to have been pillage-oriented. This representation, however, contradicts the initial framework set by the very same sources. The deepest reason forcing Murad to coalesce with the Qizilbash of Rum was the need to recruit additional fighters against Selim. His primary goal was to defeat Selim's party. So, it does not make sense to devastate towns and terrorize people for someone whose primary goal was to become their ruler. Therefore, we must be skeptical of the exaggerated account of these reports.

If to turn back to the narrative account of events, Ahmed's army encountered a branch of Qizilbash forces commanded by Kara İskender. This was the first middle-scale army sent by Ahmed against the Qizilbash. Although *Selim-nāme* says that Kara İskender was slain during this battle, it is evidently not true since we see him appear in the following events.⁴¹ In the meantime, it is highly possible that the Qizilbash were defeated. On hearing this, Murad did not go to join his father but moved instead towards Tokat, which was captured by Nur Ali Halife. Contemporary spy reports confirm *Selim-nāme*'s account. It is recorded that although Sultan Ahmed sent several orders to Prince Murad to come and join his forces,⁴² Murad did not comply with this order, stating: "*I have works to do here.*"⁴³ Though not dated, the content of this letter makes it clear that it must have been written in May or June 1512.⁴⁴ Putting the two accounts together, it appears that after assigning Kara İskender to the governorship of İskilip, Murad set off for Sivas sometime in May 1512. Remembering that Tokat lies on the road from İskilip to Sivas, *Selim-nāme*'s account seems to be quite compatible with the archival evidence. Kara İskender must have moved behind Murad for he would soon appear near Sivas. One may surmise from the above-mentioned archival and narrative sources that following Selim's ascendance,

⁴¹ *Selim-nāme* also records that shortly before this event, Shāh Ismā'īl had dispatched troops under the command of Nur Ali Halife, who placed Tokat under siege (cf. CELÂL-ZÂDE MUSTAFA, *op. cit.*, p. 210).

⁴² At that time Ahmed was in Konya fortifying his forces against Selim's upcoming march into Anatolia.

⁴³ It is recorded in the report of Mir-âlem Mustafa, one of Selim's spies in Anatolia, that "*If you ask about Sultan Murad, he refused several orders of his father [Ahmed] to come and join his suite, arguing 'I have works to do here.'*" (cf. TPA E 2667).

⁴⁴ Mir-âlem Mustafa's explanations clearly reveals that at that time Selim had already ascended to the throne but had not yet crossed to Anatolia. He advises Selim not to delay crossing to Anatolia, since otherwise Ahmed would ruin Bursa (cf. *ibid.*).

the disagreement between Ahmed and Murad regarding their opposition strategy became irreversible.

According to *Selim-nāme*, Murad and Nur Ali Halife met in Kazova, near Tokat, and they together went to the Shāh.⁴⁵ It is also recorded, though vaguely, in a letter written to Selim by a certain Hacı Kemal, that Sultan Murad met with Nur Ali Halife and inclined towards the East, i.e. the country of the Shāh.⁴⁶ Again *Selim-nāme*'s account goes hand in hand with the archival evidence except for its last assertion. As will be evaluated below, Murad moved towards Iran through the region of Sivas while Nur Ali Halife stayed in the province of Rum for some further months. As Uluçay notes, while in the vicinity of Sivas, Murad wrote a letter to Ahmed suggesting his father to take refuge in the country of the Shāh.⁴⁷ The course of events suggests that Murad arrived in Iran in the late spring of the year 1512, most probably in May.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Cf. CELĀL-ZĀDE MUSTAFA, *op. cit.*, p. 210. It is explained in the following paragraph that at this time Selim was waiting for the arrival of his son, Süleyman, from Kefe. When Süleyman arrived, Selim left him in Istanbul as his deputy, and immediately set out for Ankara. Selim crossed to Anatolia on July 29, 1512.

⁴⁶ Hacı Kemal reports that he learned about this event from a letter from the governor of Sivas: "...At the present time, we received a letter from the governor of Sivas saying that Sultan Murad with Nur Ali Halife and the messenger of the Qizilbash [Shāh Ismā'il] had already set out for the East [Iran]..." At the end of his letter Hacı Kemal, possibly a spy for Selim, urges Selim to cross Anatolia as soon as possible. Therefore, it must have been written before July 29, 1512. The letter is partly published in ULUÇAY, 1954b, p. 130. Uluçay gives the catalog number of this document in TPA as E 2667. Nevertheless, E 2667 is the letter of Mir-ālem Mustafa, which is cited above. Furthermore, throughout his three articles Uluçay refers to a number of different documents under the same catalog number E 2667 (ULUÇAY, 1954a, 1954b, 1955). It is highly probable that when he was studying in the TPA a cluster of documents were catalogued under E 2667. Some time later, however, these documents must have been recorded under different numbers except Mir-ālem Mustafa's letter.

⁴⁷ ULUÇAY, 1954b, p. 131.

⁴⁸ *Ahsanu't-tevārih* by Hasan-i Rumlu, a Safavid narrative written in the second half of the 16th century, states that Murad – along with 10,000 Qizilbashes – met Nur Ali Khalifa in Kaz Çayırı after the latter had captured Tokat and read the *hutbe*, the Friday prayer religious sermon, in the name of the Shāh. They together turned back to Tokat. But this time the townspeople resisted the Qizilbash forces. Then the Qizilbashes set the city on fire and went to Niksar. Hasan-i Rumlu says that in Niksar Murad left Nur Ali and went to the realm of the Shāh (cf. HASAN-I RURLU, *A Chronicle of the Early Safawīs*, p. 63). Murad must have followed the way through Sivas. But before arriving in Sivas, in Artukābād a serious disagreement arose among the Qizilbashes in his camp. Yahya Pehlivan and Dev Ali suggested going to the Shāh while Kara İskender advocated going to Dulkadiroğlu Alaüddevlü Beg. The two groups clashed with each other. It was rumored that after this fight, Yahya Pehlivan and Dev Ali died (cf. ULUÇAY, 1954b, p. 130). The rest of the Qizilbashes moved eastward. In his report dated May 17, 1512, Sultan Musa, the son of Prince Mahmud, one of Bayezid II's already deceased sons, and the governor

In the last phase of his career, Sultan Murad acted as a man of Shāh Ismā‘īl rather than Sultan Ahmed’s ally. The available evidence reveals that Shāh Ismā‘īl also had his own agenda regarding Ottoman Anatolia. Certainly he intended to intervene in the Ottoman dynastic struggle for his own benefit. Nevertheless, due to the Uzbek trouble in the eastern front of his empire, he would never have a chance to make enough investment on the Ottoman front, which was then ideally suited for Safavid interference. Yet he always kept an eye on Anatolia, resorting to every possible means to mobilize his disciples there.⁴⁹ In his western policy, Shāh Ismā‘īl seems to have tailored a significant role for Sultan Murad. The latter also willingly accepted this role for he believed that the only way to contest Selim would be through acquiring Ismā‘īl’s support. Consequently, during the later phase of his career Sultan Murad almost completely lost the initiative, becoming more or less a “puppet” in the hands of Shāh Ismā‘īl.

Shāh Ismā‘īl’s incapacity to interfere in the Ottoman civil war effectively was reported to Selim by Şādi Beg, an Ottoman governor in the eastern provinces, and Mamay, the Mamluk governor of Malatya-Divriği.⁵⁰ In his letter,⁵¹ Şādi Beg reports that Shāh Ismā‘īl, after dispatching some of his troops to Khorasan,⁵² sent Dev Ali⁵³ and Sultan Murad

of Kastamonu, reported this event to Selim as follows: “[at the time] *Murad Beg and the brigands he gathered arrived in Artukābād. [There a fierce dispute ensued among the Qizilbash.] Kara İskender, a friend of Murad, was in favor of marching on Alaüddeve, while Pehlivan Yahya and Dev Ali, two other prominent Qizilbash khalifas, advocated going directly to the Shāh. At the end, a fierce fight broke out between the two sides. Kara İskender managed to eliminate his rivals by decapitating Pehlivan Yahya and Dev Ali. Shortly afterwards, the Qizilbashs were attacked by Murad Han, the son-in-law of Alaüddeve Beg, leaving many heads behind.*” (cf. *ibid.*, p. 132). Again, Uluçay gives the catalog number of this document as E 2667, which is not accurate at least in the present stage of the TPA catalogue). After killing Pehlivan Yahya and Dev Ali, Kara İskender subdued the other Qizilbash group as well. Sultan Murad must have sett off for Iran after this occasion.

⁴⁹ In one of his letters housed in TPA, Shāh Ismā‘īl instructs Turgutoğlu Musa, who was at the same time one of the confidants of Sultan Ahmed, how to behave. Cf. TPA E 5460. For a discussion of this letter, cf. YILDIRIM, 2008, p. 465-469.

⁵⁰ ULUÇAY, 1954b, p. 123; BACQUÉ-GRAMMONT, 1987, p. 39.

⁵¹ Although the date of the letter is not specified, the context of the events suggests that it was most probably written between December 1512 and January 1513. Cf. BACQUÉ-GRAMMONT, 1987, p. 31.

⁵² In November 1512, a Safavid army under the command of *vākil* Amīr Najm, who was killed in the battlefield, was defeated by Uzbeks in Gac-Davān. Ismā‘īl then sent supplementary troops to secure his eastern borders. For further reading, cf. HASAN-I RUMLU, *op. cit.*, p. 60-62; BACQUÉ-GRAMMONT, 1987, p. 30.

⁵³ This is evidently not the same Dev Ali who quarreled with Kara İskender and was

towards Ottoman territories in order to capture the country of Rum. In the meantime, the Shāh himself turned towards Isfahan to spend the winter. Nevertheless, on hearing of the defeat of his troops in Khorasan (by the Uzbeks), he proceeded towards this front.⁵⁴ As understood from this letter, concomitant to Selim's accession, Shāh Ismā'īl embarked on an offensive on the western front under the command of Dev Ali. Nevertheless, he was somewhat diffident in his offensive since he had to keep his main forces in the eastern borders.⁵⁵

The letter of Mamay narrates the events in the same way adding some important details. According to him, Shāh Ismā'īl's decision to send troops toward Anatolia was mostly due to Sultan Murad's advice. Murad convinced the Shāh that the eastern parts of Rum (Anatolia) were ready to switch to their side. Another detail recorded in Mamay's letter, absent in other sources, is that when Dev Ali and Murad arrived in Said Çuhuru with 1,000 men, they learnt that Selim had crossed to Anatolia with an imperial army. Then they decided not to go to Rum, and wrote a letter describing the situation to the Shāh, who ordered them to stay where they were.⁵⁶ Consequently, the

killed in Artukābād. He must instead be the famous general of Shāh Ismā'īl who was governing the north-western provinces at the time.

⁵⁴ Cf. TPA E 6478/2. Şādi Beg's letter clearly puts Shāh Ismā'īl's inability to actively interfere in Ottoman affairs. In his letter to Selim, Şādi Beg reports that although the voice of the Shāh was seemingly loud, there was no need to fear, because his troops were divided into several fronts: some were in Khorasan, some in Baghdad, some in Diyarbekir, and some on the border of Rum under Dev Ali's command. None of these troops could leave their places and help the other since they were exposed to enemies on each front. The Shāh himself was wandering between fronts with his special forces. At the end of his report, Şādi Beg puts forward his own idea that if the news of the advent of Sultan Selim should be heard, then all the enemies would disperse. The whole text of this document with its facsimile copy is published by J.-L. Bacqué-Grammont (1987, p. 32-35). Also cf. BACQUÉ-GRAMMONT, 1971.

⁵⁵ Şādi Beg says that Shāh Ismā'īl warned Dev Ali that if he should hear about the advent of Sultan Selim then he was not to enter Anatolia but wait for him (Ismā'īl). Otherwise, Dev Ali and Murad were to go down to Anatolia and conquer lands in the name of the Shāh. Şādi Beg also reports that Shāh Ismā'īl had already allocated the provinces of Anatolia to his confidants, all of whom were included in the Qizilbash army under the command of Dev Ali. In this distribution, Sultan Murad was appointed as the *beylerbey* of Anatolia. Cf. TPA E 6478/2.

⁵⁶ The related part of this letter reads: "...for the moment the news from this side is as follows: your humble servitor [Mamay] had sent a couple of men [for intelligence purposes] to Shāh Ismā'īl's country; they now returned and reported the events as follows: 'We encountered Shāh Ismā'īl in Gök Kavak, from where he proceeded to Isfahān and then returned. Then, on the suggestion of Sultan Murad who convinced the Shāh that the eastern side of Rum was ready to switch to their side, he [Shāh Ismā'īl] sent troops under Dev Ali and Sultan Murad towards the Ottoman borders. Upon hearing of the Majesty's [Selim's] crossing to Anatolia, they stopped in Said Çuhuri, sending messengers to the

Qizilbashes of Erzincan and Bayburd⁵⁷ maintained their position and watched over Selim's movement. Meanwhile, they sent letters and messengers to the Qizilbashes living in the Ottoman side promising them to come in the next spring. The Qizilbash propagandists were spreading the news that the Shāh himself was in preparation to march over Anatolia as well as calling them to take necessary precautions for a great advent (*hurūc*).⁵⁸

Keeping his forces on the Ottoman border, Shāh Ismā'īl wrote a letter to Ahmed advising him to go to Rum and wait for his help, which would soon arrive. In the meantime, he assured Ahmed that his troops under the command of Dev Ali were ready to provide any support whenever he (Ahmed) needed.⁵⁹ As we learn from another contemporary report, Sultan Murad also sent a letter that reached Ahmed near Sivas, when the latter was in search of asylum under heavy pressure from Sultan Selim. Murad was advising his father to join the Qizilbash army waiting in Erzincan. In his letter, Murad also promised an army of 20,000 soldiers committed to march until Üsküdar. Ahmed, however, refused Ismā'īl's protection and tore Murad's letter apart on the spot.⁶⁰ Yet, Şādi Beg records that

Shāh to ask what to do. In return, the Shāh ordered them to wait there without any further move. [It was because of that] since Keçebaş [Uzbeks] defeated a Safavid army in the eastern front, Shāh Ismā'īl dispatched his main forces to Khorasan. There were only two thousand men left in his court." Cf. TPA E 8758. The whole text of the document is published in BACQUÉ-GRAMMONT, 1987, p. 40-41.

⁵⁷ At the time, these cities were included in Safavid territories.

⁵⁸ Şādi Beg says that they sent a messenger to the Çepni tribe living in the province of Trebizond as well. The Qizilbashes of this region even intended to capture Trebizond by way of banditry. He also describes the difficult situation of Torul fortress, near Trebizond. He says that although they stocked provisions some time ago, they could not provide any additional supplies as transportation to the city was cut off by Qizilbashes. The food in the fortress was about to finish. Ottoman soldiers could not go out of the fortress either. As a last note, Şādi Beg adds that some of Murad's confidants fled from his suite and reached Trebizond through Georgia. Cf. TPA E 6478/2. TPA E 6672 also indicates Qizilbash activities in Torul. According to this document, the son of the ex-governor of Torul and his father's tutor Yahya, who also had a *timār* in Torul, managed to convert most of the population into the Qizilbash movement.

⁵⁹ Cf. TPA E 6478/2.

⁶⁰ The original letter is obviously not available for examination. The above information is derived from another contemporary letter from Şükrullah, the son of famous İdris-i Bitlisi. Şükrullah's letter is addressed to Selim. In the beginning he says that at the moment he was in Ahmed's camp in Divriği, southeast of Sivas. So it is safe to assume that Şükrullah reports the event as an eyewitness. The relevant part of the letter reads, "...When he was near Sivas, he [Ahmed] received a letter from his son Sultan Murad saying that the Shāh had reserved twenty thousand troops for his [Murad's] and Dev Ali's command to invade Anatolia up until Üsküdar [in the Anatolian shore of the straits just opposite Istanbul]. [Murad's letter then continues addressing his father Ahmed] 'Come and join us in Erzincan!' Sultan Ahmed, in turn, tore apart the letter and did not incline to this side...". Cf. TPA E 7052.

when he went down to eastern Anatolia in the late summer, just weeks later, Ahmed sent a messenger to Dev Ali to demand military aid reminding him of Ismā'īl's promise. The answer of Dev Ali, however, was not affirmative. He said that it was the strict order of the Shāh that they were not to enter Rum⁶¹ while Selim was in Anatolia.⁶² At the same time, Dev Ali sent the messenger of Ahmed with his letter to the Shāh and requested the royal instructions.⁶³ Indeed, this promise, if it was ever made, would never have been fulfilled. Ahmed lost his life after a bloody battle with Selim in Yenişehir on April 15, 1513.⁶⁴

Even after the execution of Ahmed, Murad continued to challenge Selim with the support of the Shāh. Meanwhile, Shāh Ismā'īl's interest in Anatolia, especially those regions densely populated by his followers, by no means lessened. A Safavid chronicle affirms Ismā'īl's intention to employ Murad in order to strengthen his power in Anatolia. According to *Tārīkh-i Īlchī-yi Nizāmshāh*, Ismā'īl's plan was to use Murad to provoke a rebellion against Selim. For this purpose, Qizilbash troops under Dev Sultan and Muhammed Han Ustaclu escorted Murad to Sivas. Nonetheless, since no support for him materialized, this plan was abandoned. Before the end of the year 1513, Murad gave up the struggle against Selim and returned to Iran, where he was granted asylum by Shāh Ismā'īl.⁶⁵

Sultan Murad's last days are obscured in our sources. Basing on the fact that neither Ottoman nor Safavid sources mention him in the context of the Çaldıran campaign, one may assume that he died in Iran before August 1514.⁶⁶ Ottoman chronicles present two distinctive lines of narration regarding the end of Murad in the Safavid realm: some say that he was killed by the Shāh on his arrival, while some others argue that he died in Iran three or four years after his arrival. According to *Selim-nāme*,

⁶¹ In this content, "Rum" refers to the Ottoman lands.

⁶² Ismā'īl's caution must have been due to the fact that an important portion of his army was busy on the eastern front.

⁶³ Cf. TPA E 6478/2.

⁶⁴ Cf. ULUÇAY, 1955, p. 197; YILDIRIM, 2008, p. 499. Hasan-i Rumlu mistakenly argues that following Selim's decisive victory over Ahmed, Murad took refuge with the Shāh. As shown above, Murad arrived at Shāh Ismā'īl's court almost one year before this event. Cf. HASAN-I RUMLU, *op. cit.*

⁶⁵ Cited in SAVORY, 1965, p. 82.

⁶⁶ Hasan-i Rumlu mentions Murad among those who died in H 918 (1512-1513). However his account is somewhat ambiguous. His main entry is indeed the death of Bayazid II. He mentions Selim's accession to the throne and Murad's fled to Iran as well as his death there as consequent events. It is not clear, thus, whether this took place in the same year. Cf. HASAN-I RUMLU, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

after meeting Nur Ali Halife in Kazova, Murad and his entourage headed towards Iran. On his arrival, however, Shāh Ismā‘īl, who was fearing that the troops were rendering obedience to Murād rather than himself, had him killed.⁶⁷ As discussed earlier, however, this assertion is not true. Yet the death of Murad might still have been at the hands of the Shāh in the following year. Indeed, archival evidence from the second half of the 16th century supports this assumption. In an entry in the Registers of Important Affairs (*Mühimme Defterleri*) dating from 1565, Murad was reported as executed by Shāh Ismā‘īl.⁶⁸ Safavid court historian Hasan-i Rumlu, on the other hand, argues that he died a natural death.⁶⁹ Nasrullah Falsafī, a modern Iranian scholar, writes that Shāh Ismā‘īl appointed him as governor of the province of Fars. However, Murad died on his way, in Isfahan, and were buried there.⁷⁰

CONCLUSION

As discussed above, contemporary Ottoman narrative sources regard Murad’s conversion to Qizilbashism as a purely political maneuver to gain military support from among Qizilbash fighters. The archival evidence, however, has further implications. Our analysis showed that Murad’s involvement in the Qizilbash movement went far beyond fulfilling a solely tactical plan tailored by his father. Instead, since the early stages of his cooperation with leading Qizilbash khalifas, he seems to have developed his own strategy, which soon fell into conflict with that of his father. He seems to have believed in the necessity of Shāh Ismā‘īl’s support to achieve a victory against Selim.

⁶⁷ CELÂL-ZÂDE MUSTAFA, *op. cit.*, p. 210. Celalzâde follows the same argument on this issue. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 167.

⁶⁸ Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives, 5 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri, p. 39, entry 94. These registers are compilations of the copies of imperial orders issued by the Imperial Council (*Divân-ı Humâyûn*) in the name of the Sultan. This order is addressed to the governor of Van. It mentions a former report of the governor relating that when Murad Hân was executed by the Qizilbash (i.e., Shāh Ismā‘īl) one of his sons with some troops managed to escape to the Ottoman lands and engaged in banditry there. The governor is ordered to continue to watch their unlawful acts and keep the Sultan up to date.

⁶⁹ Cf. HASAN-İ RUMLU, *op. cit.*, p. 64. For the death of Murad, cf. also İDRİS-İ BİTLİSİ, *Selim Şâh-nâme*, p. 115; HOCA SADETTİN EFENDİ, *Tacü’-t-Tevarih*, p. 165-166; GELİBOLULU MUSTAFA ALİ, *Kitabu’t-Tarih-i Künhü’l-Ahbar*, p. 1068-1069; SOLAKZÂDE MEHMET HEMDEMİ ÇELEBİ, *Solakzâde Tarihi*, p. 13; MÜNECCİMBÂŞI AHMED DEDE, *Sahaif-ül-Ahbar fî Vekayi-ül-a’sâr*, p. 456. The latter four sources point out that Murad fled to Ismā‘īl and died in Persia after three or four years.

⁷⁰ FALSAFİ, 2011, p. 79. Falsafī, however, does not specify his source.

More enigmatic in Murad's career is his involvement in the religious aspects of the Qizilbash movement. For obvious reasons, contemporary Ottoman historians and even official documents are inclined to play down the religious aspects of Murad's Qizilbash affiliation. One would expect that it was among the concerns of the Ottoman writers, either historians or official reporters, to conceal the adherence of an Ottoman prince to the Qizilbash sect, a religio-mystical path which was officially proclaimed "heresy". In the meantime, Safavid accounts, though containing meager information on this issue, also focus on the political and military aspects, leaving us no clue as to the religio-ideological nature of Murad's Qizilbash affiliation. For the moment, we know definitely that he put the Qizilbash *tāj* on his head. No doubt, this act symbolized the pledge of loyalty to Shāh Ismā'īl, if not initiation into the Qizilbash religious path. However, the available sources do not permit us to clarify to what extent Murad involved himself in the Qizilbash religious ideals.

This article has scrutinized Sultan Murad's career chiefly within the framework of Ottoman domestic politics. Nevertheless, the point must be made as a concluding remark that during his last years Sultan Murad became an important instrument of international politics as well. Shāh Ismā'īl, who had a great number of disciples in and plans on Ottoman Anatolia (Rum), naturally sought to use Sultan Murad as an effective weapon to crack Ottoman rule. In that respect, one may deem Sultan Murad as an eastern counterpart of Cem Sultan. Indeed, Murad's political choices and the state of Ottoman domestic politics created a rather favorable situation for a Safavid attack on Rum. Thanks to the Uzbek assault on the eastern front of the Safavid Empire that saved the Ottomans from a serious blow from Shāh Ismā'īl, who could dispatch only a small-scale vanguard instead of mobilizing a full-scale invasion.

These skirmishes might well be regarded as heralds of an ultimate clash between Sultan Selim and Shāh Ismā'īl. The Qizilbash insurrections during the civil war, which attracted even Ottoman princes, proved the strength of Shāh Ismā'īl's propaganda in the Ottoman domains. Consequently, Sultan Selim developed the belief that cleansing the homeland from Qizilbash elements was a matter of life or death. As a matter of fact, after executing Ahmed, he immediately began preparations for an eastern campaign, as well as launching a ruthless wave of execution against Qizilbash subjects. Increasing tension between the two rulers climaxed in August 1514 on the plain of Çaldıran, where Sultan Murad was absent.

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Rıza YILDIRIM, *Un prince ottoman portant un tāj qizilbash: la carrière énigmatique de Sultan Murad et les affaires qizilbash dans la politique intérieure ottomane, 1510-1513*

Une fois au pouvoir, Shāh Ismā‘īl entreprit une lutte acharnée contre l’Empire ottoman. Dans le cadre officiel établi par les oulémas et les bureaucrates ottomans, les *qizilbash* étaient représentés comme des hérétiques sectaires menaçant le droit chemin de l’islam et l’unité des musulmans tandis que la dynastie ottomane se voyait attribuer le rôle de champion de la lutte anti-*qizilbash*, donc celui de patron des musulmans sunnites. L’article remet en question cette approche en examinant la carrière politique d’un prince ottoman important, Sultan Murad, dont l’affiliation au mouvement *qizilbash* est évidente. Il entend que la dynastie ottomane ne fut absolument pas épargnée par le mouvement *qizilbash*.

Rıza YILDIRIM, *An Ottoman Prince Wearing a Qizilbash Tāj: the Enigmatic Career of Sultan Murad and Qizilbash Affairs in Ottoman Domestic Politics, 1510-1513*

When he rose to power, Shāh Ismā‘īl inaugurated a fierce struggle against the Ottoman Empire. In the official framework established by the Ottoman ulemā and bureaucrats, Qizilbashes were pictured as sectarian heretics threatening the true way of Islam and the unity of Muslims while Ottoman dynasty was promoted as the champion of anti-Qizilbash fight, thus the patron of Sunni Muslims. This article challenges this approach through examining the political career of a prominent Ottoman prince, Sultan Murad, whose Qizilbash affiliation is evident. It argues that the Ottoman dynasty was by no means immune to the Qizilbash movement.

THE PRINCELY VIRTUES AS PRESENTED IN OTTOMAN POLITICAL AND MORAL LITERATURE

A new interest in Ottoman political thought has arisen lately in the field, as scholars begin to see the necessity for a new comprehensive study of this important subject.¹ Although most basic texts have already been studied, we still have to build a new synthesis, on the one hand taking into account political praxis and ideological currents, on the other comprising not only *stricto sensu* political theorists but also works of jurisprudence, administration or morality. In this paper I will take up the subject of Ottoman notions of ethics as a source for the development of political theory; more specifically, I will try to explore the notion of the virtues demanded for the king in various works and periods.²

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¹ A first draft of this paper was presented in the 19th CIEPO Symposium (Van, July 26-30, 2010). I wish to thank all the participants in the session for their remarks and ideas.

² Cf. H. T. KARATEKE, “Legitimizing the Ottoman Sultanate: a Framework for Historical Analysis,” in H. T. KARATEKE, M. REINKOWSKI (eds), *Legitimizing the Order: the Ottoman Rhetoric of State Power*, Leiden-Boston, Brill, 2005, p. 13-52: p. 36 and fn. 44, where he notes that “one has to investigate the Ottoman value system itself [...]. To determine these, a good starting point can be Ottoman books on ethics.” On the variety of sources that can be used for a history of Ottoman political thought, cf. H. YILMAZ, “Osmanlı tarihçiliğinde Tanzimat öncesi siyaset düşüncesine yaklaşımlar,” *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* 1/2, 2003, p. 231-298: p. 253-258; M. SARIYANNIS, “Ottoman Critics of Society and State, Fifteenth to Early Eighteenth Centuries: Toward a Corpus for the Study of Ottoman Political Thought,” *Archivum Ottomanicum* 25, 2008, p. 127-150.

The introduction of Persian ethical theory: Ahmedî, Tursun Beğ, Bitlisi

The nomenclature and hierarchy of virtues in Ottoman morality derives from the Arab-Persian one, which in its turn has its roots in Aristotle's ethical works; this is why the same four cardinal virtues, for example, can also be seen in early Renaissance political or ethical works.³ The Arab-Persian tradition was introduced to Ottoman literature already by Tâceddîn İbrahim b. Hızır Ahmedî (c 1334/1335-1412) in his *İskendernâme*, completed probably after the death of Süleyman Çelebi (1411), although in a poetic and sometimes oblique way.⁴ Ahmedî emphasizes Orhan's, Murad I's and Bayezid I's justice, generosity and piety;⁵ however, a fullest view is to be found in his eulogy of princes. Orhan's son, Süleyman Paşa, had all the qualities of leadership (*şart-ı serverlik*): courage (*şecâ'at*), generosity (*sehâvet*), administrative and ruling abilities (*hem siyâset hem riyâset ehli*), good judgment, military qualities.⁶ As for his protector, Emir Süleyman [Çelebi], he is described as just, gener-

³ On Arabic and Persian political theory cf. E. I. J. ROSENTHAL, *Political Thought in Medieval Islam: an Introductory Outline*, Cambridge University Press, 1958; W. M. WATT, *Islamic Political Thought: the Basic Concepts*, Edinburgh University Press, 1968; A. K. S. LAMBTON, *Theory and Practice in Medieval Persian Government*, London, Variorum Reprints, 1980. On Arabic and Persian moral theories, cf. D. M. DONALDSON, *Studies in Muslim Ethics*, London, SPCK, 1963; Ch.-H. de FOUCHECOURT, *Moralia: les notions morales dans la littérature persane du 3^e/9^e au 7^e/13^e siècle*, Paris, Recherche sur les civilisations, 1986. On similarities between political discourse in the Middle Eastern, Central Asian, Ottoman and Western European thought, cf. L. T. DARLING, "Political Change and Political Discourse in the Early Modern Mediterranean World," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 38/4, 2008, p. 505-531. On the particular features of Ottoman political discourse with insightful remarks on contemporaneous European thought, cf. H. FERGUSON, "Genres of Power: Constructing a Discourse of Decline in Ottoman Nasihatname," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 35, 2010, p. 81-116.

⁴ On Ahmedî, cf. P. FODOR, "State and Society, Crisis and Reform, in 15th-17th Century Ottoman Mirror for Princes," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 40/2-3, 1986, p. 217-240: p. 221; K. SİLAY, "Ahmedî's History of the Ottoman Dynasty," *Journal of Turkish Studies* 16, 1992, p. 129-200; B. B. TURNA, "Perception of History and the Problem of Superiority in Ahmedî's *Dastân-ı Tevârih-i Mülûk-i Âl-i Osman*," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 62/3, 2009, p. 267-283. The text has been published in various editions; here I use K. SİLAY (ed.), *Tâce'd-dîn İbrâhîm bin Hızır Ahmedî: History of the Kings of the Ottoman Lineage and their Holy Raids against the Infidels*, Cambridge MA, Harvard University, 2004.

⁵ SİLAY (ed.), *op. cit.*, v. 68ff, 136ff, 254ff.

⁶ *Ibid.*, v. 94ff.

ous, magnanimous and munificent (*mürüvvet, fütüvvet*).⁷ Indeed, generosity seems to be a major virtue for Ahmedî, and his use of the term implies that the Sultan should offer gifts and posts to the devout and the people of science, among whom no doubt he considers himself as well.

The first systematic introduction of Persian ethical theory in Ottoman literature, however, belongs to Tursun Beğ (after 1426-after 1488), who included an introduction on the theory of state and rulership in his *Târih-i Abu'l-Fath* (History of the conqueror), begun in 1488. Tursun Beğ's work seems to have passed unnoticed, as the only historian who used it was Kemalpaşazâde and only six manuscripts were copied throughout the Ottoman period.⁸ Like Kınalızâde Ali Çelebi would do almost a century later, Tursun Beğ draws extensively from Nasiruddîn Tûsî's *Ahlâk-i Nâsirî*, as well as from Nizamî-i 'Arudî-i Semerkandî's *Çahar makala* (Four treatises), probably composed in 1156.⁹ Thus, following explicitly Tûsî, Tursun Beğ explains that the cardinal virtues are four, namely wisdom (*hikmet*), courage (*şecâ'at*), honesty ('*iffet*) and justice ('*adâlet*); more specifically, justice is the moderation of the other three virtues. Furthermore, in the enumeration of virtues as produced by the three faculties of the human spirit, mildness (*hilm*, connected to courage) and generosity (*sehâvet*, connected to honesty) are to be added to the basic virtues.¹⁰ As a matter of fact, Tursun Beğ tends to identify mildness with courage, considering these two inseparable and making permanence of power (*te'bîd-i devlet ü tahlîd-i saltanat*) to depend on both mildness and justice; justice alone can satisfy the upper class only (*havâss-ı ibâd*), while the lower ones (*evsât-ı umûm*) want to acquire privileges among their peers.¹¹ Mildness is also emphasized in Mahmud Pasha's eulogy,

⁷ *Ibid.*, v. 298ff.

⁸ H. İNALCIK, R. MURPHEY (eds), *The History of Mehmed the Conqueror by Tursun Beg*, Minneapolis-Chicago, *Bibliotheca Islamica*, 1978, p. 11, p. 20. I used this edition of the text, together with the transcription by M. TULUM (ed.), *Tursun Bey: Târih-i Ebü'l-feth*, Istanbul, Baha Matbaası, 1977. Cf. also H. İNALCIK, "Tursun Beg, Historian of Mehmed the Conqueror's Time," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 69, 1977, p. 55-71 = H. İNALCIK, *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire: Essays on Economy and Society*, Bloomington, Indiana University Turkish Studies, 1993, p. 417-431; FODOR, *art. cit.*, p. 221-223; K. İNAN, "The Incorporation of Writings on Periphery in Ottoman Historiography: Tursun Bey's Comparison of Mehmed II and Bayezid II," *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 9/1-2, 2003, p. 105-117.

⁹ Cf. K. İNAN, "On the Sources of Tursun Bey's *Târih-i Ebü'l-Feth*," in E. KERMELE, O. ÖZEL (eds), *The Ottoman Empire: Myths, Realities and "Black Holes": Contributions in Honour of Colin Imber*, Istanbul, Isis Press, 2006, p. 75-109.

¹⁰ TULUM (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 16-17.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 18-21.

the latter being Tursun Beğ's patron: he is quoted as speaking against Mehmed II's excessive temper, although adding that mildness has also a limit.¹²

Perhaps more importantly, Tursun Beğ dwells much on generosity, and has a quite special view of it: the example he gives is that of Bayezid II bestowing the *vakfs* and *mülks* confiscated by his father back to their previous owners.¹³

Roughly contemporary to Tursun Beğ and with a similarly narrow distribution (only two manuscripts of the work are known) is İdris b. Hüsameddîn Bitlisî's (ca. 1450-1520) *Kanûn-i şehinşâhî* (Imperial laws), composed in Persian probably during the reign of Selim I. Much better known for his historiographical work, especially the famous *Hest Bihişt* (The eight paradises), Bitlisî used Celâleddin Devvânî's *Ahlâk-ı Celâlî* (The glorious ethics), just as Kınalızâde Ali was to do later, together with a typical "mirror for princes," namely Nizâmü'l-mülk's well-known *Siyâsetnâme*.¹⁴ In the "ethical" part of this work, he divides human virtues into two categories, the innate and the acquired ones. The former are the following: (a) inborn faith, which makes the ruler respect the Holy Law, administer justice and so forth; (b) good fortune and luck; (c) kindness of morals and good character; (d) high and honourable genealogy: this is important because people obey a person of noble descent or family much easier than an upstart; (e) beauty and affability, which enhances feelings of obeisance and respect, as it shows niceness of morals as well; (f) comprehension, cleverness and sagacity.¹⁵ This enumeration brings in mind Kınalızâde's "kingly qualities," as will be seen below, although with many differences: Bitlisî's view is much more consistent from an

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 26-27. Cf. Th. STAVRIDES, *The Sultan of Vezirs: the Life and Times of the Ottoman Grand Vezir Mahmud Pasha Angelović (1453-1474)*, Leiden-Boston-Cologne, Brill, 2001, p. 367.

¹³ TULUM (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 22-23 and cf. also p. 197-198; STAVRIDES, *op. cit.*, p. 364. On the opposition to Mehmed II's confiscation of *vakf* and *mülk* properties, cf. O. ÖZEL, "Limits of the Almighty: Mehmed II's 'Land Reform' Revisited," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 42/2, 1999, p. 226-246, where also older literature can be found. Özel argues that Mehmed's was a "fiscal" rather than "land" reform, and moreover superficial and doomed to failure.

¹⁴ The work has been edited by H. TAVAKKOLÎ, *İdris-i Bitlisî'nin Kanun-ı Şehinşahî'sinin Tenkidli Neşri ve Türkçeye Tercümesi*, unpublished doctoral dissertation, İstanbul Üniversitesi, 1974. Here I used the selective Turkish summary by A. AKGÜNDÜZ, *Osmanlı kanunnâmeleri ve hukukî tahlilleri -III- Yavuz Sultan Selim devri kanunnâmeleri*, İstanbul, Fey Vakfı, 1991, p. 13-40, facs. p. 41-84. Unfortunately, Akgündüz omitted the parts of exclusively "moralistic" nature.

¹⁵ AKGÜNDÜZ, *op. cit.*, p. 18-21.

“ethical” point of view, whereas Kınalızâde speaks of ethical and “political” advantages together (for example, wealth or the obedience of the army). The acquired virtues are also presented in a very systematic way, as the cardinal virtues produce secondary ones. Thus:

(1) Honesty (*iffet*), i.e. the keeping of lust and passions under control by the Holy Law and the intellect. A king whose passions are not controlled by honesty, the Holy Law and justice, gives birth to hate by the *reaya* and the military. However, İdris is quick to note that the Prophet and the Koran are mild enough to this respect, as they spoke unfavorably of asceticism, and permit marriage and concubines, along with lawful pleasures. The secondary virtues pertaining to honesty are (a) generosity (*sehâvet*), a very important virtue for kings, who should be generous toward both their officials and their subjects; (b) modesty (*hayâ*), which prevents the king from following his whims and oppressing his people.

(2) Courage (*şecâ'at*), i.e. the temperance of the power of wrath, which can vary between anger and cowardliness; the former may lead the king's domain and subjects to various risks, while the latter makes the ruler not being able to stop oppression in his kingdom. The secondary virtues here are (a) greatness of zeal, i.e. an orientation towards high and eternal things; (b) clemency (*hilm*); a king without this virtue may be taken over by flatterers who urge him to use violence instead of forgiveness; (c) perseverance and zeal (*gayret*, *hamiyet*): the king is like a guardian and shepherd to his people, so he has to put every effort to protect them.

(3) Wisdom (*hikmet*), which may control all the faculties of the body and of the intellect. If a Sultan's faculty of intellect (*kuvve-i 'akile*) cannot keep his passions and desires under control, he is not to be named the shadow of God, as he ought to. The secondary virtues of wisdom are (a) perspicacity and limpid thought, aided by constant counsel with wise and pious men; (b) remembrance; especially, the Sultan must remember the rights of subjects and militaries and stick to the laws ordained.

(4) Justice (*'adâlet*), which can be defined as the moderation of all human faculties; it is an absolute prerequisite of good government. The Sultan must conform to two kinds of justice: first, he must apply justice to his personal affairs, as everybody else; second, he has to be just in arranging the affairs of his subjects and his state. The secondary virtues are (a) faithfulness and affection; the king must look after his subjects as he does for himself; (b) fidelity and fairness in rewards; the king must

keep to his word, the same way he expects his subjects to fulfill their own obligations.¹⁶

Summing up, Bitlisî exposes the classic view of the four cardinal virtues, namely honesty or rather chastity (together with generosity and modesty), courage (together with loftiness of zeal, clemency and perseverance), wisdom (together with perspicacity and remembrance), and justice (together with affection and fidelity). His view can be seen as purely theoretic, in some way, as he does not seem to emphasize any virtue in particular or bring a secondary one in the forefront, as the other authors I examined tend to do.

Kınalızâde Ali Çelebi

The most systematic and the fullest exposition of this “theory of virtues,” however, is undoubtedly to be found in Kınalızâde Ali Çelebi’s (1510-1571) famous *Ahlâk-ı Alâî* (Sublime ethics), completed in 1565 and drawing extensively from classical ethical treatises such as Nasirud-dîn Tûsî’s *Ahlâk-ı Nâsirî* (Nasirean ethics), Celâleddin-i Devânî’s *Ahlâk-ı Celâlî* and Gazâlî’s *İhyâu Ulûmi’-d-dîn* (The revival of the religious sciences). Moreover, Kınalızâde’s work was very widespread, popular and influential; in the words of Baki Tezcan, it has been “one of the ‘bestsellers’ of the Ottoman book market from the 16th to the 18th centuries”.¹⁷ Kınalızâde’s work is a highly ambitious enterprise, inspired by its predecessors in Persian, to encompass a full view of ethics in all three levels: individual ethics (or the governance of self), household economics (the governance of the family and the house) and political theory (the governance of the city, *i.e.* society). Thus, after a lengthy discussion of the powers of the soul, Kınalızâde defines the four cardinal virtues as the use of each power in a moderate way: the theoretical power produces wisdom (*hikmet*), the practical justice (*adâlet*), the sensual honesty (*iffet*) and the power of passion courage (*şecâ’at*). Respectively, the excess of these powers produces quick-wittedness (a vice insofar it provokes vain jokes and satire), for the theoretical power, debauchery for the sensual one,

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 21-27.

¹⁷ B. TEZCAN, “Ethics as a Domain to Discuss the Political: Kınalızâde Ali Efendi’s *Ahlâk-ı Alâî*,” in A. ÇAKSU (ed.), *IRCICA International Congress on Learning and Education in the Ottoman World Proceedings, Istanbul, 12-15 Apr. 1999*, Istanbul, IRCICA, 2001, p. 109-120: p. 110. Here I use the recent edition by M. KOÇ (ed.), *Kınalızâde Ali Çelebi: Ahlâk-ı Alâî*, Istanbul, Klasik, 2007.

impetuosity for the power of passion, while their deficiency produces stupidity, apathy and cowardice. Justice, however, has no excess or deficiency, only its contrary, namely injustice or oppression (*cevr*).¹⁸ The author notes here that while, according to some, justice is the combination of the other virtues, this would not have logical sense; so he presents another definition of virtues and vices as well, based on a tripartite division of the soul into the angel soul (*nefs-i melekî*), the soul (or faculty) of passion (*nefs-i şebu'î*) and that of lust or appetite (*nefs-i behîmî*). Moderation, excess or deficiency of these three produces the same virtues and vices as described above, with justice now being the combination of wisdom, courage and honesty.¹⁹

Later on he discusses virtues more specifically, as he enumerates the sub-kinds of each one of them. Thus, wisdom comprises intelligence, quick understanding, clarity of mind, easiness in learning, wit, memory and remembrance; courage includes haughtiness of spirit, boldness, high aspirations, perseverance, mildness (*hilm*), tranquility, valor, endurance, humility, compassion and public spirit (defined as entering at pains in order “to protect the community and to defend one’s self and dignity”); honesty is subdivided in bashfulness, suavity of manners, will for self-improvement, tranquility, capacity for indifference, patience, contentment, dignity, chastity, orderliness, freedom from cupidity and generosity (*sehâ*). Now, this last virtue is so important that Kınalızâde proceeds in defining its own components, such as beneficence, forgiveness (*afv*), munificence, magnanimity and so on. Finally, justice is subdivided into faithfulness (*sadâkat*), familiarity, loyalty, compassion, visiting one’s relatives, fair retribution, fidelity in friendship, justice in human relationships (*hüsn-i kazâ*), affection, compliance to Godly rules, resignation to God and piety.²⁰ Justice is further defined as three things: justice in distributing property or social rank (*kerâmet ü mertebe*), justice in financial transactions, and justice in punishment; in all three kinds, justice is defined as the proportional treatment of all parts (*tenâsüb-i ri'âyet*).²¹

¹⁸ Elsewhere, however, Kınalızâde notes that justice has also its excess, tyranny (*zulm*), and its deficiency, the acceptance of tyranny (*inzilâm*). Some say, he notes, that both these vices are oppression (*cevr*), to others or to the self, while others accept as vice only the former, namely tyranny; Kınalızâde is inclined toward the first opinion. Koç (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 115-123.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 99-104.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 105-113.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

To sum up, Kınalızâde's view reproduces somehow the inconsistencies of his various sources. The cardinal virtues are wisdom, courage, honesty and justice, but it is not clear whether justice is just another virtue or the combination of the other three. Moreover, in another point Kınalızâde virtually adds generosity to the cardinal virtues, which thus become five rather than four.²²

Speaking more specifically of the moral qualities (*haslet*) a king must have, Kınalızâde enumerates them as (1) high aspirations (*uluvv-i himmet*), i.e. that he must act for the best of the community and the religion and not for base motives; (2) sound opinions (*isâbet-i re'y ü fikret*), secured by natural intelligence (which, Kınalızâde prudently notes, is given by God to whoever asks for it) and experience; (3) resolution and stability (*azm ü azîmet*): once the ruler sets on a decision he must carry it out to its end; (4) forbearance and endurance in adversities (*sabr-ı şedâyid ve tahammül-i azâyim-i havâdis*); (5) wealth (*yesâr, gınâ*), so as not to covet the subjects' property; (6) the obedience and fidelity of the army and the high commanders and officers; (7) nobility of the lineage (*neseb*), although Kınalızâde considers it very useful rather than obligatory.²³ The cardinal virtues do not appear here, although it seems that Kınalızâde thinks as self-evident that the good ruler must have them.

THE "MIRROR FOR PRINCES" GENRE:
THE ROUTE TOWARD CONCRETE POLITICAL ADVICE

Lutfî Paşa and the decline of the role of the Sultan

The next great political writer of the period is Lutfî Paşa (1488-1563), who differs from his predecessors in that he was neither ulema nor bureaucrat, but a military official, product of the *devşirme* system, who served as Grand Vizier in 1539-1541. His special background is reflected on the character of his work, *Âsafnâme*: instead of writing an abstract treatise on political theory, he focused on special rules of administration, inaugurating a particularly Ottoman tradition of advice literature which Rhoads Murphey names "practical guide[s] to the mechanics of good administration".²⁴ Composed after his dismissal from the Grand Vizier's

²² *Ibid.*, p. 125-133.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 461-476.

²⁴ R. MURPHEY, "Mustafa Safî's Version of the Kingly Virtues as Presented in his

office, Lutfî Paşa's work seems to have been quite popular, as fifteen manuscripts are to be found only in Istanbul.²⁵ *Âsafnâme* contains very little general theorizing on society or morality, giving specific advice on Ottoman administration instead. As far as it concerns the kingly virtues, there are only scattered remarks. Thus, Selim I is described as "excellent in justice, holy war, knowledge and generosity" ('*adl ve gazâ ve ma'rifet ve sahâvet*);²⁶ also in "intelligence, quick understanding, justice and kindness" ('*akl ve iz'ân ve 'adl ve ihsân*).²⁷ Apart from the customary emphasis on justice, one observes the special stress on generosity seen also in Ahmedî or Tursun Beğ. Generosity, here, should rather be understood as an absence of greediness, as Lutfî Paşa elsewhere says, for instance, that the Grand Vizier must keep the Sultan from being greedy for money: undemanded properties must be kept in custody in the treasury for seven years, waiting for a heir to appear, because "the properties of people ought not to enter the property of the Sultan without reason, since this leads to the death of his power" (*emvâl-i halk bî-vech dâhil-i mâl-i pâdişâhî olmak fenâ-yı devlet daldır*).²⁸

An important innovation of Lutfî Paşa's treatise is the special emphasis he gives on the Grand Vizier instead of the Sultan; even the title of his work is named after the famous mythical vizier of King Solomon. Lutfî Paşa devotes a whole chapter, the first one out of four, to the qualities needed from the Grand Vizier,²⁹ while he has no chapter for the

Zübdet'ül Tevarih, or Annals of Sultan Ahmed, 1012-1023 A.H./1603-1614 A.D., in C. IMBER, K. KIYOTAKI (eds), *Frontiers of Ottoman Studies: State, Province, and the West*, London-New York, Tauris, 2005, vol. I, p. 5-24: p. 5 (in this particular passage, however, Murphey ignores the works by Tursun Beğ, İdris-i Bitlisî or Kınalîzâde, mentioned above).

²⁵ O. M. ÇOLAK, "İstanbul kütüphanelerde bulunan siyasetnâmeler bibliyografyası," *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* 1/2, 2003, p. 339-378: p. 353. Cf. also B. LEWIS, "Ottoman Observers of Ottoman Decline," *Islamic Studies* 1, 1962, p. 71-87: p. 71-74; FODOR, *art. cit.*, p. 223-224; C. YILMAZ, "Osmanlı siyaset düşüncesi kaynakları ile ilgili yeni bir kavramsallaştırma: ıslahatnâmeler," *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* 1/2, 2003, p. 299-338: p. 302-303. Editions of the *Asafnâme*: R. TSCHUDI, *Das Asafnâme des Lutfî Pascha, nach den Handschriften zu Wien, Dresden und Konstantinopel*, Berlin, Mayer und Müller, 1910; M. KÜTÜKOĞLU, "Lütfî Paşa, *Âsafnâmesi* (Yeni bir metin denemesi)," in *Prof. Dr. Bekir Kütükoğlu'na Armağan*, İstanbul, Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1991, p. 49-120. Lutfî Paşa's sources are not clear; apparently he uses only personal experience, and all the stories he relates have to do with Selim I and Süleyman I rather than mythical or real Persian kings.

²⁶ TSCHUDI, *op. cit.*, p. 7 (pagination refers to the Ottoman part).

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 32. Süleyman the Magnificent is also characterized as "master of justice and kindness" (*ibid.*, p. 33).

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 11-12.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 6-24.

Sultan: among others, the Vizier should not be malicious and selfish, but accessible and condescending, satisfied with a moderate income. In an individual level, this emphasis is only too natural, as Lutfî Paşa wrote it after serving in this post himself; on the other hand, however, it marks the beginning of a long series of political treatises oriented to the viziers' administration rather than the virtuous Sultan. In this perspective, Kınalızâde's monumental work is the swan song rather than the heyday of moralistic-*cum*-political advice, although he did not lack continuators. This change in Ottoman political writing corresponds more or less with the gradual endistancement of the supreme ruler from the actual political praxis. Unlike political thinkers, this development was not followed by historians, as it seems, until at least Kâtib Çelebi who was a political theorist of note himself; both Selânikî and Peçevî, for instance, praise the expulsion from the palace of buffoons and clowns after the death of Murad III, as they allegedly influenced the Sultan.

The fact that this change of attitude constitutes a general trend among political theorists can be seen through the anonymous treatise *Hırzû'l-mülûk* (stronghold [or, amulet] of the kings), written by some military fief-holder most probably around the ascension of Murad III to the throne, in 1574.³⁰ Unfortunately, from the ambitious plan of the author, all that reached us seems to be a first draft; otherwise, we would have one of the most comprehensive political treatises of the era. Furthermore, the work is divided in certain chapters and parts (*fasl, cüz'*) with a certain inconsistency that shows we have to do with something like a first draft.³¹

Now, even before proceeding to the first chapter, the author dwells on the importance of the post of Grand Vizier. He notes that the four viziers correspond to the first four caliphs of Muhammad (*emr-i vezâret ki çehâr yâr-ı güzîn makâmıdır*); Ebu Bekr is paralleled to the Grand Vizier, 'Umar to the second vizier, 'Uthman to the third and so on. They all were

³⁰ Y. YÜCEL, *Osmanlı devlet teşkilâtına dair kaynaklar: Kitâb-i müstetâb – Kitabu mesâlihi'l müslimîn ve menâfi'i'l mü'mînîn – Hırzû'l-mülûk*, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1988, p. 171-201 (facs. follows); A. AKGÜNDÜZ, *Osmanlı kanunnâmeleri ve hukukî tahlilleri -VIII- III. Murad devri kanunnâmeleri / III. Mehmed devri kanunnâmeleri*, İstanbul, Osmanlı Araştırmaları Vakfı, 1994, p. 31-63 (facs. follows; Akgündüz's transcription lacks some titles etc.); cf. also C. YILMAZ, *art. cit.*, p. 306-307. Yücel identified the Sultan Murad mentioned in the text with Murad III; I would argue that it was presented to him as soon as (or maybe even before) he ascended to the throne, since a whole section of the work is dedicated to the first acts a sultan should take (YÜCEL, *op. cit.*, p. 179ff = AKGÜNDÜZ, *Osmanlı kanunnâmeleri* VIII, *op. cit.*, p. 40ff).

³¹ From the eight proposed chapters only four were written. It is possible that the division in *cüz'* comes from the copying of the work in paper prepared for some other ms.; cf. esp. f. 38b and f. 48b.

ascetic in their attires, striving to fill the Muslim community's treasury, unparalleled in majesty, reverence and firmness. Admittedly, it is difficult for the king to watch in person the affairs of the world; however, if he tries willingly to deal with every issue of his kingdom God will help him, and this is the reason the present essay is written and presented to the Sultan. Selim I elected the most experienced and wise among his commanders, *defterdars* and *beylerbeyis* as his viziers; he was consulting personally with all of them and removed them whenever he found them faulty in their duties. Similarly, Mehmed I was always consulting ulema and other wise men, electing also his viziers from among them.³²

The very chapter on the kingly virtues differs very much from previous treatises, although he keeps mentioning various unspecified Persian or Arabic books, as well as al-Ghazali's *İhyâ'-i 'ulûm*.³³ The author does not concern himself about cardinal virtues, their hierarchy and so forth; instead, he gives much more practical and concrete advice: after noting that the Sultan must be pious and devout, that he must use his time properly, and that he must be just, neither avaricious nor prodigal, the rest of the chapter concerns concrete advice on military fiefs, the way of selecting a Grand Vizier, the role of the ruler's companions etc. In sharp contrast, the chapter on viziers is much more of a "moralistic" nature:³⁴ for instance, the Grand Vizier, being a continuator of the first four caliphs, must be of sound intellect, of honest nature, righteous, pious, and known for his luck and justice. He should consult others in matters he does not know in detail; he must work hardly to improve the state of the treasury and check the conditions of cities and subjects. He must abstain from animosity, covetousness and bribery. He should never forget that his office is transitory, and thus he should not strive to build palaces and obtain villages as private property.

In general, the anonymous author of *Hırzû'l-mülûk* perceived clearly that the power had started to go away from the Sultan in person; he implies that all misfortunes come from the bad behavior of viziers and he even suggests that the Sultan should elect personally the *beylerbeyis*, regardless of the opinion of the Grand Vizier.³⁵

³² YÜCEL, *op. cit.*, p. 173-176 = AKGÜNDÜZ, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri*, VIII, *op. cit.*, p. 33-36.

³³ YÜCEL, *op. cit.*, p. 176-183 = AKGÜNDÜZ, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri*, VIII, *op. cit.*, p. 36-43.

³⁴ YÜCEL, *op. cit.*, p. 183-185 = AKGÜNDÜZ, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri*, VIII, *op. cit.*, p. 43-46.

³⁵ YÜCEL, *op. cit.*, p. 188 = AKGÜNDÜZ, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri*, VIII, *op. cit.*, p. 49. This process toward a vizier-centered model is evident in later works. For instance, an

The *medrese* and bureaucratic view: Akhisarî, Âlî and the 17th-century writers

The other two major political theorists that mark the end of the 16th century, namely Hasan Kâfî Akhisarî and Gelibolulu Mustafa Âlî, seem to follow the same pattern as far as it concerns the turn toward more concrete advice and the abandonment of the theory of the cardinal virtues.³⁶ Akhisarî, to begin with, is well known for his *Usûlü'l-hikem fî nizâmi'l-âlem* (elements of wisdom for the order of the world), written in Arabic in 1596 and translated almost immediately, as it seems, into Ottoman Turkish; it was widely read, and there also exists a very similar work by Hasan Bey-zâde (d. 1636) with the same title. Akhisarî's sources belong to the *medrese* tradition rather than the Persian ethical-cum-political literature, as he was a noted ulema himself.³⁷ Like his contemporary authors, he also stresses specific measures to be taken, giving special emphasis to piety, as one would expect from his background, but also to army discipline and the need to follow European developments in warfare, a feature he is almost unique to display among pre-18th-century Ottoman thinkers (another such point is the stress he gives to the need for peace, preceding Na'ima by more than one century). Akhisarî's theo-

ambassador to Iran in 1720 addressed his report to Sultan Ahmed III, but in the conclusion he preferred to praise the Grand Vizier İbrahim Paşa: S. FAROQHI, *Another Mirror for Princes: the Public Image of the Ottoman Sultans and its Reception*, Istanbul, Isis Press, 2008, p. 170. The "gradual abstraction of the Sultan, and [the] corresponding move from private/personal to public/bureaucratic assessments of rule" are also explored by FERGUSON, *art. cit.*, p. 97-98.

³⁶ There is also the anonymous *Kitâbu mesâlihi'l-müslimîn ve menâfi'i'l-mü'minîn* (Book on the proper courses for Muslims and on the interests of the faithful), which, if we accept Baki Tezcan's arguments, must be dated between 1555 and 1566 (while Yaşar Yücel dates it in 1643-1644): cf. B. TEZCAN, "The 'Kânûnnâme of Mehmed II: a Different Perspective," in K. ÇİÇEK (ed.), *The Great Ottoman-Turkish Civilisation -III- Philosophy, Science and Institutions*, Ankara, Yeni Türkiye, 2000, p. 657-665; Y. YÜCEL, *op. cit.*, p. 49-142 (facs. follows). *Kitâbu mesâlih*, all the more so, has no reference at all to princely or viziers' virtues whatsoever. Cf. also C. YILMAZ, *art. cit.*, p. 303-304.

³⁷ He mentions Kâdî Beyzâvî (d. 1291)'s *Envârü't-tenzîl ve esrârü't-te'vîl* (widely read in Ottoman medreses) and Mahmûd ez-Zemahşerî (d. 1144)'s *Rebî'u'l-ibrâr* (a shortened version by Amasyalı Hatîb Kasımoğlu Muhyiddin Mehmed [d. 1533], *Ravzatü'l-ahbâr*, was translated into Turkish by Aşık Çelebi [d. 1571]). Cf. M. İPŞİRLİ, "Hasan Kâfî el-Akhisarî ve devlet düzenine ait eseri *Usûlü'l-hikem fî nizâmi'l-âlem*," *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi* 10-11, 1979-1980, p. 239-278, esp. p. 250. On Hasan Kâfî Akhisarî, cf. also FODOR, *art. cit.*, p. 225-227; M. S. ÖZERVARLI, "The Contribution of Balkan Scholars to the Growth of Ottoman *Kalam* Thought," in A. ÇAKSU (ed.), *Proceedings of the Second International Symposium on Islamic Civilisation in the Balkans, Tirana, 4-7 Dec. 2003*, Istanbul, IRCICA, 2006, p. 125-134, esp. p. 127-130; C. YILMAZ, *art. cit.*, p. 307-308.

logical training and orientation, however, does not lead him to stress ethical values and virtues as a remedy for Ottoman shortcomings. To be sure, he mentions justice as the first prerequisite for a successful king; he stresses that it must be accompanied by mild government (*hüsn-i siyâset*), since God has ordained that a king must be just and kind; without mild government a dynasty (*beğlik ve pâdişâhlık*) cannot attain perfection. Hasan Kâfî inserts here the “circle of justice” giving emphasis to mildness as well (*adâlet ile dahi hüsn-i siyâset*).³⁸ Later on he argues again that the king must be calm, mild and patient, and that he must not hasten to punish.³⁹ The other kingly virtue kept by Akhisarî is generosity: the king must be generous, because the people will not obey him unless moved by the worldly passions. He must practice his generosity equally to all classes, because he needs all of them; if he keeps the soldiers away from the treasury, they will not fight for him.⁴⁰ However, elsewhere Akhisarî argues that the Sultan must not feed the soldiers’ covetousness, prohibiting plundering and oppression.⁴¹ To end this evaluation of traditional virtues, it is important to note that Akhisarî plays down courage in favour of intelligence, although speaking not of the king’s virtues but his consultants’: wisdom and intelligence, he says, should be more valued than any other quality; in the war, a stratagem is worth more than courage and might.⁴²

Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali (1541-1600), one of the best-known political authors of the 16th century, is strikingly similar to Hasan Kâfî Akhisarî in stressing, among the kingly virtues, generosity and mildness. In contrast, his work has little in common with Kınalızâde’s *Ahlâk-ı Alâî*, although the two scholars discussed their ideas while serving in Damascus (Ali being then *divan kâtibi* of the *beylerbey*).⁴³ In his famous *Nushatü’s-selâtin* (Counsel for Sultans), completed in 1581 (with minor additions added by 1586), Ali ignores completely the literature on virtues, preferring to give concrete advice on timars, the army, state finances

³⁸ İPŞIRLI, *art. cit.*, p. 254.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 260.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 258-260.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 272-275.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 266.

⁴³ Ali refers to Kınalızâde and his work in various places of his own work. Cf. e.g. F. ÇERÇİ (ed.), *Gelibolulu Mustafa Âlî ve Künhü’l-ahbâr’ında II. Selim, III. Murat ve III. Mehmet devirleri*, Kayseri, 2000, vol. 2, p. 58 and p. 128-130. Cf. the observations by C. FLEISCHER, “Royal Authority, Dynastic Cyclism, and ‘Ibn Khaldûnism’ in Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Letters,” *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 18/3-4, 1983, p. 198-220.

and so forth; he only advises the Sultan to exert liberality with equity, and not to consider the lavish spending of money as generosity (*sahâ vu kerem*) but as waste and dissipation.⁴⁴ Only while describing governorship, Ali gives a list of the desired qualities of such an official, namely justice, reliability, valor, sagacity, friendliness (meant here as the opposite of rudeness) and piety ('*adâlet, emânet, şecâ'at, firâset, hüsn-i hulk, diyânet*).⁴⁵

In some of his other numerous works, Ali elaborates further these thoughts. In his remarkable *Mevâidü'n-nefâis fî kavâidi'l-mecâlis* (tables of delicacies concerning the rules of social gatherings), for instance, he speaks of generosity and beneficence in a somehow more concrete way: a ruler, he says, whose treasury realizes an annual income of 2,000 *yük akçes* should expend 20 *yük* annually in gifts (i.e. 1%) and 2 *yük* per occasion to a person who merits it (i.e., 0.1%). Ali calculates the gifts given by the Ottoman sultans and finds them rather ungenerous; this contradicts somehow some other advice he gives elsewhere, but one should note that here he talks of gifts granted to erudite men (among which he obviously would like to be counted himself).⁴⁶ He also praises "loftiness of aspiration", a virtue known from Kınalızâde as well, saying that it leads to high ranks,⁴⁷ and urges kings to abandon haughtiness and seclusion, stressing that older kings used to take their meals together with their children, viziers and companions, a practice stopped in the reign of Selim I.⁴⁸

One can clearly see how the "moral" interpretation of politics, expressed in a most erudite way by Kınalızâde in 1565, was already during his years giving way to a more "pragmatic" and *ad hoc* series of concrete advice; indeed, none of the great political thinkers of the 17th century seem to give any importance to the issue of the kingly virtues, be them cardinal or not. Koçu Bey, for instance, scarcely refers to

⁴⁴ A. TIETZE (ed.), *Mustafâ 'Âli's Counsel for Sultans of 1581*, Vienna, VÖAW, 1979-1982, vol. 1, p. 58-59 and p. 151-153. On Ali's work as a landmark in Ottoman political thought, inaugurating the *nasihatname* genre, cf. C. FLEISCHER, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: the Historian Mustafa Âli (1541-1600)*, Princeton University Press, 1986, p. 99-103; FODOR, *art. cit.*, p. 224-225; C. YILMAZ, *art. cit.*, p. 304-306.

⁴⁵ TIETZE (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 71-75 and p. 169-174.

⁴⁶ D. S. BROOKES trans., *The Ottoman Gentleman of the Sixteenth Century: Mustafa Âli's Mevâ'idü'n-nefâ'is fî kavâ'idü'l-mecâlis, Tables of Delicacies Concerning the Rules of Social Gatherings*, Cambridge MA, Harvard University, 2003, p. 162-165.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 58-60.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 92-95.

justice except when describing the “circle of equity”;⁴⁹ instead, he praises the first Ottoman Sultans’ piety and speaks against excessive luxury, and this is all he has to say on the king’s morals. Few years later, Kâtib Çelebi, in his *Düsturü’l-amel li-islâhi’l-halel* (1652-1653), does not mention any virtues of either the king or his vizier; when he talks of the necessity for a “strong man” to take action, he only stresses that he has to be experienced and decisive.⁵⁰ When he praises Murad IV, Kâtib Çelebi only stresses his determination and physical strength, mentioning justice only *en passant*;⁵¹ justice is referred to in other places as well, as in the epilogue of *Takvimü’t-tevârih* (where he reiterates the views stated in *Düsturü’l-amel*).⁵² It is important to note that Kâtib Çelebi does not ignore moralist literature: for instance, he collects a description of human (but not kingly) virtues by eş-Şâfiî,⁵³ while he lists and praises Kınalızâde’s work in his *Keşfü’l-zünûn*, the famous bibliographic compendium.⁵⁴ However, when in this same compendium he speaks of the science of ethics, he does not seem to be interested in its importance for politics.⁵⁵ In the same way, Na’ima quotes Kınalızâde’s *Ahlâk-i Alâî* only in describing the famous “circle of equity”,⁵⁶ ignoring the Sultans’ virtues (together with any other elements of Kınalızâde’s “traditional” analysis). As for the 18th-century writers, they seem to have ignored moral issues at all;⁵⁷ a notable exception is Bakkalızâde Defterdar Sarı

⁴⁹ S. ÇAKMAKCIOĞLU (ed.), *Koçi Bey risaleleri*, İstanbul, Kabcacı, 2008, p. 66.

⁵⁰ O. Ş. GÖKYAY (ed.), *Kâtib Çelebi’den seçmeler*, İstanbul, MEB Devlet Kitapları, 1968, p. 154-161, esp. p. 160-161. Cf. LEWIS, *art. cit.*, p. 78-81; FODOR, *art. cit.*, p. 233-235; C. YILMAZ, *art. cit.*, p. 312.

⁵¹ GÖKYAY, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 115-117.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 146-147.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 235.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 226-227. The same goes for “manners” (*edeb*): *ibid.*, p. 250-251.

⁵⁶ M. İPŞİRLİ (ed.), *Târih-i Na’imâ*, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2007, p. 30-31; L. V. THOMAS, *A Study of Naima*, ed. N. Itzkowitz, New York University Press, 1972, p. 78; C. YILMAZ, *art. cit.*, p. 313. On this concept cf. A. K. S. LAMBTON, “Justice in the Medieval Persian Theory of Kingship,” *Studia Islamica* 17, 1962, p. 91-119 (= LAMBTON, *op. cit.*), p. 100: fn. 2.

⁵⁷ Cf. V. AKSAN, “Ottoman Political Writing, 1768-1808,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 25/1, 1993, p. 53-69; cf. also C. YILMAZ, *art. cit.*, p. 314-316. Süleyman Penâh Efendi, for instance, writes in 1785 that the Grand Vizier must not be greedy and maintains that greediness and lack of responsibility from the part of public servants has led to the decline of the state, but these observations form a very small part indeed of his concrete and detailed book of advice. A. BERKER, “Mora ihtilâli tarihçesi veya Penah Efendi mecmuası, 1769,” *Tarih Vesikaları* 2/9, 1942-1943, p. 231; 2/11, 1942-1943, p. 389-390. In his famous *Usûlü’l-hikem* (1732), İbrahim Müteferrika barely mentions

Mehmed Paşa (d. 1704) who devotes a large part of his political essay to a praise of individual ethics: apart from a discussion on the moral qualities requested by a Grand Vizier, he inserts somehow awkwardly, amid discussions on the army and the timar system, two chapters on moral virtues and friendship.⁵⁸ However, 18th-century political literature requires further study.

CONCLUSIONS

The gradual abandonment of the ethical approach

The point I try to make about morality-based kingly virtues being ignored after the late 16th century can be further illustrated if we examine chroniclers' characterization of deceased sultans. We already examined Ahmedî's evaluation of the first Ottoman sultans; in a similar, if not more accentuated way, we see toward the end of the 15th-century Neşrî praising (in a rather naïve way compared with his contemporary court chroniclers like Tursun Beğ) Osman Gazi's piety, generosity, and justice (here clearly meaning the protection of the infidels under a treaty),⁵⁹ as well as Orhan's affection for scholars and building of charitable works;⁶⁰ generosity towards both the poor and *vakfs* was also a characteristic of Mehmed I.⁶¹ Neşrî's praise for Murad I is even more reminiscent of the traditional moralist literature: he was "just and perfect, pious, dispenser of equity, noble ('*âlfî-himmet*, corresponding to Kınalızâde's '*uluuv-i himmet*, "high aspirations") [...] a man of experience [...] and courageous (*şucâ'*)".⁶² Mehmed II is praised in a similar way: "generous and just, courageous and wise and pious (*kerîm ve âdl, şucâ' ve âlim ve dindar*)".⁶³ Neşrî's

moral issues: A. ŞEN (ed.), *İbrahim Müteferrika ve Usûlü'l-Hikem fî Nizâmî'l-Ümem*, Ankara, Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1995.

⁵⁸ H. R. UĞURAL (ed.), *Defterdar Sarı Mehmed Paşa, Devlet adamlarına öğütler: Osmanlılarda devlet düzeni*, İstanbul, Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 1990, p. 34-53 and p. 122-143; cf. C. YILMAZ, *art. cit.*, p. 313-314. Defterdar's near-contemporary Nahîfî Süleyman Efendi (1645?-1738) also devotes a large part of his political tract to moral advice: cf. M. İPŞİRLİ (ed.), "Nahîfî Süleyman Efendi: *Nasihatü'l-vüzera*," *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi* 15, 1997, p. 15-28.

⁵⁹ F. R. UNAT, M. A. KÖYMEN (eds), *Mehmed Neşrî: Kitâb-ı Cihan-nümâ (Neşrî Tarihi)*, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1987 (1957¹), p. 73, p. 89 and p. 145-147.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 187.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 551.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 307.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 839.

almost contemporary Tursun Beğ, apart from elaborating a theory of the cardinal virtues in his introduction, explains that a soul is saved if it has acquired virtues and moral qualities;⁶⁴ speaking of Bayezid II, he stresses his generosity, meaning the abolishment of his father's land policies.⁶⁵

Later historians seem to follow a solid tendency toward a more concrete way of eulogy. Even the official historian of Murad III, Talikizâde, seems to have used no moral qualities in his 1596 enumeration of features legitimizing the Ottoman sultan.⁶⁶ In his *Künhü'l-ahbâr*, Gelibolulu Mustafa Âli praises Mehmed II for his respect and generosity toward scholars and poets;⁶⁷ he stresses Murad III's inclination toward mysticism and (in a negative view) his excessive dependence on women, as well as his bad choice of boon companions;⁶⁸ coming to Mehmed III, Âli praises his "justice" ('*adl ü insâfa mâ'il*) and his generosity during the enthroning ceremony.⁶⁹ A few decades later, Hasan Bey-zâde Ahmed Paşa (d. 1636-1637) describes Süleyman I's later days' asceticism and suppression of heretics and mischief-makers;⁷⁰ he notes that Murad III was constantly weeping from thinking of the afterworld;⁷¹ he constantly and systematically enumerates and praises each one of Sultan's charitable works (bridges, mosques, etc.).⁷² Virtues are now hardly mentioned, and this trend continues with historians like İbrahim Peçevî or Peçuylu (1577-1649?).⁷³ While praising Ahmed III, Na'ima avoids generalities on his character, choosing to speak in a more concrete way;⁷⁴ courage and severity appear still, but always in a particular context rather than as a general moral rule.⁷⁵

⁶⁴ TULUM (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 187-188.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 195 and p. 197.

⁶⁶ Ch. WOODHEAD, "Murad III and the Historians: Representations of Ottoman Imperial Authority in Late 16th-Century Historiography," in KARATEKE, REINKOWSKI (eds), *op. cit.*, p. 85-98; p. 93-95.

⁶⁷ M. H. ŞENTÜRK (ed.), *Künhü'l-ahbâr c. II: Fâtih Sultân Mehmed devri, 1451-1481*, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2003, p. 2-3.

⁶⁸ ÇERÇİ (ed.), *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 226ff.; vol. 3, p. 629ff.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 649-658.

⁷⁰ Ş. N. AYKUT (ed.), *Hasan Bey-zâde Ahmed Paşa: Hasan Bey-zâde târihi*, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2004, p. 156-157.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 400-401.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 158-165, p. 221-226, p. 400 and p. 894-897.

⁷³ İbrahim PEÇEVİ (PEÇUYLU) EFENDİ, *Tarih-i Peçevi*, Istanbul, H. 1281-1283, repr. with prologue and index by F. Ç. DERİN, V. ÇABUK (ed.), Istanbul, Enderun, 1980, vol. 1, p. 438-439; vol. 2, p. 2-5 and p. 399.

⁷⁴ İPŞİRLİ (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 1873-1876; THOMAS, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

⁷⁵ THOMAS, *op. cit.*, p. 90-92 and p. 94-96 (on Murad IV).

An interesting exception has recently been studied by Rhoads Murphey.⁷⁶ Mustafa Sâfi (d. 1616), a chronicler of Ahmed I's reign, devoted almost half of his historical account to a highly exaggerating enumeration of Ahmed's kingly qualities. His purpose, as Murphey rightly observes, is to set the values "for which the regime should be known and remembered. In his view, the possession by the currently reigning Ottoman sultan of the high moral traits, intellectual abilities and physical attributes ascribed to the figure of the ideal ruler in the standard cannon on Islamic statecraft deserved celebration not only because these high virtues were personified by the current Ottoman ruler, but because they typified the Ottoman regime itself."⁷⁷ These virtues include physical strength, public building activities and even supernatural powers (such as omnipresence and omnipotence). What is interesting is that Sâfi seems to follow, although not very closely, the traditional description of the cardinal virtues. He begins thus with justice, which is closely connected with clemency (*hilm*); then follows honesty, piety, intelligence, humility (modesty), generosity, courage (*şeca'at*). From this point of view, Sâfi's work could be considered a product of the tradition of the previous century. A similar enumeration of kingly virtues and qualities compiled half a century later shows the difference: the second redaction of Mehmed Halife's *Târih-i Gilmânî*, completed in 1665 and describing events from 1623 to 1664, contains also an epilogue on advice and the sultans' moral qualities.⁷⁸ There he praises mildness, although he does not name it as a virtue, giving only advice on keeping one's temper. Then he starts a eulogy of the moral qualities of the ruler of the time, Mehmed IV, as follows: he notes that the Sultan used to read and learn from his childhood; that he is constantly engaged in Holy War; that he loves sport (falconry, *cirid*) and hunting, but never neglects the daily prayers; that he cleaned Istanbul from the mischievous entertainment groups of Ahmet

⁷⁶ MURPHEY, *art. cit.*; İ. H. ÇUHADAR (ed.), *Mustafa Sâfi'nin Zübdetü't-Tevârih'i*, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2003, vol. 1, p. 21-264. Murphey uses a ms. ignored by Çuhadar, which seems to have substantial differences with the latter's edition.

⁷⁷ MURPHEY, *art. cit.*, p. 7.

⁷⁸ A. REFIK (ALTINAY), "Târih-i Gilmânî," *Türk Tarih Encümeni Mecmuası*, H. 1340 (1924), n. s., suppl. fasc. 1-6, p. 94-96; rendered to modern Turkish by K. SU, *Mehmet Halife: Târih-i Gilmânî*, Ankara, Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 1986, p. 143-146. On the problem of the various redactions of *Tarih-i Gilmânî*, cf. B. KÜTÜKOĞLU, "Tarih-i Gilmânî'nin ilk redaksiyonuna dair," *Tarih Dergisi* 27, 1973, p. 21-40; B. ATSIZ, *Das osmanische Reich um die Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts nach den Chroniken des Vecihi (1637-1660) und des Mehmed Halifa (1633-1660)*, Munich, Troefenik, 1977, p. cxxii-cxxviii.

Kolu, Petko Kolu and Cevahir Kolu, which incited disorder; that he enforced the clothing restrictions on Christians and Jews; that he chased the armed rogues (*maryollar*) roaming in Istanbul; like his predecessor Süleyman the Magnificent, says Mehmed Halife, so Mehmed IV abhorred entertainers and musicians.

Of course, this is not to deduce that moralist literature waned out completely after the late 16th century. For instance, a summary of Kinalızâde's *Ahlâk-i Alâî* was compiled by Osmanzâde Taip Ahmed (d. 1723).⁷⁹ A striking resurrection of the Persian tradition is included in Şânî-zâde Mehmed Atâ'ullah Efendi's (ca. 1770-1826) chronicle: when he tries to explain the Greek War of Independence of 1821, he mentions a division of people in five categories, according to their degree of natural inclination toward good or evil.⁸⁰ Although Şânî-zâde attributes this thought to "books such as Ibn Khaldun's *Prolegomena*," it seems to originate from Kinalızâde or one of his continuators.⁸¹ On the other hand, from the mid-17th century onwards, another ethical tradition appeared in the forefront of politics, this time based not on the traditional pattern of the cardinal virtues but on the old Islamic obligation for "commanding right and forbidding wrong" (*emr-i ma'rûf ve nehy-i müker*). This tradition found its political form in the Kadızadeli movement, which dominated power and ideological conflicts throughout the 17th century;⁸² moreover, it seems to have influenced a series of financial and institutional reforms

⁷⁹ Etmekçizâde Muhyiddin Gülşenî's *Ahlâku'l-kirâm* (1585) seems to be of a similar nature; cf. A. S. LEVEND, "Ümmet çağında ahlâk kitaplarımız," *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı-Belleten* 1963, p. 89-115: p. 97-98. Osmanzâde Taip Ahmed made also a synopsis of a translation from the famous *Kelile ve Dimne* (*ibid.*, p. 109). It is interesting to see the connection of morals with politics emerging again in late 19th-century Ottoman education: B. C. FORTNA, "Islamic Morality in Late Ottoman 'Secular' Schools," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 32/3, 2000, p. 369-393, esp. p. 379-380.

⁸⁰ Z. YILMAZER (ed.), *Şânî-zâde Mehmed 'Atâ'ullah Efendi: Şânî-zâde târihi [Osmanlı tarihi (1223-1237 / 1808-1821)]*, Istanbul, Çamlıca Basım, 2008, vol. II, p. 1028-1029. In the same context, Şânî-zâde refers also to Koçi Bey and Na'ima (*ibid.*, p. 1031).

⁸¹ Cf. KOÇ (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 486ff. Kinalızâde draws from Devânî's *Ahlâk-ı Celâlî*, cf. ROSENTHAL, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

⁸² Cf. M. C. ZILFI, *The Politics of Piety: the Ottoman Ulema in the Postclassical Age (1600-1800)*, Minneapolis, *Bibliotheca Islamica*, 1988, p. 137ff.; M. COOK, *Commanding Right and Forbidding Wrong in Islamic Thought*, Cambridge-New York, Cambridge University Press, 2000, esp. p. 316ff.; M. D. BAER, *Honored by the Glory of Islam: Conversion and Conquest in Ottoman Europe*, Oxford-New York, 2008; M. SARIYANNIS, "The Kadızadeli Movement as a Social and Political Phenomenon: the Rise of a 'Mercantile Ethic'?", in A. ANASTASOPOULOS (ed.), *Political Initiatives "From the Bottom Up" in the Ottoman Empire, Halcyon Days in Crete VII, Proceedings of the Symposium, Rethymno, 9-11 Jan. 2009*, Rethymno, Crete University Press, forthcoming.

in the end of the same century, namely the *cizye* reform of 1691 and the experiments with landholding laws in the early 1670s.⁸³ The presence of this trend in *stricto sensu* political literature, however, remains to be explored.

This course toward a more “political” or “pragmatic” approach during the 17th century is moreover corroborated by Gottfried Hagen’s analysis of the notion of “world order” (*nizâm-ı âlem*). Hagen finds that by the beginnings of the 18th century this notion had gradually been “reduced to rhetoric, obviously devoid of meaningful content”, and speaks of “the dissolution of the moral discourse over legitimacy”.⁸⁴ Baki Tezcan connected Kınalızâde’s theory on the soul with the idea of compartmentalized social order, divided into two or four “classes”, propounded by Persian and Ottoman theorists.⁸⁵ The idea of three souls moderated by the self corresponds thus with the social classes ruled by a Sultan. It is interesting to note that when this “moralist” approach to politics seems to fade out, as I tried to show, justification for the compartmentalized order began to take more “scientific” forms, so to speak, usually taken from medical metaphors as in Kâtib Çelebi’s work. Conversely, however, and as reality attacked the old concept of *hadd* throughout the 17th century (e.g. with Muslim city-dwellers entering the janissary corps

⁸³ Cf. G. VEINSTEIN, “On the Çiftlik Debate,” in Ç. KEYDER, F. TABAK (ed.), *Landholding and Commercial Agriculture in the Middle East*, Albany, State University of New York Press, 1991, p. 35-53; G. VEINSTEIN, “Le législateur ottoman face à l’insularité: l’enseignement des *Kânûnnâme*,” in N. VATIN, G. VEINSTEIN (eds), *Insularités ottomanes*, Paris, Maisonneuve et Larose, 2004, p. 91-110; G. VEINSTEIN, “Les règlements fiscaux ottomans de Crète,” in A. ANASTASOPOULOS (ed.), *The Eastern Mediterranean under Ottoman Rule: Crete, 1645-1840, Halcyon Days in Crete VI, Proceedings of the Symposium, Rethymno, 13-15 Jan. 2006*, Rethymno, Crete University Press, 2008, p. 3-16; M. GREENE, “An Islamic Experiment? Ottoman Land Policy on Crete,” *Mediterranean Historical Review* 11, 1996, p. 60-78; M. GREENE, *A Shared World: Christians and Muslims in the Early Modern Mediterranean*, Princeton University Press, 2000, p. 25-29; E. KERMELI, “Caught in between Faith and Cash: the Ottoman Land System of Crete, 1645-1670,” in ANASTASOPOULOS (ed.), *op. cit.*, 2008, p. 17-48; E. KOLOVOS, “Beyond ‘Classical’ Ottoman Defterology: a Preliminary Assessment of the *Tahrir* Registers of 1670/71 Concerning Crete and the Aegean Islands,” in E. KOLOVOS, P. KOTZAGEORGIS, S. LAIOU, M. SARIYANNIS (eds), *The Ottoman Empire, the Balkans, the Greek Lands: Toward a Social and Economic History, Studies in Honor of John C. Alexander*, Istanbul, Isis Press, 2007, p. 201-235; M. SARIYANNIS, “Notes on the Ottoman Poll-Tax Reforms of the Late Seventeenth Century: the Case of Crete,” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 54, 2011, p. 39-64.

⁸⁴ G. HAGEN, “Legitimacy and World Order,” in KARATEKE, REINKOWSKI (eds), *op. cit.*, p. 55-83; p. 80; cf. also p. 80-83.

⁸⁵ TEZCAN, *art. cit.*

in mass or with the state apparatus blurring the old ulema or military career lines), it seems that references to one's limit or *hadd* moved toward a more "ethical" interpretation: the battle for austere compartmentalization being lost, Ottoman authors restrained themselves to condemning excesses in clothes or pageantry.⁸⁶

The shifting content of the "princely virtues"

Another conclusion to be deduced from the present analysis concerns the various meanings the kingly virtues can take, according to the period and the background or aims of the author, the same way, as seen just before, the notion of *hadd* underwent a profound transformation. Recently Boğaç Ergene identified two alternative definitions of justice, one used by the "imperial center" and meant as the protection of the *reaya* by a shepherd-like ruler against abuses of the military elite (e.g. in the work of Hasan Kâfî Akhisarî, İdris-i Bitlisî, *Kitâb-ı müstetâb*, Koçi Bey etc.), and another one used by some segments of the ruling elite and meant as the recognition of the mutual rights and obligations of the sultan and his servants (Ergene traces this definition, e.g., in some passages by Mustafa Ali, Evliya Çelebi or Na'ima).⁸⁷ Kınalızâde, Ergene observes, "defined justice as (1) maintaining the order of *erkân-ı erba'a* intact and in harmony, (2) determining the ranks of the inhabitants of the society according to their merits and capabilities and (3) distributing the benefactions accordingly".⁸⁸ As Gottfried Hagen again notes, "the theoretical discourse (with the exception of Qınalızade) does not produce a clear-cut definition of justice as such. Justice as a personal virtue of the ruler, i.e. as a balanced temperament, is discussed partly at great length, but justice as a norm of political practice remains much less distinct".⁸⁹ In another

⁸⁶ The traditional perception of *hadd* is still evident in, e.g., DERİN, ÇABUK (ed.), *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 166; KÂTİB ÇELEBİ, *Fezleke*, Istanbul, H. 1286-1287, vol. 2, p. 183; KÂTİB ÇELEBİ, *Mizânü'l-hak fi'htiyârî'l-âhak*, Constantinople, H. 1306, p. 129. Na'ima, on his part, speaks of the transgression of *hadd* as "the imitation of high classes by the lower ones" (e.g. İPŞİRLİ, *op. cit.*, p. 1378: *Devlet-i Aliyye'de her makâmın ashâbına ve her tarîkin erbâbına mahsûs bir hadd-ı mahdûd vardır ki anı itihâz edip esâgır ekâbre edânî âliye taklîd etmek fesâd-ı nizâma sebebdır*); cf. S. İLGÜREL, *Hüseyin Hezarfen Efendi, Telhîsü'l-beyân fî kavânin-i Âl-i 'Osmân*, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1998, p. 105. Cf. also FERGUSON, *art. cit.*, p. 109ff.

⁸⁷ B. ERGENE, "On Ottoman Justice: Interpretations in Conflict (1600-1800)," *Islamic Law and Society* 8/1, 2001, p. 52-87.

⁸⁸ ERGENE, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

⁸⁹ HAGEN, *art. cit.*, p. 67. On the various understandings of "justice" in Persian polit-

thread of thought, Linda T. Darling interprets the Ottoman emphasis to justice and its “circle” in the context of the dependence of Ottoman rulers on popular forces, i.e. peasants.⁹⁰

It might be useful to trace the evolution of the term “justice” and of its uses through the various “scripts of justice” or *adâletnâmes* issued throughout the 16th and 17th centuries. From among the seventeen such texts, published by Halil İnalcık,⁹¹ seven (mostly from the 17th century) are quite laconic in this matter (n^{os} XV, 1521; XVI, 16th century; VIII, 1596; XI, 17th century?; XII, 1648; XIII, 17th century?; XIV, 2nd half of 17th century). Some define justice as the need to protect the *reaya*’s well-being and security against oppressors (n^{os} V, 1540; II, 1565; IX, 1596; X, 1609); quite a few stress that justice lies in following the law, and especially the old laws and regulations (*kanûn-ı kadîm*) without any innovations (*bid’at, hades*) (n^{os} I, 1516; XVII, 1537; VI, 1560; III, 1595; IV, 1637). I think that this approach of “justice” as “following the old law” is central for Ottoman thought, although not so much for the political practice of the administration. One must note, however, that contrary to the common belief, Ottoman literature contains plenty of specimens of pro-innovation arguments.⁹²

Similar observations can be made for other “cardinal virtues” as well. For instance, generosity is continuously stressed upon throughout the 15th and 16th century by almost all authors, who elevate this virtue up to the level of the four cardinal ones; most of them, moreover, seem to define it as the generosity of the Sultan toward his elite subjects, poets and so forth, implying themselves in a second level (so Ahmedî or Âlî,

ical theory cf. also A. K. S. LAMBTON, “*Quis Custodiet Custodies*: Some Reflections on the Persian Theory of Government,” part II, *Studia Islamica* 6, 1956, p. 125-146 (= A. K. S. LAMBTON, *op. cit.*): p. 126; LAMBTON, “Justice,” *art. cit.* Nizam ul-Mulk theorized that justice was mainly the maintenance of each in his rightful place, while for al-Ghazali it meant “complete impartiality in giving judgment and in according to the people their due, rather than the observation of the ‘mean’”; Tusi, from his part, seems to have tried a synthesis of both (LAMBTON, “Justice,” *art. cit.*, p. 102-104, p. 106 and p. 109-110).

⁹⁰ DARLING, *art. cit.*, p. 526 and cf. p. 530-531, where she argues that “European political literature argued that the provision of security was more important than justice or liberty (the preoccupations of an earlier age); the Middle Eastern literature advocated justice over security or liberty”. On the concept of “justice”, cf. also FERGUSON, *art. cit.*, p. 95ff. and p. 106-108 on the shifting images of the *reaya*.

⁹¹ H. İNALCIK, “Adâletnâmeler,” *Türk Tarih Belgeleri Dergisi* II/3-4, 1965, p. 49-145 = H. İNALCIK, *Osmanlı’da devlet, hukuk, adâlet*, İstanbul, Eren, 2000, p. 75-190.

⁹² Cf. C. YILMAZ, *art. cit.*, p. 320; H. YILMAZ, *art. cit.*, p. 281; SARIYANNIS, “Ottoman Critics,” *art. cit.*, p. 142; FERGUSON, *art. cit.*, p. 98ff.

for instance). On the other hand, some authors connected more closely to the ruling elite, such as Tursun Beğ, give a broader interpretation of the term: for them, a generous sultan is a sultan who does not take for himself (i.e., the state or *mirî*) the property of individuals or *vakfs*.⁹³ Toward the turn of the century, on the contrary, we start to see voices (such as the anonymous author of *Hırzû'l-mülûk*) advocating the need to check excessive generosity, granting lower revenues to high officials. This trend culminates with the strict economical advice by 17th-century authors such as Koçu Bey or Kâtib Çelebi.⁹⁴

One can further research the development of other virtues as well; for instance, early authors (Tursun Beğ, Akhisarî, Âli) seem to “push” constantly mildness into the company of the cardinal virtues; on the other hand, one might say that the importance of piety is constant and perhaps increasingly present even in 17th-century writers, something that could be relevant to the rise of religious “fundamentalism” during this century.⁹⁵

⁹³ Cf. a similar understanding in the Persian Najm ad-Din's (d. 1256) work: LAMBTON, “Justice,” *art. cit.*, p. 112-113.

⁹⁴ Commenting on the early 18th-century historians Abdi and Şem'dânî-zâde, Suraiya Faroqhi observes that they both “had things to say on the right balance between generosity and severity. Generosity and the related act of amply supplying the markets with commodities were considered major virtues. (...) In the same breath however, the incoming sultan was admonished to keep the treasury well filled”. FAROQHI, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

⁹⁵ In KARATEKE, REINKOWSKI (eds), *op. cit.*, cf. the contributions by H. KARATEKE, “Opium for the Subjects? Religiosity as a Legitimizing Factor for the Ottoman Sultan,” p. 111-129; N. AL-TIKRITI, “Kalam in the Service of State: Apostasy Rulings and the Defining of Ottoman Communal Identity,” p. 131-149; M. DRESSLER, “Inventing Orthodoxy: Competing Claims for Authority and Legitimacy in the Ottoman-Safavid Conflict,” p. 151-173.

Marinos SARIYANNIS, *Les vertus du prince dans la littérature politique et morale ottomane*

Dans les sociétés de l'époque prémoderne et des débuts de l'époque moderne, les notions morales constituent une part importante de la théorie politique ; cet article porte sur les vertus demandées au souverain, telles qu'elles sont décrites et employées par les écrivains politiques ottomans. À partir de la fin du xv^e siècle, des écrivains tels que Tursun Beğ, İdris-i Bitlisî ou Kınalızâde Ali Çelebi se sont attardés sur le schéma traditionnel persan des quatre vertus cardinales (provenant d'Aristote) et ont souligné, de manière plus ou moins similaire, son importance pour une gouvernance juste et efficace. Néanmoins, vers le milieu du xvi^e siècle, on peut constater un abandon progressif de ce schéma de « vertus cardinales » ainsi que de l'accent mis sur la personne du souverain, pour une approche devenant de plus en plus pragmatique et concrète. En outre, la définition de ces mêmes vertus, telles que la « justice » ou la « générosité », a subi des changements notables dans le temps.

Marinos SARIYANNIS, *The Princely Virtues as Presented in Ottoman Political and Moral Literature*

In pre-modern and early modern societies, moral notions form a significant part of political theory; this paper focuses on the virtues demanded from the ruler, as described and used by Ottoman political writers. Starting from the late 15th century, authors such as Tursun Beğ, İdris-i Bitlisî or Kınalızâde Ali Çelebi expanded on the traditional Persian scheme of the four cardinal virtues (derived from Aristotle) and argued in more or less similar ways on its significance for just and effective ruling. By the mid-16th century, however, one may detect a gradual depart from both the “cardinal virtues” pattern and from the stress on the person of the Sultan, in a course toward more pragmatic and concrete approaches. Furthermore, the content of those same virtues, such as “justice” or “generosity,” changes significantly over time.

THE MAKING OF THE SUBLIME PORTE NEAR THE ALAY KÖŞKÜ AND A TOUR OF A GRAND VIZIERIAL PALACE AT SÜLEYMANIYE

Scholarship has long maintained that the Sublime Porte came into being during Damad İbrahim Paşa's tenure in office (May 1718-Sept. 1730).^{*} First, İ. H. Uzunçarşılı's relevant chapter in *Osmanlı Devletinin Merkez ve Bahriye Teşkilâtı*, then T. Gökbilgin's *İslam Ansiklopedisi* entry on the subject, maintained that İbrahim had reorganized the office of the grand vizier by playing a decisive role in the finalization of that top executive's control of the Imperial Chancery (*Divân-ı Hümayûn*), as well as by the transfer of its offices to his palace.¹ He was also said to have led the way in inserting "his men" (i.e. members of his household) into the administration. In 1960, building largely on Uzunçarşılı and Gökbilgin, but also with reference to Mehmed Süreyya's 1897 article in *Sicill-i Osmanî*, J. Deny repeated in the *Encyclopedia of*

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^{*} This is a slightly shorter version of an article to be published in Turkish: "Alay Köşku Yakınlarında Bâbüâlî'nin Oluşumu ve Süleymaniye'de bir Sadrazam Sarayı," in Edhem ELDEN, Aksel TİBET, Ersu PEKİN (ed.), *Bir Allame-i Cihan: Stefanos Yerasimos (1942-2005) Anısına*, İstanbul, Kitap Yayınevi, 2012 (forthcoming), p. 73-140.

¹ İsmail Hakkı UZUNÇARŞILI, "Paşa Kapısı: Bâb-ı Âlî," in İsmail Hakkı UZUNÇARŞILI, *Osmanlı Devletinin Merkez ve Bahriye Teşkilâtı*, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1988 (1st ed.: 1948), p. 249-261; Tayyib GÖKBİLGİN, "Bâbüâlî," *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, İstanbul, İstanbul Üniversitesi, 1940-1987, vol. II, p. 174-177.

Islam that “the ‘Porte’, which at the same time was the personal dwelling of the grand vizier and at the outset tended to be rather mobile, gradually lost the character of a semi-private residence and became finally *established*, under what was henceforth to be its official name, from 1718, when the grand vizier Nevşehirli Damad İbrahim Paşa returned with his father-in-law, Sultan Ahmed III, from Adrianople to Istanbul, after the peace of Passarowitz.”²

But meanwhile, an equally authoritative statement on the setting up of a permanent office for the grand vizier has centered on Derviş Mehmed Paşa’s mid-17th-century grand vizierate (March 1653-Nov. 1654).³ In that same discussion of the grand vizier’s palace and household, Uzunçarşılı also claimed that the former palace of Halil Paşa (who had held that post on two different occasions, over November 1616-January 1619 and December 1626-April 1628) was refurbished with Derviş Mehmed’s own money and turned into a stable residence-office complex. This palace was said to have been located across from the Alay Köşkü (the Kiosk of Processions).⁴

² MEHMET SÜREYYA, *Sicill-i Osmanî: Tezkire-i Meşâhîr-i Osmaniye* IV, Istanbul, Matbaa-i Amire, 1897, p. 755; Jean DENY, “Bâb-ı ‘Âlî,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*², Leiden, Brill, 1960-2005, vol. I, p. 836; Jean DENY, “Sadrâzam,” *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, *op. cit.*, vol. XII, p. 46. S. Eyice, however, criticized this belief and Osman Nuri Ergin in particular, who also had argued that the Sublime Porte was allocated to grand viziers during the tenure of Damad İbrahim Paşa. Quoting Reşat Ekrem Koçu, and on the basis of what he knew about Kemankes Kara Mustafa Paşa’s official and private palaces, Eyice claimed that in the 1640s there already was a grand vizierial palace across from the Alay Köşkü (cf. *infra*, fn. 31-32). Cf. Mehmet İPŞİRLİ, Semavi EYİCE, “Bâbiâli,” *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul, Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, vol. 4, p. 378-389; Reşad Ekrem KOÇU, “Babiâli (Yangınlar),” in Reşad Ekrem KOÇU, *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul, Tan matbaası, 1960, vol. IV, p. 1746-1750 and p. 1762-1765. For the Sublime Porte, also cf. Baron Joseph VON HAMMER-PURGSTALL, “18. Asırda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Devlet Teşkilâtı: Bâbiâli,” *İstanbul Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Mecmuası* VII/2-3, 1941, p. 564-586; KOÇU, *art. cit.*, p. 1746; Uğur TANYELİ, “Babiali,” in İlhan TEKELİ *et al.*, *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul, Kültür Bakanlığı-Tarih Vakfı, 1993-1994, vol. 1, p. 519-522; Metin KUNT, “Sadr-ı a’zâm,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*², *op. cit.*, vol. VIII, p. 751-752.

³ For Derviş Mehmed, cf. Metin KUNT, “Dervish Mehmed Pasha, Vezir and Entrepreneur: a Study in Ottoman Political-Economic Theory and Practice,” *Turcica* IX/1, 1977, p. 197-214.

⁴ The term Uzunçarşılı used is *karşı sırasında*. He cites ‘Atâ Bey’s translation of Hammer’s *Histoire de l’Empire ottoman* (UZUNÇARŞILI, *op. cit.*, p. 249-250, fn. 1). While Uzunçarşılı relied largely on Hammer and d’Ohsson, those 19th-century authors for their part seem to have used Na’imâ extensively; cf. Joseph VON HAMMER-PURGSTALL, *Histoire de l’Empire ottoman: depuis son origine jusqu’à nos jours -X- Depuis l’avènement d’Ibrahim I, jusqu’à la nomination de Koeprili Mohammed-Pascha à la dignité de Grand-Vizir, 1640-1656*, Paris, Bethune-Plon, 1837, p. 347; Muradjea D’OHSSON, *Tableau général de l’Empire ottoman*, Paris, impr. de Monsieur, 1788-1791, vol. VII, p. 158. Gökbilgin,

Uzunçarşılı further noted that after receiving the seal, Köprülü Mehmed Paşa (Sept. 1655-Oct. 1661) had moved to this *mîrî* palace, located across (*öninde*) the Alay Köşkü and near (*kurbinde*) the Soğukçeşme gate.⁵ This typifies the conventional view that the grand vizier's residence and household were (re-)inserted into the political arena during the term of Köprülü Mehmed Paşa.⁶ The kiosk where sultans retired to watch the stately parades passing beneath them, as well as the nearby gate, were both on the Topkapı palace land walls (*sur-ı sultanî*).

HISTORIOGRAPHICAL PROBLEMS

A lot of these dates and names are seemingly precise enough to invest the encyclopedic treatments they appear in with the requisite degree of authority. Nevertheless, not only the separation of the grand vizier's household from that of the sultan, but also the exact location of the grand vizierial palace(s) before and after 1654 remains unsettled. To some extent this is because the historians who have authored them have repeatedly based their accounts on the 18th-century chroniclers such as Na'îmâ,

again with reference to Hammer, claimed that the palace was built and furnished by Mehmed IV and was given as a gift to Derviş Mehmed Paşa in return to his services; cf. GÖKBİLGİN, *art. cit.*, p. 175. For Na'îmâ's wording, cf. *infra*, fn. 59.

⁵ UZUNÇARŞILI, *op. cit.*, p. 250. However, Râşid's reference to Köprülü Mehmed Paşa's ceremonial move to the former grand vizierial palace (*vezîra'zam-ı sâbıkın alay ile sadra'zamlara mahsûs olan sarâyına ric'at*) does not really help us identify the palace in question. It only suggests that at the time of his writing there was indeed a permanent palace reserved for grand viziers. For the events of H. 1072 (1661-1662), cf. *Tarih-i Râşid/Tarih-i İsmail 'Âsım Efendi eş-şehir bi-Küçükçelebizâde*, Istanbul, Matbaa-i Amire, 1865, vol. I.

⁶ References to the Köprülü Mehmed restoration are too many to cite here. Cf. *supra*, fn. 1. Gökbilgin suggested that in the second half of the 17th century, and especially during Köprülü Mehmed Paşa's tenure, bureaus handling important state affairs were moved from the Topkapı palace to the grand vizier's palace, which thereby became the Sublime Porte (*Bâb-ı 'Âlî*). For the diminishing importance of the Imperial Chancery or its transfer to the grand vizier palace, Gökbilgin referred to Tayyazâde Ahmed 'ATÂ, *Tarih-i 'Atâ*, Dersaadet, 1876, vol. III, p. 97. He also cited his communications with Uzunçarşılı; the latter told him, Gökbilgin said, that he had actually encountered the term *Bâb-ı 'Âlî* in archival documents in reference to the official seat and private apartments of Damad İbrahim Paşa and (even) of Köprülü Mehmed Paşa. Uzunçarşılı himself, with reference to the late 18th-century chronicle by Edib Efendi, further claimed that the term *Bâb-ı 'Âlî* had come into use as an alternative to others such as *Bâb-ı Âsafî*, *Paşa Kapısı*, *Vezir[-i a'zam] Kapısı* or *Sadr-ı a'zam Kapısı* during the reign of Abdülhamid I (UZUNÇARŞILI, *op. cit.*, p. 249). Cf. also Muzaffer DOĞAN, "Divân-ı Hümâyûn'dan Bâbiâli'ye Geçiş," *Yeni Türkiye* 31 (Osmanlı I), 2000, p. 474-485.

period. But by complementing passing references in late-17th and early-18th-century chronicles that historians have so far utilized, with accounts of the various state processions of the first quarter of the 18th century, I have been able to mark out the streets, squares, and other buildings that act(ed) as landmarks for the palaces where grand viziers resided. My initial finding is that we can speak of seven main sites or urban lots over which these grand vizierial palaces were spread. I have indicated all these on a map, which will serve as my frequent frame of reference (lots 1-7, fig. 1; cf. *infra*).⁹

In the second section, I will be focusing on a *waqf* document that St. Yerasimos had uncovered and shared with me back in 2004 (cf. Appendix). This document locates a monumental late-16th-century grand vizierial palace, built by the Grand Vizier Siyavuş Paşa (d. 1593), in the Süleymaniye area (Küçükpazar?) that was still in use in the 1650s.¹⁰ Bought by the Grand Vizier [Kara] [Dev] Murad Paşa from the heirs of Siyâvûş Paşa in the mid-17th century, this wooden palace, organized around three courtyards, is comparable to the plans available for some other 16th-century vizierial palaces.¹¹ Furthermore, the palace in question

⁹ This map shows the site in the 1880s. Unfortunately, no earlier maps exist for the area.

¹⁰ I am grateful to the late St. Yerasimos for bringing this vakıf document to my attention. This is a loose document possibly misplaced in a Vakıf Tahrir register dated 1600 which Yerasimos was preparing for publication: Ankara Tapu ve Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü Kuyûd-ı Kadîme Arşivi n° 542 (1009). The first volume of this register is catalogued under n° 543. Cf. Mehmet CANATAR (ed.), *İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrîr Defteri: 1009 (1600) Târihli*, İstanbul, İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti Yayınları, 2004. The register in question does not cover the neighbourhood where Siyavuş Paşa's palace was located. This might explain why the *vakıf* document in question was deposited within the pages of the register, but not recorded in it.

¹¹ Reflecting a hierarchical system organized in terms of an official outer sphere (*birun/hariciye*), and an inner sphere (*enderun*) that was basically residential and recreational in nature, the layout of Ottoman palaces in the capital, comprising courtyards and walled-in gardens, did not change over time. For a mid-18th-century plan of Sokollu Mehmed Paşa's mid-16th-century Kadirga palace, cf. Tülay ARTAN, "In the Tracks of a Lost Palace," *Proceedings of the 9th International Congress on Turkish Art, Istanbul, 23-27 Sept. 1991*, Ankara, Kültür Bakanlığı, 1995, p. 197-202; Tülay ARTAN, "The Kadirga Palace: an Architectural Reconstruction," *Muqarnas X: an Annual on Islamic Art and Architecture (Essays in Honor of Oleg Grabar)*, 1993, p. 201-211. For an excerpt from a 1609 document describing the various parts of Sokollu's Hippodrome (Kabasakal) palace, also cf. Tülay ARTAN, "The Kadirga Palace Shrouded by the Mists of Time," *Turcica XXVI*, 1994, p. 55-124, after ELDEM, *op. cit.*, p. 22-27. The only other existing description of a palace layout has to do with the Sublime Porte in the first decade of the 19th century. It was originally published as part of an article on Alemdar Mustafa Paşa (28 July 1808-15 Nov. 1808) in EFDALETTİN (TEKİNER), "Alemdar Mustafa Paşa," *Târih-i Osmanî Encümeni Mecmuası* IV/21, 1913, p. 1305. The document describing the layout

included the offices of the administrative aides of the grand vizier – a development which has been taken as indicative of his control of the Imperial Chancery in the 18th century. On that basis, I will try to demonstrate that by the time Derviş Mehmed came to office, a palace (at a location rather distant from the Topkapı palace) might already have come to be regarded as a permanent residence for grand viziers. I will argue that Murad Paşa, who came to office twice (May 1649-Aug. 1650 and May-Aug. 1655, shortly before and after Derviş Mehmed Paşa), made an effort to make this palace a permanent residence-office for the grand viziers. Future studies based on similar *waqf* documents promise to shed clearer light on such monumental palaces and the making of the Sublime Porte.

Grand Vizierial Palaces in Close Proximity to the Imperial Palace

Palaces in the Hagia Sophia and Hippodrome (Atmeydanı) Area

G. Bayerle, building largely on Uzunçarşılı, Gökbilgin and Deny, has argued that “having greater privacy, questions of substance were decided there [at Köprülü’s residence] in the ‘afternoon meeting’, and the regular [Topkapı] council meeting devolved into discussing questions of promotions and dismissals and other matters of protocol.”¹² It is true that the mid-afternoon (*ikindi*) prayers traditionally signaled the end of the Imperial Chancery meetings at the Topkapı palace.¹³ It was, however, more than a century before Köprülü came to office, that meetings at the grand vizier’s palace came to be known as the *ikindi divân*. In fact, Süleyman I had granted his favorite İbrahim Paşa (in office, 1523-1536) the privilege of holding the council meetings in his own residence, “a novelty that stupefied everybody” at the time.¹⁴

was cited in UZUNÇARŞILI, *art. cit.*, p. 264. Semavi Eyice, however, has cited another version of the description which was published in *İstanbul Kültür ve Sanat Ansiklopedisi*, İstanbul, Tercüman Yayınları, 1982, vol. II, p. 939-944. Cf. *supra*, fn. 2.

¹² Gustav BAYERLE, *Pashas, Begs, and Effendis: a Historical Dictionary of Titles and Terms in the Ottoman Empire*, İstanbul, Isis Press, 1997, p. 39.

¹³ At the end of the 16th century, holding *ikindi divân* at the grand vizier palace was already a norm; cf. GÖKBILGIN, *art. cit.*, p. 174; Halil İNALCIK, *The Ottoman Empire: the Classical Age 1300-1600*, London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1973, p. 95. For this development modern historians often refer to Gelibolulu Âlî’s *Kunh al-âhbâr*, İstanbul University Library, TY 2290/32, fol. 89a.

¹⁴ Ebru TURAN, *The Sultan’s Favorite: Ibrahim Pasa and the Making of Ottoman Universal Sovereignty in the Reign of Sultan Suleyman (1516-1526)*, Ph. D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 2007, p. 152.

That was not the only favor that Süleyman's İbrahim enjoyed from the time when he was still an *ağa* in the personal service of the sultan. First and foremost he was allowed to have his palace located on the Hippodrome. Completed in 1521-1522, this was a stone edifice that has therefore survived to this day (lot 1). After he came to office, he not only celebrated his own marriage (1524) there, but also took the liberty of turning the palace into a dynastic theatre.¹⁵ In 1567, thirty years after İbrahim's murder, his palace was loaned to Zal Mahmud Paşa and Şah Sultan, a daughter of Selim II. The couple died in 1580, and throughout the course of the 17th century it was occupied partially by Janissary novices (*içoğlan* or *acemioğlan*) and partially by high-ranking military bureaucrats, often related to the imperial family.¹⁶ From the first quarter of the 18th century onwards, parts of İbrahim's palace were used for a variety of purposes, such as a weaving mill and dyehouse, stables, the barracks of the military band, the imperial registry office, a storehouse for the state archives, a military warehouse, an asylum, a prison and even as a menagerie (*arslanhâne*, lit. the lion house).¹⁷

There were other vizierial palaces standing next to the İbrahim Paşa palace on the north, built over the ruins of a great hall and a rotunda, two unidentified Byzantine structures adjoining the Antiochus' palace (lot 2). It is also known that monumental Ottoman mansions were built on top of the neighboring Binbirdirek cistern. One of them was the palace of the grand admiral and royal bridegroom Fazlı Paşa (d. 1657), which was burned down in 1660. Still, some parts survived and continued to shelter a variety of functions. In the first and last decades of the 18th century, a monumental wooden palace at the north of İbrahim's palace, but on a

¹⁵ An erroneous interpretation regarding İbrahim's marriage to (supposedly) Süleyman I's sister Hadice still survives in the secondary literature: Doğan KUBAN, "Atmeydanı," in *Hippodrom/Atmeydanı*, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 17-31. For the real identity of İbrahim Paşa's bride, cf. TURAN, *op. cit.*, p. 210-223; and compare with: Zeynep YELÇE, "Celebration in the Age of Suleyman: a Comparative Look at the 1524, 1530 and 1539 Imperial Festivals," in Suraiya FAROQHI, Arzu ÖZTÜRKMEN (eds.), *Celebration, Entertainment and Theater in the Ottoman World*, Calcutta, Seagull Publications, forthcoming.

¹⁶ In 1645, Na'imâ takes note of both Yusuf Paşa and Fazlı Paşa as two 17th-century possessors of İbrahim's palace. NA'İMÂ MUSTAFA EFENDİ, *Târih-i Na'imâ (Ravzatü'l-Hüseyn fî Hulâsati Ahbârî'l-Hâfikayn)*, ed. Mehmet İpşirli, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2007, vol. IV, p. 1071 (fol. 177): "Vezir Silahdar Yusuf Paşa'nın sarayı ki İbrahim Paşa Sarayı'dır; silahdarlıktan çıkan Fazlı Paşa'ya verilip musahiblik ve sultana namzet olmak ve izzet-i saire ki Yusuf Paşa merhumun sebeb-i iftiharı idi. Cümlesine Fazlı Paşa mazhar olup..."; cf. also *infra*, fn. 17 and 31.

¹⁷ Nurhan ATASOY, *İbrahim Paşa Sarayı*, İstanbul, İstanbul Üniversitesi, 1972; TANMAN, ÇOBANOĞLU, *art. cit.*, p. 35.

higher level, was depicted by Jean-Baptiste Hilaire (1753-1822) and A.-I. Melling (1763-1831). It seems to have been built over the pile of soil excavated from the construction sites of the nearby mosques.¹⁸ Could it have been one of those palaces that changed hands so frequently among grand viziers or the members of the royal family?

Like Sokollu Mehmed Paşa, who had one of his many palaces built across from that of İbrahim in the early 1570s, several other viziers were settled in palaces mostly built by Mimar Sinan in close proximity to the Topkapı palace.¹⁹ Those of Rüstem, [Semiz] Ali, and [Güzel] Ahmed Paşa are listed in Sinan's autobiographies among the vizierial palaces he constructed in the Hagia Sophia/Hippodrome area.²⁰ Some other sources add to this list the palaces of Ayşe Sultan, Hançerli Sultan, Behram Paşa, Kapudan Sinan Paşa and a few others. A 1574 Lambert de Vos drawing included in the Freshfield album²¹ delineates parts of two palaces, one

¹⁸ Cf., respectively, Comte Marie Gabriel Auguste Florent DE CHOISEUL-GOUFFIER, *Voyage pittoresque dans l'empire Ottoman, en Grèce, dans le Troade, les îles de l'Archipel et sur l'Asie-Mineure*, Paris, libr. J.-P. Aillaud, 1782-1822; Antoine-Ignace MELLING, *Voyage pittoresque de Constantinople et des rives du Bosphore*, Paris, P. Didot l'aîné, 1809-1819. Compare with Cornelius Loos' (1685-1738) depiction of this building in 1710-1711: Alfred WESTHOLM, *Cornelius Loos: Teckningar från en expedition till Framre Orienten 1710-1711*, Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, 1985. While the soil excavated from the site of the Sultan Ahmed mosque was discarded at the Hippodrome, the excavation dirt of the Nuruosmaniye mosque (1740-1754) is said to have been dumped on the ruins of the Antiochus palace. That some architectural parts taken from the remains was used in the construction of the Server Dede's tomb (d. 1766), erected in the same period, also hints to the construction of the palace(s) in the last quarter of the 18th century. Cf. Rudolf NAUMANN, Hans BELTING, *Die Euphemia-Kirche am Hippodrom zu Istanbul und ihre Fresken*, Berlin, Mann, 1966, p. 26.

¹⁹ Sinan's autobiographies list four palaces for İsmihan and Sokollu: one at Kadirga Limanı, another near the Hagia Sophia at Ahur Kapu (formerly the Nahlbend quarter), and the summer palaces of Üsküdar (İstavroz) and Halkalı. For the Kadirga palace, cf. *supra*, fn. 11. Likewise, Mihrimah and Rüstem too owned several palaces: one at the Serv quarter of Mahmudpaşa (Cağal/Cıgaloğlu), another at the Hippodrome (Kadirga Limanı), as well as two summer palaces, one of which was located outside the city walls (known as the garden palace), at İskender Çelebi Bahçesi, while the other was at Üsküdar. For the palaces of Rüstem, Sokollu, Semiz Ali Paşa (in the İshak Paşa quarter, near the Hippodrome), Hadım İbrahim Paşa (same area), grand admiral Sinan Paşa, Kapağası Mahmud Ağa (at the Ahur Kapu, in the Nahlbend quarter), and Koca Sinan Paşa, cf. Gülru NECİPOĞLU, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire*, London, Reaktion Books, 2005, p. 300, p. 332-333, p. 385, p. 392, p. 418, p. 490, p. 506.

²⁰ Howard CRANE, Esra AKIN, *Sinan's Autobiographies: Five Sixteenth-Century Texts, Introductory Notes, Critical Editions and Translations*, Leiden, Brill, 2006. The (İbrahim Paşa) Atmeydanı palace too was rebuilt or renovated by Sinan.

²¹ Cambridge, Trinity College Library, inv. ms 0.17.2, fol. 20.

occupying the eastern side of the Hippodrome (now taken up by the Sultan Ahmed mosque and tomb), and the other at its northwestern end (where the Mese makes a turn towards the Hagia Sophia) (fig. 2). The latter, a complex, multi-storey group of buildings, seems to have been a Byzantine marble-revetted brick structure onto which the Ottomans added porticoes with timber posts and balustrades. Covered with single-pitch tiled roofs, the porticoes are depicted as one or two storeys high.²² It is possible that these porticoes are the same galleries with timber posts seen in the 1582 *Sûrnâme* miniatures.²³ A monumental building standing next to the Ayasofya, with a wooden gallery at a central position, is also seen in the 1537-1538 miniature of Matrakçı Nasuh. I will argue that all this points to lot 3. But as we shall see in the next section, both the function and the location of this structure remain controversial among the Byzantinists.

Meanwhile, the aforementioned stone room (lot 4) remains as the only reminder of the grand vizierial palaces that filled this whole area in bygone times. Located at the intersection of the present-day Alemdar Yokuşu and Yerebatan Caddesi, could this storage room have been part of the Yerebatan/Suyabatan palace that stood over the Basilica cistern (thus covering, perhaps, part of lot 3 and most of lot 4)?²⁴ Or was the large area over the cistern, most probably occupied by Byzantine ruins even in the 18th century, used for the auxiliary structures – storage rooms, barracks or stables – of the neighboring palaces? The stone room, with its alternating wall texture, awaits to be dated; it could be part of a Byzantine structure adopted by the Ottomans. Its rectangular windows are crowned with pointed arches, while its superstructure has vanished altogether. It has been associated with Silâhdâr Ali Paşa (Apr. 1713-Aug. 1716), but this identification has not been verified by documentary evidence.²⁵ Rarely mentioned in period chronicles, in the early 18th century the Yerebatan palace and this stone storage room were eventually attached to Damad İbrahim Paşa's residential complex through his royal

²² Edwin H. FRESHFIELD, "Some Sketches Made in Constantinople in 1574," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 30, 1929-1930, p. 522.

²³ TANMAN, ÇOBANOĞLU, *art. cit.*, p. 34-35.

²⁴ The cistern, located 150 m southwest of the Hagia Sophia, was built in the 6th century during the reign of Emperor Justinian I. Ottomans renamed it Yerebatan or Suyabatan, literally the Sunken palace. However, whether there was a palace above it or not cannot be ascertained.

²⁵ Cf. *supra*, fn. 8.

wife Fatma Sultan.²⁶ As we shall see below, this lot 4, at the intersection of two major thoroughfares near the Topkapı palace, proves to be instrumental for the identification of all other vizierial palaces whose exact location cannot be pinned down at first glance. The palace(s) of Derviş and Nevşehirli, both credited with turning their residences into permanent offices, were not very far from this point. But just where were they? Or was it one and the same palace?

As I discuss the two other major locations for grand vizierial palaces, namely lot 5 across from or below the Alay Köşkü, and lot 6 down the slope and across from the Iron Gate (*Bâb-ı Âhen Temürkapu*, one of the gates on the Topkapı palace land walls), I will be revisiting the Yerebatan palace (lots 3 and especially 4). The 17th-18th-century history of this particular palace, although shrouded by the mists of time, provides us with interesting links to other palaces in its vicinity through its ever-changing patrons.

Palaces “across from” or “below” the Alay Köşkü (and References to the Arslanhâne[s], the Nallı Mescid, and the Iron Gate)

The conventional position that identifies Derviş Mehmed Paşa as having been the first to set up a permanent grand vizierial office rests on Na‘îmâ’s *Ravdatü ’l- Hüseyin fi hulâsat-i ahhâri ’l-hâfiqayn* (*Tarih-i Na‘îmâ*). So does the modern identification of the palace in question as the Temürkapu palace. However, three local markers, namely the *Arslanhâne*, the Nallı Mescid (on the lot 5 upper edge), and the Iron Gate, all of which are repeatedly mentioned by Na‘îmâ, would seem to have been misread by modern historians.

Completed in 1704, Na‘îmâ’s account covers events from 1591 to 1660. Unlike his peers, this particular court chronicler was a bit more informative about such locations. He says that in May 1653, Derviş Mehmed Paşa left the Kadirga palace, which he had been temporarily inhabiting, and settled at (Damad Lâdikli) Bayram Paşa’s (Feb. 1637-Aug. 1638) palace behind the *Arslanhâne*.²⁷ While Evliyâ Çelebi remarks

²⁶ For the association of the Yerebatan palace with Damad İbrahim Paşa, cf. Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (hereafter BOA) C. BLD 5400 (25 N 1132/31 July 1720); for the proximity of the grand vizierial palace to the Yerebatan palace, cf. BOA C. BLD 6861 (02 C 1148/10 Oct. 1735).

²⁷ NA‘İMÂ MUSTAFA EFENDİ, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 1470 (fol. 317): “*bu Pazar günü Kadirga Limanı’nda olan saraydan göçüp Melek Ahmed Paşa olduğu Arslanhâne ardında Bayram Paşa sarayına nakl edip karar eyledi.*” Na‘îmâ’s rather ambiguous reference to Melek Ahmed Paşa seems to suggest that the palace in question was the one where Bay-

that Bayram Paşa's palace, located near the Hagia Sophia, was known as the palace of (his wife) Hanzâde Sultan, from Na'imâ we also learn that the palace in question had (formerly or at that time) housed Melek Ahmed Paşa, whose grand vizierate (Aug. 1650-Aug. 1651) slightly preceded Derviş Mehmed's. Evliyâ locates Melek Ahmed Paşa's palace too near the Hagia Sophia, but he associates neither these two palaces nor the *Arslanhâne* with one another.²⁸ Evliyâ's and Na'imâ's references may have been pointing to two different palaces, one being rotated among members of the dynasty and the other among dignitaries; hence Bayram Paşa might have had two separate palaces in the vicinity of the Hagia Sophia. In the light of other documentation, one of these appears to have been located near the Alay Köşkü, and the other, behind the *Arslanhâne*, in the Kabasakal quarter, near the Ahur Kapu.²⁹ Now, the *Arslanhâne*,

ram Paşa's once settled with his family, a *mîrî* palace which circulated among the ruling elite.

²⁸ Royal bridegrooms, like their predecessors in the 16th century, continued to have two palaces at this time with their harems separated from their official residences. Hence "*Saray-ı Hanzâde Sultan yağni saray-ı Bayram Paşa kurb-i Ayasofya*"; cf. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi, Topkapı Sarayı Bağdat 304 Yazmasının Transkripsiyonu, Dizini -I- İstanbul*, ed. Orhan Şaik Gökyay, İstanbul, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1996, p. 133 (fol. 93b). In another instance, he notes that Hanzâde, a daughter of Ahmed I, was Bayram Paşa's wife: "*Bayram Paşa sultanı Hanzâde Sultan binti Sultan Ahmed Han*," *ibid.*, p. 149 (fol. 105b). Furthermore, Evliyâ mentions that Melek Ahmed Paşa's palace had three hammams and 200 rooms (*hücre*): *ibid.*, p. 133 (fol. 93b). Since Melek Ahmed's royal wife Kaya Sultan died in 1659, three years before his death, it is likely that the couple had inherited their palace from Bayram (d. 1638) and Hanzâde (d. 1650). For Na'imâ's confusing association of Bayram's and Melek Ahmed's palaces, cf. *supra*, fn. 27. For the location of Bayram's palace (in relation to that of Derviş Mehmed and Kemankuş Mustafa), cf. *infra*, fn 33 and 59.

²⁹ In 1635, while Bayram was serving as the deputy of the grand vizier, a guild procession passed first by the kiosk of the sultan (*pâdişâhımızın köşkü*), and then proceeded to go by Bayram's palace; cf. *Topçular Katibi Abdülkadir (Kadri) Efendi Tarihi (Metin ve Tahlil)*, ed. Ziya Yılmaz, Ankara, 2003, vol. II p. 1012. The kiosk in question was most probably the Alay Köşkü. The only other alternative for the sultan's kiosk could be the royal chambers over the Imperial Gate. On the other hand, a tax register of 1681, compiled for the office of the market inspector (İhtisâb Ağası), includes a survey of more than 3,000 shops in 15 sectors (*köl*) within the walled-in city. The Ayasofya sector lists landmarks including a palace of Bayram Paşa which seems to be not the one near the Alay Köşkü, but the one his wife Hanzâde owned near the Chalke Gate *arslanhâne*: "*Beyân-ı kol-ı Ayasofya der-uhde-i Terzubaşı Musalla bin Ali. Zıkr olunan on beş kolun dördüncüsü Ayasofya koldur ki, At Meydanı kurbundan ibtida olunub, andan Peykhâne Yokuşu'na, andan Kadirğa Limanı'na, andan Çardaklı Hamamı'ndan Çatladı Kapu haricine, andan Tahte'l-kal'a Suku'na, andan Kemeraltı'ndan Arabacılar Karhânesi'ne, andan Valide İmaretinden Ahur Kapu haricine, andan Bayram Paşa Sarayı'ndan Kabasakal Mahallesi'ne, andan Arslanhâne'den Saray-ı Hümayûn kurbuna, andan Cebbehâne'den Ayasofya Suku'na, andan Firûz Ağa Camii'nden Divanyolu'na, andan Acı Hamam kurbundan Çağaloğlu Sarayı'na, andan Alay Köşkü kurbunda nihayet bulur*" (Atatürk

most frequently mentioned by Ottomanists as the place where the Ottoman palace kept its wild animals, is the Byzantine church of Christ Chalkites.³⁰ The Ottoman menagerie was actually the cellar of this church near the Chalke Gate. Both the gate and the church were at the entrance to the Byzantine palace, and to the east of the Hagia Sophia and the Augustaion.

At this point a twofold correction is due. First, with reference to Silâh-dâr Fındıklılı Mehmed Ağa's narration of the 1687 revolt, the secondary

Kitaplığı Muallim Cevdet, B 2, 4b). In 1639, when she was re-married immediately after Bayram Paşa's death, she seems to have continued to live in this palace, located to the east of the Hagia Sophia, until her death in 1650; cf. *Topçular Katibi Abdülkadir (Kadri) Efendi Tarihi*, *op. cit.*, p. 1128. It is curious that more than two decades later, and despite other prominent residents such as Melek Ahmed, the palace in question was still associated with Bayram Paşa.

³⁰ The Christ Chalkites church was also known as the Chalke Gate church. It was Romanos I (920-944) who built the chapel of Soter Khristos tēs Khalkēs near the Chalke Gate. Then Ioannes Tzimiskes (969-976) enlarged and redecored this chapel, built himself a tomb, and was buried there; cf. Cyril MANGO, *The Brazen House: a Study of the Vestibule of the Imperial Palace of Constantinople*, Copenhagen, I kommission hos Ejnar Munksgaard, 1959, p. 149-169; Semavi EYİCE, "Arslanhane ve Çevresinin Arkeolojisi," *İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Yıllığı XI-XII*, 1964, p. 23-33 and p. 141-146; Raymond JANIN, *Le Siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat œcuménique -III- Les Églises et les monastères*, Paris, Institut français d'études byzantines, 1969, p. 529-530; Wolfgang MÜLLER-WIENER, *Bildlexicon zur Topographie Istanbuls: Byzantion, Konstantinupolis: Istanbul bis zum Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Tübingen, Wasmuth, 1977, p. 81; Semavi EYİCE, "Arslanhane," in TEKELİ *et al.* *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 325-326. Seventeenth-century Ottomans identified a church with an upper storey used as the painting ateliers of the Topkapı palace. Eremya Çelebi KÖMÜRÇİYAN, *İstanbul Tarihi: XVII. Asırda İstanbul*, trans. Hrand D. Andreasyan, annot. K. Pamukciyan, Istanbul, Eren Yayıncılık, 1988, p. 4: "Burada kubbe pencereleri kapanmış olduğu halde bir Arslanhâne vardır. Vaktiyle kilise olan bu bina şimdi fil, tilki, kurt, çakal, ayı, arslan, timsah, pars ve kaplan gibi hayvanlarla doludur ... biraz daha yukarıda Nakkaşhâne vardır. Burada sarayın beylik nakkaşları otururlardı." Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnamesi, *op. cit.*, p. 18 (fol. 12b): "Ayasofya deyrinin cânib-i erba'asına...evvela binâ olunan kubâb-ı 'âlinin biri hâlâ arslanhâne ve nakkaşhâne olan kubbe-i nühtâkdir." Since *nakkaşhâne* appears to denote an institution rather than an actual building, there have been various suggestions about the exact location of the building itself: cf. Filiz ÇAĞMAN, "Saray Nakkaşhanesinin Yeri Üzerine Düşünceler," in Ahmet ÇAYCI (ed.), *Sanat Tarihinde Doğudan Batıya, Ünsal Yücel Anısına Sempozyum Bildirileri*, Istanbul, Sandoz Kültür Yayınları, 1989, p. 35-46. Cf. also Selman CAN, "Arslanhane Üzerine Yeni Bilgiler," in Sümer ATASOY (ed.), *İstanbul Üniversitesi 550. Yıl Uluslararası Bizans ve Osmanlı Sempozyumu (XV. Yüzyıl)*, Istanbul, 30-31 Mayıs 2003, Istanbul, İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2004, p. 359-369; Feza GÜNERGUN, "Türkiye'de Hayvanat Bahçeleri Tarihine Giriş," in Abdullah ÖZEN (ed.), *I. Ulusal Veteriner Hekimliği Tarihi ve Mesleki Etik Sempozyumu Bildirileri*, Prof. Dr. Ferruh Dinçer'in 70. yaşı anısına, Elazığ, 2006, p. 185-218. For a recent account of excavations in the area, cf. Asuman DENKER, Gülçay YAĞCI, Ayşe Başak AKAY, "Büyük Saray Kazısı," in *Gün Işığında İstanbul'un 8000 Yılı: Marmaray, Metro, Sultanahmet Kazıları*, Istanbul, Vehbi Koç Vakfı Yayınları, 2007, p. 134-137.

literature has misidentified the grand vizier in question. Therefore, while some 20th-century historians (mistakenly) located the official palace of Bayram's immediate successor, Kemankeş Kara Mustafa Paşa (Dec. 1638-Jan. 1644) also in the (Alay Köşkü) area, his private palace was situated at Şehzâdebaşı, near the old Janissary barracks.³¹ The modern perception of the Kemankeş Kara Mustafa Paşa's palace location is wrong primarily because Fındıklılı was talking about the grand vizier Siyavuş (not Mustafa) Paşa and, furthermore, the old barracks were perhaps those of the Janissary novices that (in the 17th century) partially

³¹ Eyice, quoting Koçu, echoed Silâhdâr Fındıklılı Mehmed Ağa's comments regarding the 1687 riot where he says that the rebels did not allow (then grand vizier) Siyavuş Paşa to settle in the vicinity of the Topkapı palace, i.e. in the *mîrî* palace, near the Alay Köşkü, and took him to [Kemankeş] Kara Mustafa Paşa's [private?] palace — which Eyice takes to be at Şehzâdebaşı, near the Old Barracks: İPŞİRLİ, EYİCE, *art. cit.*, p. 386. Eyice interpreted this as an indication of the establishment of Bâbüâlî as the seat of the grand vizier in the 17th century. Cf. also KOÇU, *art. cit.* There is no emphasis on the private and the official, or on Şehzâdebaşı in Fındıklılı's comments. Cf. *supra*, fn. 2. According to Silâhdâr Fındıklılı Mehmed Ağa, during the tumultuous events of 1687, it was the *mîrî* grand vizierial palace, located across the Alay Köşkü and near the Soğukçeşme gate, which was sacked. Upon Siyavuş Paşa's arrival in Istanbul, Fındıklılı narrates how he was first banned from settling in the grand viziers' *mîrî* palace across from the Alay Köşkü; and then, how he was taken to the palace of (not [Kemankeş] Kara Mustafa Paşa but) a certain İbrahim Paşa, identified as *maktûl* (a murder victim), near the Old Barracks of the Janissary corps. However, when Siyavuş Paşa was assassinated, he was in the grand vizierial palace and his family, also brutally attacked, was in residence there as well. Furthermore, after negotiating with the rebellious *ağas* and sending them to his own residence, Siyavuş Paşa's deputy is said to have departed for the *mîrî* palace (the official residence of the grand vizier) across Soğukçeşme, namely the Alay Köşkü; SİLÂHDÂR FİNDIKLILI MEHMET AĞA, *Silâhdâr Tarihi*, İstanbul, Türk Tarih Encümeni Külliyyatı, 1928, vol. II, p. 299 and p. 335: “Alay Köşkü öninde *mîrî saraya kondurmayup Eski Odalar kurbinde sadr-ı sabık maktûl İbrahim Paşa sarayına götürdüler*”; and after his assassination: “*ağa oğullarına selâm eyle fakirhâneye buyursunlar deyu yollayup kendü Soğuk Çeşme kurbinde *mîrî saraya gitti*.” Cf. also UZUNÇARŞILI, *op. cit.*, p. 251, fn. 2. While there is no doubt about the location of the *mîrî saray* of the grand viziers in question, the first palace that Siyavuş was forced to settle could have been *Makbûl* and *Maktûl* İbrahim Paşa's Atmeydanı palace. It was allocated to another İbrahim in the late 16th century: three times grand vizier and royal *damad* Bosnalı İbrahim who fell in battle (d. 1601). It is Selânikî who notes the sultan's granting of the palace to Bosnalı İbrahim Paşa. The Atmeydanı palace parts where the Janissary novices were housed were excluded from the vizierial apartments. SELÂNIKÎ MUSTAFA EFENDİ, *Tarih-i Selânikî -I- 971-1003/1563-1595*, ed. Mehmet İpşirli, İstanbul, İstanbul Üniversitesi, 1989, p. 58-59: “*İbrahim Paşa'ya Atmeydanı'nda olan eski İbrahim Paşa sarayının İçoğlanları sâkin olduğu yerden maadasını hibe ve temlik ettim, hüccet-i şer'îye yazılsın ve mülknâme verilsün...*” Furthermore, Mustafa Cezar, also relying on Fındıklılı Mehmed Ağa, identified the palace where Siyavuş Paşa was forced to settle as that of Kara İbrahim Paşa (in office from 1683 to 1685) and located it at Şehzâdebaşı: Server Rifat İSKİT, *Mufasssal Osmanlı Tarihi*, İstanbul, İskit Yayını, 1960, vol. 4, p. 2203. Kara İbrahim was strangled in 1687 and became a *maktûl*.*

occupied the palace of Kanuni's İbrahim Paşa on the Hippodrome.³² Therefore, a connection between Bayram's official palace and that of his successor Mustafa cannot be readily established. Second, in narrating the 1644 riot, Na'imâ, who noted that Kemankeş Kara Mustafa Paşa escaped through the roof of the harem quarters, and "landed" near the Nallı Mescid, thereby situated the exact location of his palace.³³ Now the 15th-century *mescid* in question is located on lot 5 which came to be known as "the Porte" in the course of the 18th century. This is truly across the road from the Alay Köşkü, and hence continuity between Bayram's (official) palace and that of his successor(s) is indeed possible. However, it is quite far from the Church of Christ at the Chalke Gate or the *Arslan-hâne*, and considering the possibility that Bayram might have had one palace only, we need to question the menagerie notion and location. Was there only one, or were there other menageries in the vicinity of the imperial palace? If so, where exactly were they located?

The Arslanhânes

Others too have posed this question, and Byzantinists appear to have come up with more than Ottomanists have taken stock of. Back in 1950, for example, C. Mango identified an Ottoman menagerie that had been housed in the former church of Saint John in the Diippion.³⁴ The Diippion was the open area to the north of the Hippodrome *carceres* (starting gates). Mango quoted Pierre Gilles (Petrus Gyllius) on his visit to a menagerie near the Hippodrome where lions were kept.³⁵ Gilles was informed by locals that the sultan's menagerie had been set up in the church of Saint John the Theologian. With further references to 16th and 17th-century travelers' accounts, Mango argued for the existence of a ruined church near the Hippodrome where wild animals had been kept,

³² Cf. *supra*, fn. 31. It is true that Fındıklılı's reference to "Maktûl İbrahim's palace near the Old Barracks" remains ambiguous.

³³ Also known as İmam Ali Mescidi, the Nallı Mescid is still standing together with the nearby tomb of its patron. Na'imâ does not mention the location of the first palace where Kemankeş Kara Mustafa Paşa settled immediately after his arrival in Istanbul. But for his escape from the grand vizierial palace in 1644, cf. NA'İMÂ MUSTAFA EFENDİ, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 980 (fol. 45): "*tebdîl-i kıyâfet Na'llı Mescid cânibine eğerçi indi..... mescid-i mezbur kurbunda bir yığın otluk var imiş, anın altında gizlenir. Bostancılar ise sarayı açtırıp girip firârını duyduklarında mescid semtinde olan alçak duvarı bulup...*"

³⁴ Cyril MANGO, "Le Diippion: études historique et topographique," *Revue des études byzantines* 8, 1950, p. 152-161.

³⁵ Pierre Gilles (Petrus Gyllius), a natural scientist, topographer and translator, lived in the Ottoman capital in 1544-1550.

and simultaneously suggested that this Saint John church was located along the west flank of the Hippodrome, just south of the Firuz Ağa mosque (lot 2).³⁶ At this point we need to remember that in the late 16th century, some sections of İbrahim Paşa's palace which occupied the west side of the Hippodrome, had served as a menagerie. Yet another menagerie is said to have been located between İbrahim's palace and the Firuz Ağa mosque (lot 1).³⁷ C. Mango assumed that this and the menagerie housed at the church of Saint John in the Diippion were identical, but this has been challenged by J. Bardill.³⁸

Recently, the existence of other menageries housed in Byzantine buildings in this area has been traced by various historians. In this literature,

³⁶ For the menagerie and the Saint John church, Mango referred especially to Pierre Gilles (1561), Pierre Belon (1546-1549), and John Sanderson (1594), and then also to Philippe du Fresne-Canaye (1573), Stephan Gerlach (1573-1578), Fynes Moryson (1597), Pietro della Valle (1614-1615), Sieur du Loir (1639-1641), the Patriarch Macarius of Antioche (1652), Jean de Thévenot (1655-1656), Thomas Smith (1673), Joseph Pitton de Tournefort (1700), and James Dallaway (1795). He also mentioned the map by François Kauffer and Jean-Baptiste Le Chevalier (1800, 1802, and 1812) as well as a 1786 engraving from Sir Richard WORSLEY, *Museum Worsleyanum, or a Collection of Antique Basso-Relievos, Bustos, Statues and Gems with Views of Places in the Levant Taken on the Spot in the Years MDCCLXXX VI and VII*, London, 1794, vol. 2, p. 107; MANGO, *art. cit.*, p. 158-159. Mango proposed the site of the rotunda (lot 2) as the location for the Saint John church.

³⁷ İbrahim Hakkı KONYALI, *İstanbul Sarayları: Atmeydanı Sarayı, Pertev Paşa Sarayı, Çinili Köşk*, İstanbul, Burhaneddin Matbaası, 1942, p. 101 and p. 161. A 1563 document mentions a shop close to both the *Arslanhâne* and the *Divânıyolu*; cf. İbrahim Hakkı KONYALI, *Mimar Koca Sinan*, İstanbul, Nihat Topçubaşı, 1948, p. 24. After MANGO, *art. cit.*, p. 152-161. For an *arslanhâne* in the Mahalle-i Nefs-i Câmî-i Şerif-i Ayasofya, cf. also: Ömer Lütfi BARKAN, Ekrem Hakkı AYVERDİ, *İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrîr Defteri, 953 (1546) Târihli*, İstanbul, İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1970, p. 2. The 1600 register records that this *vakıf* was no longer extant: Mehmet CANATAR, *İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrîr Defteri, 1009 (1600) Târihli*, İstanbul, İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 2004, p. 2.

³⁸ For a critical reading of Mango on Saint John in the Diippion and the menageries, cf. Jonathan BARDILL, "The Palace of Lausus and Nearby Monuments in Constantinople: a Topographical Study," *American Journal of Archaeology* 101, 1997, p. 67-95. Bardill argues that the menagerie located at the Saint John church cannot be identified with the menagerie located to the south of Firuz Ağa mosque – as Mango had suggested with reference to İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı (cf. *supra*, fn. 37). He also argued that the church in question couldn't be located on lot 2. Bardill then concluded that "Hence, there were two menageries in this part of the city in the 15th and 16th centuries, one near Saint Sophia, the other on the opposite side of the Hippodrome, between the İbrahim Paşa's palace and Firuz Ağa Camii. The menagerie visited by Gilles could have been either of these, but given that he describes it as *sito prope Sophiam, olim Augustaeo appellato*, it is much more likely that he visited the one depicted in the two views that we have discussed." Bardill means the menagerie as shown in (a) the Freshfield drawing, and (b) the Matrakçı Nasuh miniature.

the testimony of two visual sources plays a crucial role. Both Matrakçı Nasuh's miniature of Istanbul (1537-1538), and the aforementioned Freshfield drawing of the Hippodrome (1574) show a monumental building standing next to the Hagia Sophia. This building has been identified as the church of Saint John in the Diippion; there are, however, differing opinions concerning its location.³⁹ A legend in the latter drawing, placed above that imposing structure next to the Hagia Sophia, reads: *Pars aedificii S. Sophie ubi nunc leones servantur ad Hippodromi latus septentrionale* (part of the building of Saint Sophia where the lions are now kept, on the northern side of the Hippodrome). On this basis, J. Bardill and B. Pitarakis have noted that "the church of Saint John the Evangelist in the Diippion, which stood behind the Hippodrome *carceres*, was one of these [menageries], and, as the written description in the drawing requires, it was located to the north of the Hippodrome. The drawing and inscription suggest, however, that the menagerie stood much closer to Hagia Sophia, on the east side of the Hippodrome."⁴⁰ Bardill and Pitarakis then went on to say that: "Perhaps a more plausible alternative suggestion is that the picture shows a menagerie attested near the southwest corner of Hagia Sophia, although the original function of the building in which it was established is uncertain." In an earlier study on the Byzantine palaces and monuments near the Hippodrome, Bardill had argued that the monumental building depicted in the Matrakçı Nasuh and Freshfield drawings did not look like a church; that the church of Saint John the Evangelist in the Diippion might have been set up in a pre-existing secular building.⁴¹ Together with Pitarakis, they proposed the

³⁹ Mango identified the structure shown in the Matrakçı Nasuh miniature and in the Freshfield folio as the church of Saint John in the Diippion; cf. Cyril MANGO, "The Development of Constantinople as an Urban Centre," in *The 17th International Byzantine Congress: Major Papers*, New Rochelle, NY, A. D. Caratzas Publications, 1986, p. 127-128 (repr. in Cyril MANGO, *Studies on Constantinople*, Aldershot, Variorum, 1993, art. I).

⁴⁰ Jonathan BARDILL, Brigitte PITRAKIS, "Catalogue 16," in *Hippodrom/Atmeydanı II*, *op. cit.*, p. 275-277. Müller-Wiener too has indicated that the church of Saint John in the Diippion was used as an *arslanhâne*; cf. MÜLLER-WIENER, *op. cit.*, p. 71, pl. 49; and p. 81. However, the monumental building in the Matrakçı Nasuh miniature that corresponds to the menagerie in the Freshfield drawing was wrongly equated by Müller-Wiener with the menagerie in the church of Christ at the Chalke shown in the Indjidjian illustration; cf. Stepanos AKONTIS, Loukas INDJIDJIAN, *Géographie des quatre parties du monde*, Venice, 1804, p. 5 and p. 47, after Müller-Wiener. In fact, Nasuh had also illustrated a multi-domed structure near the Imperial Gate which is identified as the Christ Chalkites church. For a critique of Müller-Wiener: cf. BARDILL, *art. cit.*, p. 94, n. 130. Cf. also *infra*, fn. 48.

⁴¹ BARDILL, *art. cit.*, p. 93.

following: “A literal interpretation of the legend may allow one to suggest that the building of the menagerie was originally part of the patriarchal palace, which was located at the southwest corner of Hagia Sophia.”⁴²

Previously, Bardill had argued that the church of Saint John in the Diippion probably stood close to the Milion and Hagia Sophia, on the circus’ east flank, to the north of the *carceres* or close to the northeast corner of the Hippodrome; and then, together with A. Berger, Bardill marked its possible location on the map, near the Hippodrome starting gates.⁴³ Yet another study, in which the existing literature was reviewed, identified the structure in the Freshfield drawing as the church of Saint John in the Diippion, but located it near the Kaiser Wilhelm II fountain (built in 1900) across the tomb of Sultan Ahmed, towards the northern end of the Hippodrome.⁴⁴ A hitherto unnoticed remark by Polonyalı Simeon, a religious Armenian from Caffa (Kefe), who visited a menagerie immediately after his visit to Hagia Sophia in 1608 and noted that it was located in a monumental church, formerly a monastery for the nuns, could offer a clue at this point.⁴⁵ In front of this domed building which stood only a few steps away from the Hagia Sophia, he said, was the Hippodrome. This remark discards the identification of the menagerie

⁴² BARDILL, PITARAKIS, *art. cit.*, p. 275-277.

⁴³ Albrecht BERGER, Jonathan BARDILL, “The Representations of Constantinople in Hartman Schedel’s World Chronicle, and Related Pictures,” *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 22, 1998, p. 2-37, fig. 9. Cf. also the various computer reconstructions of the Hippodrome area: www.byzantium1200.com, click on “Hippodrome” (accessed on Apr. 25, 2012).

⁴⁴ Nigel B. WESTBROOK, Rene VAN MEEUWEN, “The Freshfield Folio View of the Hippodrome in Istanbul and the Church of Saint John Diippion,” in Stephen LOO, Katharine BARTSCH (eds), *Proceedings of the 24th International Conference of the Society of Architectural Historians Australia and New Zealand (SAHANZ), Adelaide, 21-24 Sept. 2007*, SAHANZ, 2007. I am grateful to Prof. Westbrook for sharing this enlightening study with me. Their argument about Freshfield folio’s being a composite of views from the west is significant. However, among the few things which led me to hesitate to agree with their conclusion regarding the church’s location on the Hagia Sophia’s southeastern corner, I would like to point out that: (1) as Mango has highlighted, Byzantine sources display that the Diippion was an open space; (2) the still well known 20th-century coffee-shop that Alexandros Georgiou Paspates referred to (in his *Great Palace of Constantinople*, trans. William Metcalfe, London, Gardner, 1893, p. 45.) was located on the *Carceres*, as indicated on the 1880 Ayverdi map: Ekrem Hakkı AYVERDİ, *19. Asırda İstanbul Haritası*, İstanbul, İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1978; (3) Medrese Street was adjoining the Cafer Ağa (Soğukkuyu) Medresesi, today located at the east of Alemdar Caddesi.

⁴⁵ Polonyalı Simeon’un *Seyahatnâmesi, 1608-1619*, ed. Hrand D. Andreasyan, İstanbul, Baha Matbaası, 1964, p. 7-8.

visited by Simeon as the one at the Christ Chalkites church – because the Chalke Gate was located not next to the Hippodrome but on the east end of the Augustaion. A contemporary Ottoman chronicler, Topçular Katibi Abdülkadir (Kadri) Efendi too presents some crucial information regarding another, older menagerie across the tomb of Sultan Ahmed, towards the Hippodrome's northern end. On the occasion of the Sultan Ahmed complex completion in 1617, Abdülkadir Efendi noted that the old menagerie, the (Topkapı palace) painting workshop, and some store-rooms had been demolished to make room for the mosque and the majestic mausoleum just across the Ayasofya market place. He also added that, after the old *arslanhâne* was demolished to free up space, a ruined church standing next to the Cebehâne barracks located across from an arch, was repaired and turned into a new menagerie, and its upper storey was used by the court painters workshop.⁴⁶ The arch mentioned is noteworthy; it seems to denote the vestibule between the outer gate structure and the interior of the great palace of the Byzantine emperors, namely the Chalke Gate, and the church in question is the Christ Chalkites one.

We learn from the secondary literature that the menagerie at the Saint John church was damaged during the September 1509 earthquake and its aftershocks.⁴⁷ It is therefore believed that the menagerie was then relocated in the Christ Chalkites church. However, Abdülkadir Efendi confirms that until 1617, there was yet another menagerie previously near or on the site of the Sultan Ahmed's tomb. While this menagerie was moved to the Christ Chalkites church together with the court painters workshops, the one in the church of Saint John in the Diippion seems to have continued to shelter wild animals until the end of the 18th century.

The information about the former Byzantine and Ottoman buildings in this part of the city is still scarce. However, when previously unutilized Ottoman documentation pertaining to the 17th-18th centuries is considered, we may locate the lost church of Saint John in the Diippion in lot 3, within the elbow formed by the Mese and the street descending to the shore. The structure depicted in the Matrakçı Nasuh miniature and Freshfield drawing might have been a Byzantine palace, which had accommodated or incorporated the Saint John church.

The association between the Ottoman royal menagerie and the church at the Chalke Gate persisted in the secondary literature mainly because some

⁴⁶ Topçular Katibi Abdülkadir (Kadri) Efendi Tarihi, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 654 and p. 664.

⁴⁷ For the earthquake, cf. MANGO, "Le Diippion," *art. cit.*, p. 159, n. 3.

visual depictions of this church were also in discussion. A case in point is M. Lorichs' 1559 panorama of Constantinople. Mango and Yerasimos, presenting an English translation of Eugen Oberhammer's 1902 commentary and transcription of all the legends on the panorama, remained a bit cautious about identifying the small domed structure with a drum and flying buttresses that Lorichs depicted near, to the "right" of Hagia Sophia, next to a monumental brick pile. Nevertheless, "it is almost certainly the church of Christ Chalkites, converted by the Turks into a menagerie," they concluded.⁴⁸ The large building between Hagia Sophia and the alleged Christ Chalkites church, "which seems amputated at the top", they remarked, "is probably the unidentified Byzantine pile that also appears on the bird's eye view by Matrakçı Nasuh (ca. 1536 [sic]) and on a drawing in the Freshfield album (1574) at Trinity College, Cambridge". Nevertheless, Mango and Yerasimos declined to identify it as the church of Saint John in the Diipion – actually, there is no mention of Saint John in the commentary in question. N. B. Westbrook and R. van Meeuwhe too identified the small domed structure near Hagia Sophia as the Christ Chalkites church, claimed the possibility of two structures in the Lorichs' panorama corresponding to the monumental building in the Freshfield drawing, and discussed the uncertainties concerning the location, identity, and reality of this structure in the light of other visual documentation.⁴⁹ Such hesitation extends to Mango's earlier identification of the church drawn by Willey Reveley (1786) with the one at the Chalke Gate. Likewise, Asutay-Effenberger and Effenberger have questioned the identification of the Christ Chalkites church in the M. Lorichs and C. Loos panoramas.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ This section is partly obliterated by a hole in the paper; cf. Cyril MANGO, Stéphane YERASIMOS, *Melchior Lorichs' Panorama of Istanbul: 1559*, Bern, Ertuğ and Kocabıyık, 1999. The building in question is very similar to the engraving of the menagerie that Indjidjian published. Hence it has been established as the church of Christ at the Chalke. Cf. *supra*, fn. 40. Cf. also Nigel WESTBROOK, Kenneth RAINSBURY DARK, Rene VAN MEEWEN, "Constructing Melchior Lorichs' Panorama of Constantinople," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 69/1, 2010, p. 62-87. The authors argue that from a viewpoint to the west of the Pera ramparts, the position of the Christ Chalkites church, its still-standing parts (as "*arslanhâne*"), would have been clearly visible if it were located in accordance with Mango's suggested position. Cf. MANGO, *The Brazen House*, *op. cit.* However, Indjidjian noted elsewhere that the menagerie-cum-painters' workshop near the Hagia Sophia and the Hippodrom was located in the church of Saint John the Evangelist, and referred to other rumours as well: P. Ç. İNCİCYAN, *18. Asırda İstanbul*, trans. and annot. Hrand D. Andreasyan, İstanbul, İstanbul Fetiḥ Cemiyeti Yayınları, 1976, p. 58. As a witness, Indjidjian recorded that this *arslanhâne* was burned down in 1802, and demolished in 1804.

⁴⁹ WESTBROOK, RAINSBURY DARK, VAN MEEWEN, *art. cit.*, p. 62-87.

⁵⁰ It has been argued that Mango's association between a church drawn by Willey

Such problems of location or identification notwithstanding, the menagerie which was situated very close to the Imperial Gate is said to have been burned down several times.⁵¹ We learn from Câbî Ömer Efendi that after another major fire in 1805, it was relocated in the palace of Fazlı Paşa which, built partly over the Binbirdirek cistern, seems to have been adjoining the İbrahim Paşa palace from the mid-17th century onwards. On the burned down menagerie site the new barracks of the Cebehâne were built.⁵² On the other hand, most of the church of

Reveley (for WORSLEY, *op. cit.*, vol. 2) and the Chalke must be reviewed, since the church in question was that of Theotokos Varaniotissa: Neslihan ASUTAY-EFFENBERGER, Arne EFFENBERGER, “Zur Kirche auf einem Kupferstich von Gugas İnciciyan und zum Standort der Chalke-Kirche,” *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 97/1, 2004, p. 51-94. For an identification of the building in the Indjidjian’s engraving as Zeuxippus, cf. Fırat DÜZGÜNER, *Iustinianus Dönemi’nde İstanbul’da Yapılar: Procopius’un Birinci Kitabının Analizi*, İstanbul, Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, 2004, p. 72-73. Wulzinger’s planimetric analysis of Lorichs’ viewpoints, revisited and reconstructed by Westbrook and van Meeuwel, raise doubt vis-à-vis the visibility of the church at the Chalke Gate to the right of Hagia Sophia: Karl WULZINGER, “Melchior Lorichs Ansicht von Konstantinopel als topographische Quelle,” *Festschrift Georg Jacop*, ed. T. Menzel, Leipzig, Harrassowitz, 1932, p. 355-367. Shouldn’t the Christ Chalkites church, depicted by Lorichs and Loos, have been obstructed by the Basilica? Matthaeus Merian’s 1635 panorama, entitled “*Constantinopolitana urbis effigi ad vivum expressa quam turca*”, reinforces my doubts about the identity of this structure. The structure shown to the left of Hagia Sophia was marked as *Zeughaus* (ammunition house) by Merian. Furthermore, the depiction of the Nakkaşhâne in the 1720 *Sûrnâme*, decorated by tile revetments on the exterior, raise some questions regarding the royal painting workshops at this location.

⁵¹ For a fire in 1741, cf. baron Joseph VON HAMMER-PURGSTALL, *Osmanlı Devleti Tarihi -XV- 1740-1757*, İstanbul, Üçdal Neşriyat, n. d., p. 35.

⁵² CÂBÎ ÖMER EFENDİ, *Câbî Tarihi (Târîh-i Sultân Selîm-i Sâlis ve Mahmûd-ı Sâni): Tahlîl ve Tenkidli Metin*, ed. Mehmet Ali Beyhan, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2003, vol. I, p. 49: “*Ayasofya-i kebîr câmi’-i şerîfi kurbunda cebehâne kışlaları derûnundan âteş-i sûzân zuhûriyle külliyyen Kabasakal’a ve İshâkpaşa’ya varınca muhterik olup ve Cebehâne (41a) kışlaları ittisâlinde Arslanhâne olmağla, Cebehâne ocağına birkaç orta daha zamm ve güşâd ile Arslanhâne ve Nakkaşhâne’yi Cebehâne’ye idhâl ve Arslanhâne Fazlı Paşa Sarayı’na bâ-fermân nakl olunup, lâkin Arslanhâne-i merkûm Ayasofya’dan mukaddem binâ’ olmuş bir atık binâ olmağla, kârgirleri arasında tılsım gibi mermerden âdem tasvirleri ve divarlarının aralarından [i]brik gibi küpler çıkup ve taşdan âdem kafaları zuhûriyle, çok kimesneler çok sözler söyleyüp binâsına, hâcegân-ı Divân-ı hümayûndan maktûl Tâhir Ağazâde Mehmed Emin Efendi, Binâ Emîni nasb ü ta’yîn ve iki mu’anven kapulu bir kışla-i latîf binâsıyla, kendüsi dahi taltîf-i Pâdişâhî ve kışla kapuları yanlarına çifte ejder ağızı çeşmeler binâ’ ve sular fîrâvân birle Cebehâne ocağı dahi iltifât-ı Şâhâne ile ma’mûr olunmuştur.*” For the social gatherings at the Arslanhâne in 1791 and 1795, cf. III. Selim’in *Sırkâtibi Ahmed Efendi Tarafından Tutulan Rûznâme*, ed. V. Sema Arıkan, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1993, p. 3 and p. 207. Cf. also Yahya Kemal TAŞTAN, “Sufî Şarabından Kapitalist Metaya Kahvenin Öyküsü,” *Akademik Bakış* 2/4, 2009, p. 53-86. For example, in early December 1802 (13 şaban 1217), a fire broke out in this lot 3, from the same *Cebenhâne* mentioned above (which was under restoration at the time). Selim III immediately transferred the Younger’s palace to Hadice,

Saint John in the Diippion is also said to have disappeared early in the 17th century, not only to provide construction material for the Sultan Ahmed mosque, but also to clear space for more palaces or attached service buildings.⁵³ However, visitors to the Ottoman capital testified that parts of it still continued to serve as a menagerie until the end of the 18th century.

In corroboration, some early 18th-century evidence is revealed by Loos' 1710-1711 panorama, Seyyid Vehbi's 1720 *surname*, and the 1748 map of the Topkapı Palace water supply system; and on 13 April 1734, during an expedition through the Hippodrome, Samuel Medley, the English ambassador Lord Kinnoul's butler, noted seeing lions and tigers among other "wild beasts" in the vicinity of the Hagia Sophia and Sultan Ahmed mosque (fig. 3).⁵⁴ In contrast to the elusiveness of Medley's testimony, Ph. Fr. Gudenus, a military draughtsman in the retinue of the

which was at the junction of four lanes, to watch the fire-fighters. Then the flames jumped to Hadice's palace, the sultan moved to the desolate *kasr* in the upper storey of the Imperial Gate. Finally, some parts of Hadice's palace were pulled down, and the Cebehâne, the Arslanhâne, the Hilâthâne, the Nakkaşhâne, the Yazıcıbaşızâde Tekkesi, the Ayasofya Hamamı as well as some houses and shops in the vicinity were all burned down: *III. Selim'in Sırkâtibi Ahmed Efendi Tarafından Tutulan Rûznâme*, *op. cit.*, p. 389. There is no doubt that Hadice's palace was related to Bayram Paşa and Hanzâde Sultan palace which stood here some two hundred years ago. All buildings were cleared and a new Cebehâne barracks was built: BOA C. Adliye 36544. Subsequently, the Dârülfünun (1846-1862), and then the Adliye were built at this location. With reference to a plan, Uzunçarşılı too located the barracks to the southeast of Hagia Sophia, on the site of the later Adliye Binası: BOA PPK 1960. However, elsewhere he also argued for the barracks of the Cebehâne located above the stables at the Yerebatan cistern: BOA C. Adliye 21833. This second Cebehâne barracks must be the one put on fire by the Janissaries during the 1808 Alemdar revolt. İndjijdjian did not mention a second Cebehâne barracks; cf. *supra*, fn. 48; *infra*, fn. 58.

⁵³ For western travellers' accounts – especially Julian Bordier's one – on the church of Saint John in the Diippion, and its disappearance in the course of bringing together materials for the construction of the Sultan Ahmed mosque (during 1606-1617), cf. Jean-Pierre GRÉLOIS, "Western Travellers' Perspectives on the Hippodrome/Atmeydanı: Realities and Legends (Fifteenth-Seventeenth Centuries)," in *Hippodrom/Atmeydanı II*, *op. cit.*, p. 216-218.

⁵⁴ In Loos' panorama, the depiction of the well-known superstructure of the church in question between the "Aya Sophia" and a "sou terazi", a water balance which, according to the 1748 map, must be the one standing next to the Milion, raises a doubt about its identification. Furthermore, a kiosk built over the painting workshops and marked as standing next to the menagerie, suggest the separation of the two at the time of the 1720 circumcision procession: "*Arslanhâne kurbunda Nakkaşhâne'de ibdâ' u inşa olunan kasr-ı bî-kusûr-ı dil-keş-nakş-ı temâşa*." Nigel WEBB, Caroline WEBB, *The Earl and his Butler in Constantinople: the Secret Diary of an English Servant among the Ottomans*, London, I. B. Tauris, 2009, p. 27.

Austrian ambassador Corfiz Ullfeld in 1740, carefully noted his visit to the menagerie in the church of Saint John in the Diippion.⁵⁵ Likewise, one of three charcoal panoramas by Giovanni Francesco Rossini (who visited the Ottoman capital in 1741-1742 in the retinue of the Venetian ambassador) actually shows the *Arslanhâne* (Aslan Chanö) at this location, thereby proving that it survived for a century and more after the church itself vanished. The caption of the Rossini panorama reads: "Once it was a Greek church dedicated to Saint John Theologus, and is presently used as menagerie for the wild beasts of the sultan."⁵⁶ The superstructure, with a drum supported by two or three semi-domes, is seen to the "right" of Hagia Sophia and is very similar to the depiction of the church at this location in Lorichs' panorama, identified in modern scholarship as that of Christ Chalkites. In still later images the brick pile disappears, but there were references to wild animals kept at this spot even in the 1790s.⁵⁷ This menagerie at the church of Saint John the Theologian seems to have finally perished during the 1802 and 1808 fires.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Philipp Franz REICHSFREIHERR GUDENUS, *Türkische Reise 1740/1741*, ed. Gordian Erwein, Ernst Gudenus, Weiz, Schodl, 1957, p. 101: "I visited the fine well in the atrium [Vorhalle] of the Hagia Sophia, then the sultan's menagerie. It had been accommodated in subterranean corridors and vaults, the animals are badly kept; seen in the light of a flickering torch one gets an eerie feeling. In what regards extraordinary animals, there are only three lions, some tigers, a jackal, and several wolves. This building was formerly a church of Saint John the Evangelist."

⁵⁶ Giovanni CURATOLA, "Drawings by Colonel Giovanni Francesco Rossini, Military Attaché of the Venetian Embassy in Constantinople," *Art Turc/Turkish Art: 10^e Congrès international d'art turc, Genève, 17-23 sept. 1995*, Genève, Fondation Max van Berchem, 1999, p. 225-231. However, the caption 22 indicating the dome of the church in the Rossini's panorama exhibited at "Turkophilia révélée" (Sotheby's, Paris, 19-22 Sept. 2011) reads: *S Giovanni Teologo serve in pñte di serreglio per sofriere del Gran Sig^{te}*.

⁵⁷ J. Dallaway might have been wrong about the identification of the buildings he cited; he might also have been plagiarizing from earlier travellers. However, it is still important to note that he referred to Pierre Benon and remarked that in his time a lion was chained to each of the pillars: James DALLAWAY, *Constantinople ancient and modern, with excursions to the Shores and Islands of the Archipelago and to the Troad*, London, T. Cadell Jnr. and W. Davies, 1797, p. 98.

⁵⁸ Mango has posited the disastrous fire that broke out during the Alemdar revolt of 1808 as an ending point, adding that upon the ruins of the Diippion, the barracks of the armoureds (*cebecis*) were built. He has also suggested that the final demolition of the ruins might have taken place during the construction of a coffeehouse to the northeast side of the entrance to the racecourse. A cross-reading of Ottoman sources should shed more light on identifying the various buildings in the area. But for the moment, it is still safe to suggest that lot 3 was probably used as stables or barracks for neighbouring palaces. Cf. *supra*, fn. 48 and 52.

The Nallı Mescid

Seen in the light of Kemankeş Kara Mustafa Paşa's 1644 escape route, and of the evidence for another menagerie in the Diippion area, the palace behind the *Arslanhâne* has to be relocated – perhaps to lot 3 or to lot 4, in any case not very far from the Alay Köşkü. Here a round tower on the land walls was first recorded by Lorichs and published in 1559. Both because of its distinctive roundness, and its spatial relationship to all the familiar Byzantine structures mentioned above, this is an unmistakable identification. On 1st July 1654, Derviş Mehmed Paşa's household is said (by Nâ'imâ) to have moved from Bayram Paşa's palace to one "below" the Alay Köşkü, known as the Halil Paşa's palace.⁵⁹ It is curious that at that time, twenty-five years after his death, Bayram Paşa's palace was still a reference point. Could it have pointed to the one also known as Hanzâde Sultan's palace (to the east of Hagia Sophia)? Hanzâde Sultan had died only a few years earlier (in 1650) and her palace was most probably taken over by the state to be allocated to some other princess or high-ranking office-holder. However, for reasons that will soon become clear, I take this to be a move probably from lot 4 to lot 5. As already indicated, this Halil Paşa had been twice grand vizier, a decade apart, over the first quarter of the 17th century. It is Evliyâ Çelebi who first mentions a grand vizierial palace near the Alay Köşkü (*kurb-i kasr-ı Alay*); he attributes this palace to Sokollu Mehmed Paşa.⁶⁰ That one of the gates on the land walls, the one next to the Alay Köşkü, is also called after him suggests a link with Sokollu Mehmed who had a very long term in office (1565-1579). However, this is rather problematic. Not only is Evliyâ's information unverified by other documentation, but also, it is well established that Sokollu's executive was centered on his Atmeydanı palace while his royal wife İsmihan Sultan resided in the Kadırga Limanı palace. Since Evliyâ was writing in the 1630s, at around the same time as Halil Paşa's second term in office (Dec. 1626-Apr. 1628), his omission of Halil Paşa's palace from the list of Istanbulite notables' palaces also needs to be explained.

⁵⁹ NÂ'İMÂ MUSTAFA EFENDİ, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 1539 (fol. 416): "Ve Alay Köşkü altında vâki' eski Halil Paşa sarayını padişah-ı âlem-penah vezîre hibe ve temlik edip bir kaç ay idi ki içine mi'marlar konup ta'mîr ü termîmine sa'y üzere idiler. Şevvalin onbeşinde [01.07.1654] eskiden sâkin oldukları Bayram Paşa sarayından ol saraya nakl ettiler. A'yân-ı devlet cümle teñniyet-i menzil için varıp mübârek bâd dediler."

⁶⁰ Evliyâ Çelebi *Seyahatnamesi*, *op. cit.*, p. 133 (fol. 93b).

This apart, there are two important points in Na'îmâ's account which seem to have been overlooked or misinterpreted by 20th-century historians. First, Na'îmâ notes that (what had been) Halil Paşa's palace had been given in gift and freehold (*hibe ve temlik*) by the sultan to Derviş Mehmed, and that at the time of his move from Bayram Paşa's (*Arslanhâne*) palace to Halil Paşa's place, repair work at this new palace had already been going on for a few months. Now, both the freehold status of the palace in question, and the extensive repair and rebuilding that it needed, suggesting that it had not been in use for some time, indicate that, at least at the time, or perhaps momentarily, this could not have been the official grand vizierial palace (hence, Evliyâ too may be excused for not mentioning Halil Paşa's palace). Second, he situates this Halil Paşa palace as *altında* of the Alay Köşkü, which we tend to read as "underneath" or "below."

The Iron Gate

The palace location, noted as *altında* of a kiosk situated high up and projecting out from the land walls, is rather vague and seems to have been read by some as further "down" the slope. This reading seems to have eventually led to the misidentification of Halil Paşa's palace and therefore also Derviş Paşa's palace as the Temürkapu palace, known to have stood for long in the vicinity of (if not across from) the Iron Gate of the Topkapı palace on the land walls and close to the shore (which would put it in lot 6 instead of lot 5). An earlier Derviş Paşa, grand vizier for six months in the second half of the year 1607, also seems to have contributed to the confusion. This Derviş Paşa lost his head over a dispute with a contractor who had undertaken to build and refurnish his palace across from the Iron Gate. Na'îmâ gives a very vivid narration about how the contractor, fearing that he might not be paid, took a wild decision to accuse the grand vizier of planning a coup against the sultan, and even of digging an underground tunnel from his palace into the Topkapı palace grounds.⁶¹

⁶¹ NA'ÎMÂ MUSTAFA EFENDİ, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 318 (fol. 432-433): "Kaçan ki Temürkapu hizâsında sarây binâsına mübâşeret eyledi, cuhûda ısmarladı ki mu'temed olup tamam olunca ne kadar mal sarf olunur ise defter edip ba'dehû kendiden istifâ eyleye. Cuhûd dahi mâl-ı firâvan sarf edip tarh ve resm ve binâ cemî ân cuhûdun re'yine mufavvaz oldu. İtmâma karîb oldukça bir gün cuhûdu getirip harc defterin taleb eyledi. Cuhûd dahi eline verip paşa mutâ'ala etikte gördü, ziyâde mal sarf olunmuş kesretinden müşme'iz olup 'Ne acep çok gitmiş' deyü sûret-i inkâr ile çîn-i cebîn gösterdi." Then the contractor took revenge: "...sarâyda işleyen ameleye ta'lîm edip sarâyın serdâbesinden Sarây-ı Âmire'nin duvarı altına varınca bir hafî dehliz kazdırdı."

In any case, there certainly was a Temürkapu palace, and given its proximity both to coastal landings and the imperial palace, it may have been conveniently used as a guesthouse for eminent dignitaries visiting (or recalled to) the capital. This, for example, is what happened when Lala Abdurrahman Paşa, the governor of Egypt, arrived in Istanbul in May 1653. Once more it is Na'îmâ who notes that he “descended on [or was put up at] that palace which is next to the Iron Gate”, after which he presented his gifts to the viziers and the sultan.⁶² At the time, our Derviş Paşa of the mid-century was still in residence at Bayram Paşa's palace, and clearly, there was no question of any repairs at the quite operational Temürkapu palace.

Yerebatan/Suyabatan Palace and its Relation to those “across from” or “below” the Alay Köşkü

When Derviş Mehmed Paşa was removed from office in late October 1654 (and died soon after), his successor Damad İbşîr Mustafa Paşa (Nov. 1654-May 1655) turns out to have settled not in the palace said to have become “permanent,” but in one described as being on the way to the Hagia Sophia (*Ayasofya yolunda*) – it belonged to his wife Ayşe Sultan.⁶³ The main road running along the land walls of the Topkapı palace all the way from the Imperial Gate to the sea, passing beneath the Alay Köşkü, was and is called Soğukçeşme Sokağı. Being the usual route of royal processions leaving from the Imperial Gate, it intersects with another road, presently called Alemdar Caddesi. From a point just south-east of the Alay Köşkü, it goes down the slope and reaches the shore; and at the same time, it leads off in a southerly direction up the slope to reach the southwest corner of the Hagia Sophia where it intersects with the Divânyolu. If, as seems highly probable, this is what was meant by *Ayasofya yolunda*, then the palace that İbşîr Mustafa Paşa moved into would have to be in lot 4 – that is to say, over the gigantic Basilica cistern. At another instance, Na'îmâ remarks that when Derviş Paşa died, his successor İbşîr Mustafa settled in “the grand vizierial palace” but fails to describe its location.⁶⁴

⁶² *Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 1476 (fol. 326): “İstanbul’a gelip Demir-kapı’nın kurbunda olan saraya nüüzûl vezîre ve padişaha buluşup hedâyasın verdi.”

⁶³ *Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 1618 (fol. 96): “ve sâkin olduğu saray-ı vak’a mend Â’îşe Sultan sarayıdır ki hâlâ Ayasofya yolunda merhum Köprülü-zâde Fâzıl Ahmed Paşa birkaç sarây dahi ilhâk ve ta’mîr ettiği saraya munzamm olmuştur...”

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 1582 (fol. 44). At the time, his royal bride Ayşe Sultan was living

Was this the Yerebatan/Suyabatan palace? Its location, apparently closer to the Hagia Sophia than to the Alay Köşkü, remains to be checked in the light of documents pertaining to İbşîr Mustafa Paşa's tenure in Istanbul. Speaking of the sacking of İbşîr Mustafa's vizierial palace in May 1655, Na'imâ acknowledges how Ayşe Sultan managed to salvage some valuables from the palace.⁶⁵ Hence he reveals the harem quarters of the grand vizier's palace. İbşîr Mustafa was followed in the grand vizierate by Damad Ermeni Süleyman Paşa, Gazi Deli Hüseyin Paşa, Zurnazen Mustafa Paşa, and Boynuyaralı Mehmed Paşa, all of whom held office only briefly (six months, six days, four hours, and four months respectively). This makes it impossible to trace any moves they might have made vis-à-vis their palace(s). Then Köprülü Mehmed Paşa took over in September 1656, and soon moved the court to Edirne.⁶⁶

In this period (over 1658-1703), the capital's vizierial palaces fell into oblivion. Many fires, including especially the July 1660 conflagration, ravaged huge areas in the vicinity of the imperial palace. Mehmed Halife says that some 120 palaces were destroyed at the time as the flames reached the Hippodrome, the Alay Köşkü, and the Iron Gate.⁶⁷ For the location of the grand vizierial palace during the term of the Köprülü dynasty, we need to collect many textual and archival information shreds. At the time that Na'imâ wrote, the so-called İbşîr Mustafa or Ayşe Sultan palace had also come to be known as the Fâzıl Ahmed Paşa's palace (Oct. 1661-Nov. 1676). This was because during the Köprülüâde Fâzıl Ahmed Paşa tenure, Ayşe Sultan's palace, together with several other palaces in the area, were restored and annexed to Fâzıl Ahmed's palace.⁶⁸ It is interesting that Fâzıl, who never found the opportunity to settle in Istanbul during his tenure in office, wanted to establish an ambitious residence for the grand vizierate. It should be noted that the name Yerebatan or Suyabatan does not figure in these accounts. Nevertheless, it raises the possibility that Fâzıl Ahmed's palace, or at least (maybe a crucial) part thereof, was the Yerebatan/Suyabatan palace.

in the Üsküdar palace of her first husband Nasuh Paşa, to whom she had been married in 1612.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 1612 (fol. 87).

⁶⁶ Metin KUNT, "Naima, Köprülü and the Grand Vezirate," *Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Dergisi* 1, 1973, p. 57-63.

⁶⁷ Ertuğrul ORAL, *Mehmed Halife: Târih-i Gilmânî*, Ph. D. dissertation, Istanbul, Marmara Üniversitesi, 2000, p. 78-81 (fol. 60-62).

⁶⁸ Cf. *supra*, fn. 63.

It is tempting to speculate that Fâzıl Ahmed might have inherited the core of his palace, wherever it was, from his father and predecessor Köprülü Mehmed Paşa. But against this, we should remember that the Köprülü possessions were further away on the Divânyolu, spanning the area from the present-day Köprülü library to Mehmed Paşa's tomb in the vicinity of Çemberlitaş.⁶⁹ At this point, it may be worth noting that what we know as Köprülü Mehmed Paşa's palace, located near the Bayezid mosque in the Sultan Bayezid quarter, was also called Temürkapu palace, which of course has added to the confusion.⁷⁰ The key is to be found in a waterways map commissioned by Köprülü Mehmed Paşa in his lifetime, but completed only in (and hence dated to) 1672. Indicated on this map as iron-gated dome (*temürkapulu kubbe*) are a number of structures in the Bayezid area that are part of the water distribution system.⁷¹ This is the probable origin of the reference to the Köprülü palace in Bayezid – not really close to the Iron Gate, but in the vicinity of one or more of these branching-point chambers.

Palaces Close to the Shore, across from the Iron Gate

While not much more can be said about the Köprülü palace(s) at the moment, various references in early-18th-century *sûrnâmes* to “Râmi [Mehmed] Paşa's palace at Temürkapu” provide us with clues about the palace(s) location across from the Iron Gate (lot 6). They also reflect the role that royal ladies, often married to grand viziers, played in the complex history of the turnover of these palaces from one grandee to the other.

Râmi Mehmed Paşa, in office during the 1703 Edirne incident, barely survived that tumult and was immediately sent away from the capital. After his death in March 1708, his palace passed to the late Mustafa II's daughter Safiye Sultan. When Safiye got married in May 1710 to Mak-

⁶⁹ A document from 1762 (H. 1176) locates this palace near the mosque of Mahmud Paşa: “...Mahmud Paşa cami-i şerîfi civarında Köprüli sarayı dimekle maruf saray derununda cari mâ-i lezîzi ile...” Cf. *İstanbul Su Külliyyatı -I- Vakıf Su Defterleri: Hatt-ı Hümayûn, 1577-1804*, ed. Ahmet Kal'a, İstanbul, İstanbul Araştırmaları Merkezi, 1997, p. 307-308; *İstanbul Şer'iyye Sicilleri: Mâ-i Lezîz Defterleri -V- 1801-1806*, ed. Ahmet Kal'a, İstanbul, İstanbul Araştırmaları Merkezi, 1997, p. 318.

⁷⁰ *Tarih-i Râşid/Tarih-i İsmail 'Âsım*, op. cit., vol. I: in 1661 (H. 1072), “Sultân Bayezid'de vâki' Temürkapu Sarayı Temürkapu Sarayı'nda âmâde-i azîmet-i râh olan sâhib-i terceme Köprüli Mehmed Paşa...”

⁷¹ Kazım ÇEÇEN, *İstanbul'un Osmanlı Dönemi Suyolları*, İstanbul, İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 1999, p. 165-172.

t l z de Ali (son of a former grand vizier, Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Pa a), she was taken to “her own palace”, still known as “R mi Pa a’s”. R  id, however, notes that the bridegroom’s palace was at S leymaniye and the bride was taken to Makt l z de’s S leymaniye palace.⁷² Watching her marriage procession from yet another palace, belonging to a certain Ali Pa a, were her uncle Ahmed III and her grandmother G ln   Emetullah Sultan. Who was this other Ali, and where exactly was his palace where royalty were accommodated for two days? This is important because although the sultan and his mother seem to have preferred the comfort of a palace to the Kiosk of Processions, they would have done so without jeopardizing their view of the parades. Hence the palace in question could not have been far from the Alay K    .

Very probably the hosts were the grand vizier at the time,   orlulu Ali (May 1706-June 1710), and his royal bride, Safiye’s half-sister Emine Sultan.⁷³ The couple had been married in May 1708 and settled at a

⁷² For a detailed account of this ceremony, cf.   a atay ULU AY, “Fatma ve Safiye Sultanların D   nlerine Ait Bir Ara tırma,” * stanbul Enstit s  Mecmuası* IV, 1958, p. 150. A document that Ulu ay could not identify refers to the R mi [Mehmed] Pa a palace as the terminal point. M. Arslan has located the document in question (TSM D. 10592), which narrates the procession of the trousseau and the bride; cf. Mehmet ARSLAN, “II. Mustafa’nın Kızı Safiye Sultan’ın D   n   zerine Bir Belge,” in Mehmet ARSLAN, *Osmanlı Makaleleri: Edebiyat, Tarih, K lt r*,  stanbul, Kitabevi, 2000, p. 567-574: “B b-ı H may n’dan  ıkup Sovuk  e me’ye n z l olan  ah-r hdan ‘ub r id p ve Alay K      ninden Dem rkapu’da R mi Pa a Sar yı n mıyla m     r olan sar y-ı ‘ lilerine n z l olunup...” Then we come to the following: “B b-ı H may n’dan minv l-i me r    zere  ıkup Ceb   ne  ninden, At Meydanı’na kar b mahalden, Sovuk  e me’ye m nte   olan nech-i    iden, Alay K      ninden Dem rkapu’da R mi Pa a Sar yı ile be n m olan sar y-ı ‘ lilerine n z l buyurdular...” Compare with *Tarih-i R  id/Tarih-i  smail ‘ sım*, op. cit., vol. I: in 1710 (H. 1122), “S leymaniye’de v ki’ kend  sar y-ı  lilerinde v zer  ve  leman a ale’t-ter  b ziy fet   it’ m ve icr -yı s nnet-i vel mede ihtim m buyurdular...” R  id goes on to add: “Sar y-ı H m  na varup Sult n hazretlerini m retteb alay ile zikr olunan S leymaniye Sar yı’na g t rd klerinden sonra...” Apparently, the S leymaniye palace in question, that is to say, one that Makt l z de Ali inherited from his father, was formerly Siyav   Pa a’s palace. I am grateful to Deniz Karaka  for sharing with me this information she located in the court registers of Havass-ı Refia, dated 1683.

⁷³ There is no reference to the exact location of the grand vizier   orlulu Ali’s palace in 1710 – neither in R  id (*Tarih-i R  id/Tarih-i  smail ‘ sım*, op. cit.) nor in Sil    r Fındıklılı Mehmed A a (Mehmet TOPAL, *Sil    r Fındıklılı Mehmed A a, Nusretname: Tahlil ve Metin* [1106-1133/1695-1721], Ph. D. dissertation,  stanbul, Marmara  niversitesi, 2001). U    k z de too simply refers to the grand vizier palace without giving its location (*U    k z de Tarihi -II- U    k z de es-Seyyid  br   m Has b Efendi*, trans. Ra it G nd    ,  stanbul,  amlıca Basım Yayın, 2005). Likewise, a late-18th-century (?) document (TSM E. 1573/2) which narrates the trousseau and bride procession does not point to where   orlulu Ali’s palace was. Mehmet ARSLAN, “II. Mustafa’nın Kızları Ay e Sultan ve Emine Sultan’ın D   nleri  zerine bir Belge,” in ARSLAN, op. cit., p. 553-565:

palace (this point is crucial) across from the Kiosk of Processions. But we should take note of a third Ali, also a royal bridegroom. Ahmed III's first-born Fatma Sultan had been married to Silâhdâr Ali Ağa in May 1709.⁷⁴ While also a confidant of the sultan, the status of this last Ali would not have qualified him to provide hospitality for the royal family. Nevertheless, his palace was part and parcel of the 1710 marriage ceremonies, and its location near the Iron Gate was carefully recorded by period chroniclers. Fındıklılı notes that Safiye and her trousseau were taken to Silâhdâr [Ali Paşa]'s palace at the Iron Gate, and by identifying this Ali as a royal bridegroom and *vezir-i sâni* dispels all possible doubts about his identity.⁷⁵ Moreover, Râşid notes that during his own marriage to Fatma Sultan in 1709, Silâhdâr Ali had been taken to the palace at the Iron Gate, previously owned by Râmî Mehmed Paşa.⁷⁶

Ayşe Sultan's marriage processions loosely refer to the grand vizierial palace: "*Bâb-ı Hümayûn'dan, Cebehâne önünden, Sovuk Çeşme'den Sadr-ı 'Âlî hazretlerinin sarâyına varılıp...*" To watch the procession, the sultan left the imperial palace from Temürkapu and settled at the grand vizier palace, while the harem ladies were stationed at the Alay Köşkü.

⁷⁴ There is no mention of the bridegroom's palace in the 1709 *sûrnâme* (TSM D. 10590, dated 23 Ş 1121): Mehmet ARSLAN, "III. Ahmed'in Kızı Fatma Sultan'ın Düğünü Üzerine bir Belge," in ARSLAN, *op. cit.*, p. 527-551. Silâhdâr Ali Paşa's bridal gifts, leaving the Topkapı palace from Temürkapu, were paraded up the slope along the land walls of the imperial palace, and brought back to the Topkapı palace through the Imperial Gate: "*hâs bahçeden ve Demürkapu'dan taşra şehre çıkup, Sadr-ı a'zâm Kapusu önünden Bâb-ı Hümayûn'dan içerü duhûl...*" Then, the trousseau was sent to the Valide Sultan's waterfront palace at Eyüb: "*Bâb-ı Hümayûn'dan taşra çıkup, Sovuk Çeşme'den Alay Köşkü'nün altından, Sadr-ı a'zâm Kapusu önünden, yukarı toğrı Divân Yolu'na çıkup...*" A further note says that part of the procession could not make it up the slope and stopped at Şengül Hamamı, proceeding to the final destination only after dark. This makes it clear that the grand vizier palace was located across from the Alay Köşkü. Later, the marriage procession is described as leaving the Imperial Gate, and after reaching Divânyolu following the same route as the *cihaz* procession: "*Bâb-ı Hümayûn'dan taşra çıkılıp, Cebehâne önünden, At Meydanı başından Divân Yolu'na ve Divan Yolu'ndan...*" Cf. also *Uşşâkizâde Tarihi II*, *op. cit.*, p. 962 and p. 972-974. Uşşâkizâde too is silent about the location of Ali's palace. Râşid, however, identifies Silâhdâr Ali's palace as the former Râmî Paşa's palace. Cf. *infra*, fn. 76.

⁷⁵ TOPAL, *op. cit.*, p. 727: "*Dârü's-sa'âdeden alup âlây-birle Temürkapu kurbünde vâkı' vezir-i sâni dâmâd-ı şehriyârı silahdâr paşa sarayına götürüp...*" Cf. also ULUÇAY, *art. cit.*, p. 139-148.

⁷⁶ *Tarih-i Râşid/Tarih-i İsmail 'Âsım*, *op. cit.*, vol. III: in 1709 (H. 1121), "*yine geldükleri tertib üzere mâlik-i evveli Râmî Paşa merhûma nisbetle ma'rûf olup, el'ân kendü mâlik oldukları Temürkapu'da vâkı' sarâyı isâl olundular*". Râşid had previously mentioned that the procession of the bridal gifts, led by the bridegroom Silâhdâr Ali Ağa's best man, entered the imperial palace through Temürkapu: "*sağdıç nâmıyla tebcil olunan Vezir-i mükerrem Kapudan el-Hâc İbrahim Paşa hazretleri ale's-seher Ahurkapu'da vâkı' sarây-ı mahsûsundan alay ile süvâr olup ... Temürkapu'dan Sarây-ı Hümayûna dâhil...*"

Yerebatan/Suyabatan Palace and its Patrons in the First Decades of the 18th Century

This brings us back to the question of the alleged relationship between the stone room (at the intersection of Div nyolu with the present Alemdar Caddesi) and a palace said to have belonged to Sil hd r (later  hid) Ali Pa a. It seems that at some point, Sil hd r Ali might have had two palaces at both ends of Alemdar Caddesi.

A game of musical chairs was inevitable since, as already indicated, Makt lz de Ali and Safiye were moving to Sil hd r Ali's Tem rkapu palace [in lot 6]. Hence, shortly after Safiye's wedding, Sil hd r Ali is actually said to have given up this Tem rkapu palace in favor of another one up on the hill, at the other end of the street leading off diagonally from the land walls, which he had come to possess through his royal wife Fatma Sultan.⁷⁷ For its location, let me tentatively suggest one or both of the adjacent lots 4 and 7. But at this juncture we first face another problem: who was left in or with the Tem rkapu palace? A month after his marriage to Safiye, Makt lz de Ali was sent off as governor to Mara  (to return in 1714). We are not told what happened to Safiye; did she go with her husband, move to another palace of hers (that we know nothing about), or remain in the Tem rkapu palace? The point is that nobody says anything about her having vacated it at some point, so that we are forced to consider the possibility that she might have been staying there all along. But in the meantime, we find Tem rkapu palace coming to be associated with other names – such as, in summer 1710, Numan Pa a, the last grand vizier from the K pr l  family (albeit for only two months and two days, from mid-June to mid-August). When Numan was eventually fired, his belongings are said to have been loaded on two galleys to be taken to his next posting at E riboz/Euboea (a piece of information that underscores the maritime transport convenience of the Tem rkapu site).⁷⁸ Numan's successor as grand vizier, A a Yusuf Pa a (Nov. 1711-Nov. 1712), also appears to have settled at the Tem rkapu

The trousseau procession had also entered from Tem rkapu: "... *Kapudan Pa anın  n ne d   p vez r-i m   r n-ileyh yine geldi i  zre Tem rkapu 'dan  ıkup Sar y-ı H m y na d hil...*"

⁷⁷ Cf. *infra*, fn 81 and 84.

⁷⁸ *Tarih-i R sid/Tarih-i İsmail ' sım, op. cit., vol. III: in 1709 (H. 1121), "Vez r-i m   r n-ileyhden m hr-i sad ret Sar y-ı H m y nda alınma la  ekdiri ile kem -fi'l-evvel E riboz muh fazasına irs linde ta'c l ve Tem rkapu Sar y 'nda olan etb 'ı ve e y s  iki  ekdiriye tahmil olunup..."*

palace.⁷⁹ How can we reconcile an assumption of Safiye's continued presence at her Temürkapu palace with Numan's and Yusuf Ağa's Temürkapu residence? Could there have been not one but several Temürkapu palaces of high status at this time?

Let us go back to Silâhdâr Ali's other palace at the upper end of the slope, perhaps in lots 4/7, which Ahmed III had bestowed on the child princess Fatma upon her marriage to Silâhdâr in 1709. At the time, it was still known as "the palace of Bıyıklı Mustafa Paşa" (a former grand vizier, March 1693-March 1694). But in 1708 it had been temporarily allocated to the Finance Bureau (*Bâb-ı Defterî*).⁸⁰ When Râşid claimed that this bureau was located at the Bıyıklı (Bozoklu) Mustafa Paşa's palace, he made it clear that the palace in question was still Bıyıklı's freehold property.⁸¹ More than half a century earlier, in the summer 1654, the *defterdâr* in office (Moralı Mustafa Ağa) had somehow seized (*tav'an ve kerhen alup*) all the buildings around the Balaban Mescidi (except for the *mescid* itself) in order to build a new palace.⁸² Later *defterdârs* too figured as active patrons of architecture interested in furnishing their official seats even though they were to serve for very short periods of time. But what is interesting here is that by the early 18th century, the offices of the Finance Bureau should already have been moved next to the grand vizier office. Now comes the crunch. When Bıyıklı Mustafa's palace was given to Fatma Sultan, the Finance Bureau offices are said (by Râşid) to have been moved to another palace in the vicinity of (or over) the Byzantine cistern, known as Yerebatan/Suyabatan Sarâyı, a name that was not much favored by the contemporary Ottoman writers.⁸³ This is a

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*: in 1709 (H. 1121), "bi'l-cümle tertîb üzere ulemâ ve a'yân-ı devlet Davud Paşa Sahrâsı'nda tecemmu' ve alay-ı azîm ile Vezîra'zam hazretleri mâh-ı mezbûrun yirmi birinci günü Topkapusu'ndan derûn-ı sûra dâhil ve kemâl-i ferr ü haşmet ile Dîvân Yolu'ndan Temürkapu Sarâyı'na vâsıl oldu..."

⁸⁰ UZUNÇARŞILI, *op. cit.*, p. 325-337.

⁸¹ *Tarih-i Râşid/Tarih-i İsmail 'Âsım*, vol. III: in 1709 (H. 1121): "Ta'mîr-i Sarây-ı hazret-i Fatma Sultân: Mukaddemâ Vezîra'zam-ı sâbık Bıyıklı Mustafa Paşa'nın mülkü olup el-ân paşa kapusuna kurbu olmak takrîbiyle defterdârlara mahsûs olan sarây-ı âlîde emr-i tezwîcleri musammem olan duhter-i sa'âdet-ahter-i Pâdişâhî devletlü Fatma Sultân hazretlerine ihsân ve gereği gibi ta'mîr ü termîm olunması fermân buyurulmağa, mâh-ı merkûmun on sekizinci günü Defterdâr Efendi ve hâcegân-ı dîvân yine ol havâlîde vâki' Suyabatan Sarâyı demekle ma'rûf sarâyı nakl ü tahvîle mübâderet ve sarây-ı mezbûru ta'mîre mübâşeret eylediler."

⁸² NA'İMÂ MUSTAFA EFENDİ, *op. cit.*, vol. V, p. 1531 (fol. 404): "Defterdâr-ı mezbûr [Moralı Mustafa Paşa] Balaban mescidi etrâfında mescidden mâadâ civârında olan evleri tav'an ve kerhen alıp binâ-i azîme ihdâs ve bir sarây-ı âlî binâsına şurû' etmişti."

⁸³ Cf. *supra*, fn. 81.

crucial point in the obscure and neglected history of the Yerebatan/Suyabatan palace.

After the royal marriage in 1709, Silâhdâr Ali is known to have (at least partly) rebuilt the palace he had acquired through his wife,⁸⁴ and it seems to have been further upgraded after his promotion to the grand vizierate in April 1713. But where was it, and what was its relationship to the Yerebatan palace? The Yerebatan/Suyabatan palace itself was surely in lot 4 (perhaps overlapping a bit into lot 3), right over the Basilica cistern. This, we are told, is where the Finance Bureau moved in or after 1708. It is tempting, therefore, to think of Silâhdâr's rebuilt and upgraded palace as covering (not lot 3, which was full of old Byzantine structures, and hence probably left aside for stables and other low-grade use, but) lot 7, which would have placed it in close proximity to both the Alay Köşkü and the Finance Bureau. A step further, it becomes possible to begin to think of the grand vizier palace (1713-1716) in lot 7 and the Finance Bureau in lot 4 as complementing each other and gradually coming to constitute a single complex.

This, at any rate, is what seems to be borne out by the subsequent course of events. Since Fatma Sultan was only five in 1709, the marriage between her and Ali Paşa was never consummated. Ali was killed in 1716 at Peterwaradin, and the palace in question continued to be known as "Fatma Sultan's". Küçükcelebizâde İsmail Efendi claims that it was this same palace that was allocated to Damad İbrahim Paşa after Ali Paşa's death, and that Damad İbrahim Paşa settled there when he arrived in Istanbul in fall 1716.⁸⁵ His marriage to Fatma Sultan, Ali's child widow, took place on 19 February 1717. İbrahim was finally appointed grand vizier on 9 May 1718. The princess was barely 13 at the time of her second marriage, but it seems that they soon embarked on a new life as a genuine couple.

Since the men's quarters (*hariciye*) of Fatma Sultan's palace were quite limited, another palace in the vicinity, that of (Tevkîî?) Abdurrahman Paşa (d. 1692) was also annexed to the main palace, whatever its physical scope actually was, and restoration, rebuilding, and enlargement continued. Râşid explains just how this further enlargement took place:

⁸⁴ For Ali Paşa's order of 10,000 ceramic tiles from Kütahya; cf. Ahmed REFIK, *Fatma Sultan*, Istanbul, Diken, n. d., p. 11-13; for a shorter version of this essay on Fatma Sultan, also cf. Ahmed REFIK, *Tarihte Kadın Simaları*, Istanbul, Muallim Ahmet Halit Kitaphanesi, 1931, p. 59-127.

⁸⁵ Cf. *infra*, fn. 86.

a gate was opened from that side of Abdurrahman Paşa's palace that was facing something called "the old vizierial palace", out of which were carved apartments capable of housing the steward (*kethüdâ*), the chief sergeant-at-arms, the memorandum officer (*tezkiireci*), the corresponding secretary (*mektupçu*), the bailiff (*muhzır ağa*) and "other dignitaries belonging to the office of the grand vizierate".⁸⁶

This point is of great importance, and enables us to evolve a certain picture of what was happening in lots 4, 7 and 5. We are told that there was a certain Yerebatan palace in lot 4, and that the Finance Bureau had moved there. But where were "Fatma Sultan's palace", now occupied by her new husband Nevşehirli İbrahim Paşa; "Abdurrahman Paşa's palace"; and "the old vizierial palace"? The inference is that the Fatma Sultan and Abdurrahman Paşa's palaces were right next to one another, while the latter also faced or was next to the old vizierial palace. There is one hypothetical arrangement which allows for all this: in lot 7, let us first put "Abdurrahman Paşa's palace" (on its southeast end, i.e. across from lot 4), and then "Fatma Sultan's palace" (more to the lot's northwest).⁸⁷ Finally, let's place "the old vizierial palace" in lot 5, right "across from" or "below" the Alay Köşkü, where we have already established that probably stood "the Halil Paşa palace" which became "the Derviş Paşa palace". This means that Damad İbrahim Paşa's new and expanded palace could now have been covering most or all of lot 7 (incorporating Fatma Sultan's original palace plus the Abdurrahman Paşa palace), while both looking out on the Finance Bureau in lot 4 and also jumping across the narrow side street into lot 5 (the old vizierial palace).

⁸⁶ *Tarih-i Râşid/Tarih-i İsmail 'Âsım*, vol. V: in 1720 (H. 1132), "Nakl-i hazret-i Sadr-ı 'Âlî be-sarây-ı nev-bünyâd: Sadr-ı a'zâm hazretleri İstanbul'u teşriflerinde halîle-i celîleleri devletlû Fatma Sultân hazretleri sarâyına nüzûl buyurmuşlar idi. Lâkin sarây-ı mezburun hâriciyyesi ricâl-i dâire-i sadârete gâyet teng olmağla, civârında vâki' Abdurrahman Paşa Sarâyı dahi hâriciyyeye zamm ü ilhâk ve mâ-beyninde hâil olan cidârın kal'ıyla büyütlü büyüta ve sâha sâhaya ilsâk olunduktan sonra mâh-ı muharremü'l-harâmın ikinci günü fî-mâ-ba'd dîvân sarây-ı mezburun dîvânhanesinde olmak üzere Eski Vezîr Sarâyı tarafında olan kapusu güşâde ve Kethudâ bey ve Çavuşbaşı ve Tezkireci Efendiler Mektûbî Efendi ve Muhzır Ağa ve sâir ricâl dâire-i sadâret için münâsib görülen mevâzi'inde kadr-i kifâye odalar ziyâde kılındı." Semavi EYİCE, "İstanbul'un Kaybolan Eski Eserlerinden: Fatma Sultan Camii ve Gümüşhaneli Dergâhi," *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 43; Prof. Sabri F. Ülgener'e Armağan, 1987, p. 475-511; Reşat Ekrem KOÇU, "Fatma Sultan Sarayı," in KOÇU, *op. cit.*, vol. X, p. 5583.

⁸⁷ Writing in a convoluted language, Uzunçarşılı too seems to have been suggesting that for those approaching from the Hagia Sophia end of Yerebatan Caddesi, the palace of Abdurrahman Paşa was located before that of Fatma Sultan: cf. UZUNÇARŞILI, *op. cit.*, p. 252.

These three lots surrounded the Kum Meydanı, the open space under the Alay Köşkü.

THE CENTRALITY OF DAMAD İBRAHİM PAŞA

The long-standing confusion over a permanent office building, involving perhaps three palaces (and at least three Alis in the first quarter of the 18th century), may not be easily settled, but it seems that one of these lots together with its annexes was due to become the grand vizier official residence in the later part of the 18th century – and what I have suggested above is virtually the only hypothesis that fits all the available evidence. But then a further question arises: was it all accidental, or – at least from a certain point onward – was there a certain concept or plan behind it?

At first sight, the need for new buildings may be regarded as involving only the accommodation of the grand vizier's personal aides. But such increase cannot be taken as granted; it reflects the growth of Nevşehirli's household beyond previous thresholds – even if his vizierial household remained within the limits. It also appears to have gone hand in hand with his growing control of the Imperial Chancery, and the role the grand vizier is accepted to have played in the transfer of its offices to his control. Last but not least, it is complemented by the lasting legacy of his architectural patronage in the area, including a *madrasa*, a *sıbyan mektebi*, a *sebil*, a hammam and a *mescid*,⁸⁸ as well as the role he played during the 1720, 1724 and 1728 royal weddings, when his palace and household rose to prominence.

In 1720, on the occasion of the Emetullah Sultan marriage procession, Râşid provides us with some information for locating two palaces that had previously housed grand viziers. In the process of narrating the bridal trousseau parade, he refers to these as the “old” and (implicitly) the current vizierial palaces. The procession followed Soğukçeşme Road, he says, passed below the Alay Köşkü and by the “old” vizierial palace, climbed up the Şengül Hamamı slope, passing in front of the grand vizier palace (which we understand to be the new or current one), and headed further out in the direction of the Cağal/Cığaloğlu palace, the Mahmud Paşa mosque, Divânyolu, Vezneciler, and Süleymaniye.⁸⁹ Critical at this

⁸⁸ İPŞİRLİ, EYİCE, *art. cit.*, p. 387.

⁸⁹ *Tarih-i Râşid/Tarih-i İsmail 'Âsım*, vol. V: in 1720 (H. 1132): “alay ile Bâb-ı

point is the mention of the Cağal/Cıǧaloğlu palace, for it helps to map out the move of the procession up the slope, and hence virtually specifies the location of both the “old” and the new or current vizierial palaces.⁹⁰ By the same token Şengül Hamamı, about which we know next to nothing, also becomes a landmark.

In the light of Râşid’s 1720 account, Uzunçarşılı located the “old” vizierial palace as below the hill from Şengül Hamamı, extending partly from the corner across from the Beşir Ağa mosque along the narrow road leading down to the Alay Köşkü (the Beşir Ağa mosque being on the lot-7 easternmost corner, the opposite corner would be the lot-5 southern tip). Moreover, he suggested that the “new” vizierial palace, expanded from that of Fatma Sultan, was located along the lot-7 long left-side after a right-turn on the corner “above” Şengül Hamamı (i.e. the lot-7 southern tip).⁹¹ Accounts of the 1724 procession confirm Uzunçarşılı’s identification of the “old” vizierial palace as Halil Paşa’s, and of the new

Hümâyûn’dan Soğuk Çeşme önünden Alay Köşkü’nden Şengül Hamamı Yokuşu’ndan Divân Yolu’yla Vezneciler içinden Süleymaniye yoluyla Ağa Kapusu kurbunda vâki’ Halil Efendi Hânesi denmekle ma’rûf müceddeden Sultân-ı müşârûn-ileyhâ hazretleriçün binâ olunan sarây-ı behcet-efzâya varıldı...” Then the princess was transferred: “*bu tertîb ile Bâb-ı Hümâyûn’dan çıkılıp Ayasofya’nın ve cebehânenin önünden Soğuk Çeşme yoluyla Alay Köşkü altından eski vezîr kapusu yanından Şengül Hamâmı Yokuşu’yla Vezîria’zam sarâyının önünden Cıǧaloğlu Sarâyı kurbundan Mahmud Paşa Câmi’i yoluyla Cebecibaşı Sebzî Efendi hânesi önünden Divân Yolu’na çıkılıp Sîmkeşhâne ve Vezneciler içinden Süleymaniye kurbundan Sultân-ı müşârûn-ileyhânın sarâyına nüzûl olunmağla...*”

⁹⁰ Çiftesaraylar, located on the other side of the Bâb-ı ‘Âlî Caddesi, would later come to be known as the Cağal/Cıǧaloğlu palace. Subsequently the Düyûn-ı Umumiye was built on this site (1882), and it now houses İstanbul Erkek Lisesi. Used in conjunction with some landmarks in the vicinity, a number of documents relating to sidewalk repairs from 1735 to 1810 help situate the grand viziers’ old and new palaces. BOA C.BLD. 6861 (20 Oct. 1735/2 C 1148): sidewalk repairs from the Sadr-ı a’zam Sarayı gate to Şengül Hamamı, then to the Yerebatan palace corner, and then to the Ayasofya Cebeci Kolluğu, Alay Köşkü, Aydınöğlü Tekkesi, and the Hocapaşa and Bahçekapısı gates. BOA C.BLD. 708 (7 June 1760/23 L 1173): sidewalk repairs from [Sadr-ı a’zâm] Sarâyı Kapısı to Darüssaade Ağası Sebili, and from there, passing by Şengül Hamamı, to Defterdârlık Kalem Kapısı. BOA C.BLD. 3464 (17 June 1778/21 Ca 1192): sidewalk repairs from the 28th Cizyeciler Kolluğu to [Darüssaade] Ağası Sebili in front of Paşakapısı, then to Şengül Hamamı, and from there to the Çalıcı Mehterler Kışlası corner, at the crossroads. BOA C.BLD. 3299 (28 March 1810/21 S 1225): sidewalk repairs from Çatalceçeşme to the Yerebatan [Sarâyı] stables then to the 28th Kolluk next to Bâb-ı Âli and then to Şengül Hamamı. I believe Ayverdi’s suggestion about the possibility of Şengül Hamamı once being part of Mahmud Paşa’s palace requires further research; cf. Ekrem Hakkı AYVERDİ, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Fatih Devri -IV- 855-886 (1451-1481)*, İstanbul, İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti Yayınları, 1974, p. 608-609. It should also be noted that Köprüllü Mehmed Paşa’s palace too was in the vicinity of Mahmud Paşa’s mosque complex. Cf. *supra*, fn. 69.

⁹¹ UZUNÇARŞILI, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

one as Fatma Sultan's [quarters]. However, he was mistaken in his claim that the latter's façade stretched along what was then Hilâl-i Ahmer Street and what is today Yerebatan Caddesi (the side on which the Cağaloğlu Hamamı is now located).

The 1724 *sûrnâme*, which lists a total of nine processions during three princesses' marriage ceremonies, locates the grand vizier Damad İbrahim Paşa's palace as across from the Alay Köşkü. It clearly indicates that the processions went up the slope which passed by Şengül Hamamı, and then made a right turn and went by the rear gate of the grand vizier palace, that is to say, its harem; in other words, Fatma's original palace.⁹² This means that what at the time had come to be called İbrahim Paşa's palace occupied lot 7, and that, after turning right at the corner "above" Şengül Hamamı onto Yerebatan Caddesi, the procession went past not its façade but its rear gate. It also corroborates my vision of the integration of two (or more palaces) into an enlarged grand vizierial complex (fig. 4). No *sûrnâme* has been uncovered for the 1728 wedding ceremonies, but Küçükçelebizâde noted that the procession protocol in 1728 was same as the one designed in 1724.⁹³

In 1730, we find the "old" palace back in use. The new grand vizier Kabakulak İbrahim, who replaced Nevşehirli, did not choose to settle in the "new" palace but set up house and office in the "old" palace.⁹⁴ After

⁹² Tülay ARTAN, "Royal Weddings and the Grand Vezirate: Institutional and Symbolic Change in the Early 18th century," in Tülay ARTAN, Jeroen DUINDAM, Metin KUNT (eds), *Royal Courts and Capitals*, Leiden, Brill, 2011: The landmarks and streets listed were *Bâb-ı Hümayûn*, *Cebelhâne [önünden]*, *Ayasofya Hamamı [önünden]*, *Divanyolu'na gidecek dört yol ağzına*, *Bakkallar köşesi[nden dik aşağı]*, *Soğukçeşme [Kapısı] [önünden]*, *Alay Köşkü [altından]*, *Şengül Hamamı yokuşundan*, *veziriazam ard kapısından*, *Sebil köşesi[nden sapılıp]*, *Divanyolu[na çıkılıp]*.

⁹³ The only account of the 1728 marriage has been located in Küçükçelebizâde: On 25 May 1728 (15 L 1140), Saliha's bridal gifts were sent. Two days later, the Saliha Sultân's trousseau was transferred to her palace at Defterdâr İskeleyi, Eyüb. The next day, following the wedding ceremony, the princess left from Bağçekapı and was taken to her palace via the road outside the city walls with the established procession which took two hours: on 18 November (15 R 1140), Ayşe and Zeynep's wedding ceremonies took place at the Topkapı palace. Five days later, Ayşe Sultân's trousseau was sent to her palace. Then, on 8 December (6 Ca 1140), Zeynep's trousseau was sent, and the next day the wedding procession took place.

⁹⁴ VAK'ANÜVİS SUPHİ MEHMED EFENDİ, *Subhi Tarihi: Sâmî ve Şâkir Tarihleri ile Birlikte (İnceleme ve Karşılaştırmalı Metin)*, ed. Mesut Aydınar, İstanbul, Kitabevi, 2007, fol. 10b: "Eski Paşa Kapusuna." Later, in 1739, on the occasion of the Crimean Khan's visit to İstanbul, Subhi cited his residence as the "old" vizierial palace, this time referring to Fatma Sultan's palace, then deserted; *ibid.*, fol. 143a: "Müsâfiraten sâkin oldukları Eski Paşa Kapusu'na varup". For Kabakulak İbrahim's procession to the "old palace",

Fatma Sultan's suspicious death in 1733 (if not earlier), and a decade after Damad İbrahim Paşa had been brutally murdered during the Patrona Halil revolt, in early 1739 Mahmud I allocated Fatma and İbrahim's palace complex to the newly appointed grand vizier İvaz Mehmed Paşa (March 1739-June 1740). But the ill-fated couple's palace was burned down in late February. First a fire broke out in the harem quarters, spreading to the *arz odası*, the room laid with mat (*hasır odası*), and some adjoining buildings. Then the following week, another fire destroyed the men's quarters and the Imperial Chancery hall (*divân-hâne*). İvaz Mehmed Paşa too was thereby forced to settle in the "old" vizierial palace, which had to be rapidly restored and refurbished: "*Zi'l-kâ'de âhirinde Harem ağaları odasından, Salı gecesi harîk zuhûr etmekle Sarây-ı mezkûrun haremî muhterik oldu. Garâbet bunda ki, haftasında yanî ertesi Salı gecesi, gene ateş zuhûr edüp, Hâriciye ve Divân-hânesi dâhi eser binâ kalmayınca muhterik olmağla Vezîr eski Paşakapısı'na nakl eyledi.*"⁹⁵ Subhî, another historian, also writes about this fire and further clarifies that the permanent residence of grand viziers before Damad İbrahim Paşa was the "old" palace: "*sadria'zam hazretlerinin sarây-ı âlîleri bi-kazâillâhi te'âlâ muhterik olmaktan nâşî, ötedenberi sudûr-ı 'izâm hazerâtına mahsûs olan Sarây-ı atîk bir kaç gün zarfında ta'mîr.*"⁹⁶ Other contemporary chroniclers also make it clear that the "new" palace was deserted after its resident's murder: "*ba'de'l-katl terk olunan sarây...*"⁹⁷ Meanwhile, Gökbilgin has misinterpreted Suphî's account of the 1740 fire, and said that it was the İvaz Hacı Mehmed palace, at an unknown location, which was destroyed while *Sarây-ı atîk*, namely Damad İbrahim's Sublime Porte, was restored to house the grand vizier.⁹⁸

After the 1740 fire, the palace (complex) of Fatma and İbrahim was not repaired in its entirety. While some public buildings and houses were built on the site of Fatma Sultan's palace, Damad İbrahim's headquarters

cf. fol. 21a: "*Paşa Kapusu*"; *ibid.*, fol. 28a: "*vezîra'zamlara mahsûs olan devlet-sarây-ı âliye.*"

⁹⁵ Şem'dâni-zâde Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi *Târihi: Mür'i't-Tevârih*, ed. Münir Aktepe, İstanbul, İstanbul Üniversitesi, 1976, p. 95, vol. I.

⁹⁶ VAK'ANÜVİS SUPHÎ MEHMED EFENDİ, *op. cit.*, fol. 172b-173a. For this, Uzunçarşılı also quoted Şem'dânizâde's *Mür'i't-Tevârih*, account of year 1152 (Umumi Kütüphane, n° 5144) and an anonymous addendum to Kâtib Çelebi's *Takvimü't-Tevârih*, *Zeyl-i Takvimü't-Tevârih*, p. 34 (Uzunçarşılı's personal copy): UZUNÇARŞILI, *op. cit.*, p. 253, fn. 1.

⁹⁷ *Mür'i't-Tevârih*, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 95.

⁹⁸ GÖKBILGIN, *art. cit.*, vol. II, p. 175.

were restored to house future grand viziers. Among those structures built in 1739, Caġal/Cıġaloġlu Hamamı as well as the Beřir Aġa mosque and *madrasa* are still standing.⁹⁹ The 1755 Hocapařa fire once again took its toll on palaces in the area, including the one where grand vizier Muhsin-z de Mehmed Pařa was settled. After he relocated to his royal wife Esma Sultan's Kadirġa palace until the restoration work was completed, a new cycle in the history of the Porte began.

Unfortunately, I have not been able to locate any documents that shed light on the Fatma and İbrahim's pre-1730 palace layout. Subh  lists some parts of the same palace after the 1739 fire with reference to Mahmud I's visit to İvaz Pařa.¹⁰⁰ The 1776 map by Fr. Kauffer and J.-B. Le Chevalier, artists and engineers in the retinue of Comte de Choiseul Gouffier, the French ambassador to the Porte, which was published in Melling's 1819 *Voyage pittoresque* and marked "V zir-S rai ou La Porte", is helpful for understanding the grand vizierial palace's layout in the 18th century last quarter. Furthermore, an undated and unidentified record that was first published in *T rih-i Osm n  Enc meni Mecmuası*, possibly recording parts of the palace around 1808, is also crucial in locating its physical structure.¹⁰¹

From about the same time, there is a picture showing Konstantin Ipsilanti's 1802 reception at the Porte.¹⁰² It suggests that the area just under the Alay K řk  was wide enough to allow stately ceremonies and processions.

Alternatives for a Permanent Grand Vizierial Palace Situated away from the Imperial Palace

A Tour of Kara Murad Pařa's Palace at S leymaniye (K   k Pazar)

Against this complicated story of rotations of palaces across from the land walls, it can now be safely argued that some changes were already in the making slightly earlier than Derviş Mehmed Pařa's term in office (March 1653-Nov. 1654). A hitherto unknown *waqf* document, dated

⁹⁹ *M r'i't-Tev rih*, vol. I, p. 95: "ve arsa-yı muhterik y  Padiř h Yeni-Hamam tesmiye olunan musann  ve m l k  hamamı bin  ve b kisine men zil ihd s olunup..."

¹⁰⁰ VAK'AN VIS SUPH  MEHMED EFEND , *op. cit.*, fol. 185b.

¹⁰¹ "B bt l ," in *İstanbul K lt r ve Sanat Ansiklopedisi*, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 939-944; İPŐİRL , EY CE, *art. cit.*, p. 378-389.

¹⁰² Haluk Y. ŐEH SUVAROġLU, *Asırlar Boyunca İstanbul*, İstanbul, Cumhuriyet Gazetesi, n. d., p. 181-184. Compare with a mid-19th-century depiction of this fa ade: İPŐİRL , EY CE, *art. cit.*, p. 386.

1650 and uncovered by St. Yerasimos, reveals that during the initial tenure of [Kara][Dev] Murad Paşa (May 1649-Aug. 1650; May-Aug. 1655), certain grandees of the Imperial Chancery had already moved out of the Topkapı palace to become part and parcel of the grand vizier's household.¹⁰³ These were three key dignitaries who had become agents of the grand vizier, namely "his" steward, the chief sergeant-at-arms (*çavuşbaşı*), and the chief of the Imperial Chancery clerks (*re'îs [ü'l-küttâb]*). They are now shown to have had their own quarters in Murad Paşa's palace.

The document in question also reveals that [Kara][Dev] Murad Paşa was residing in the famous Süleymaniye palace of the 16th-century grand vizier Siyavuş Paşa.¹⁰⁴ He had bought the palace from Siyavuş's heirs. Then no mention of Kara Murad is made to document his connection to the palace. In the last decades of the 17th century, however, it was Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Paşa who appears as the Siyavuş Paşa's palace proprietor.¹⁰⁵ After his murder in 1683, the palace was passed on to his son Makûlzâde Ali, who visited Istanbul and his father's palace shortly in 1710 to marry Safiye Sultan.

We have to turn to Na'imâ in order to understand what had brought Murad Paşa to the Süleymaniye/Küçükpazar neighborhood. The chronicler records that when Murad Paşa was appointed in May 1649, he did not own a palace of his own, and had some difficulty in finding an appropriate one. Since he was the former Janissary corps commander-in-chief (*yeniçeri ağası*), he was temporarily accommodated at the Ağa Kapısı at the northwest corner of the Süleymaniye mosque while he kept looking into alternatives to set up office. The palaces of Gürcü Mehmed Paşa (location unknown), [Kapudan] Siyavuş and [Güzel] Ahmed Paşa (at Kadirga Limanı), and another one at the Hippodrome area (belonging to İbrahim Paşa?) were considered, but were repeatedly denied to the new

¹⁰³ For the document, cf. *supra*, fn. 10.

¹⁰⁴ Siyavuş Paşa was three times grand vizier in 1582-1584, 1586-1589, and 1592-1593, and his palace overlooking the Golden Horn with an impressive façade of hundreds of rooms had also been built by Sinan. Crucially, all this coincides with P. Fodor's findings on changes in the composition of the Imperial Chancery and on the grand vizier office towards the middle of the 17th century; cf. Pál FODOR, "Sultan, Imperial Council, Grand Vizier: Changes in the Ottoman Ruling Elite and the Formation of the Grand Vizierial Telhis," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* XLVII/1-2, 1994, p. 67-85; Pál FODOR, "The Grand Veziral Telhis: a Study in the Ottoman Central Administration, 1566-1656," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 15, 1997, p. 137-188.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. *supra*, fn. 72.

grand vizier. He finally rented Cıgala-zâde Mahmud's residence (known as the Eski [Kuyucu?] Murad Paşa palace, near Mürekkebciler?).¹⁰⁶ It is understood that while the palace he leased was undergoing repairs, Kara Murad settled at the Davud Paşa palace, also known as the Koca Ferhad Paşa's palace (near the Sultan Bayezid mosque).¹⁰⁷ Perhaps because of the difficulties he himself had encountered in finding an appropriate office-residence, Kara Murad Paşa appears to have wanted to acquire a palace, to own it, to turn his property into a *waqf*, and to reserve it for the use of future grand viziers.

How he ended up buying Siyavuş Paşa's (d. 1601) palace in 1649 or 1650 cannot be documented in detail. Nâ'imâ claims that Murad Paşa had paid 30,000 *guruş* for his new palace. What follows is a bit ambiguous, but may offer an explanation for why the document located by Yerasimos was kept as a loose paper in the Vakıf Tahrir register in question. Nâ'imâ remarks that after its original endowment deed had been uncovered (for some reason) the palace was not entered into the register for pious foundations. Nevertheless, Murad Paşa became its possessor, moved there, and turned his former palace over to the grand admiral ("*vakfiyesi bulunduktan sonra mukayyed olmayup yine mutasarrıf olup ana nakl ve kendi sarayını kapudan paşaya verdi*").¹⁰⁸ At about the same time, Kara Murad Paşa was involved in various water-supply projects.¹⁰⁹ He appears to have been an active patron at this time. Also in 1649, he brought water to his garden in the Suhde Sinan quarter near the Hippodrome.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁶ NÂ'İMÂ MUSTAFA EFENDİ, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, p. 1216 (fol. 398): "Vezîr-i ma'zûlün hânesi mühürlenip... Murad Paşa'nın kendi sarâyı olmamakla Ağakapısı'nda oturup teheniyet etti." *Ibid.*, p. 1217 (fol. 400): "Gürcü Paşa sarâyına nakl murad ettikte avratı Latîf-zâde sarâyı vermemekle Gürcü Paşa'ı Erzurum'dan arz eyledi. Andan Kadırga limanında Siyavuş Paşa ve Ahmed Paşa Sarâyı dedikleri sarâyı nakl murad edip andan At-meydânı sarayına kâsd edip bilâhere Cıgala-zâde Mahmud meskeni olan Eski Murad Paşa sarâyını yevmî bir altın kirâ ile tutup teberru'an binâyâ başlayıp kendi Davud Paşa sarayına göçtü ki Koca Ferhad Paşa sarâyı dedikleridir." Cf. also ÜZÜNÇARŞILI, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

¹⁰⁷ For the locations of some of the palaces mentioned: SÂİ MUSTAFA ÇELEBİ, *Yapılar Kitabı: Tezkiretü'l-Bünyan ve Tezkiretü'l-Ebniye*, ed. Hayati Develi, İstanbul, Yapı Kredi Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık, 2003, p. 184-185; *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, *op. cit.*, p. 133 (fol. 93b).

¹⁰⁸ NÂ'İMÂ MUSTAFA EFENDİ, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, p. 1258.

¹⁰⁹ In 1648 and 1649 we find him adding water both to the Süleymaniye and the Haseki Sultan waterways with the intention to bring water to his palace(s) and garden(s); cf. *supra*, fn. 108.

¹¹⁰ *İstanbul Şer'iyye Sicilleri: Mâ-i Lezîz Defterleri -I- 1786-1791*, ed. Ahmet Kal'a, İstanbul, İstanbul Araştırmaları Merkezi, 1998, p. 121-122. Today, the Suhte Sinan's mosque and fountain (1489) are located at Fatih Muratpaşa quarter, which is called after a certain Has Murad Paşa who died during the 1471 Otluk Beli battle.

Situated on the slopes going down from the Süleymaniye complex, Siyavuş's palace, built by Mimar Sinan, was reputed to comprise more than 300 rooms, 1,200 windows, 15 hammams, and three bakeries. Mehmed Halife, a witness to the palace purchase, praises Siyavuş's palace by comparing its magnificence to the Hagia Sophia, and also points to the dismal state of İbrahim Paşa's Atmeydanı palace at the time.¹¹¹ Meanwhile, we find praises of the Siyâvuş palace also in Evliya Çelebi, who goes on to list other monumental palaces in the area, all of which were built on the site of the "Old palace".¹¹²

According to the *waqf* document at our disposal, the palace in question was surrounded by the Fatma Sultan *madrassa*, the Kepenekçizâde and Mollazâde dwellings, and two public thoroughfares (*tarik-i amm*). Thus the site was shaped like a trapezoid. Among the landmarks listed, only the *madrassa* commissioned by Siyavuş Paşa in memory of his royal wife (Selim II's daughter) Fatma Sultan (d. 1582) is still standing.¹¹³ Across from the *madrassa*, on the slope now called Devoğlu Yokuşu after the son of [Kara] [Dev] Murad Paşa, was the Hoca Hamza's *mescid*. The winding Kepenekçi Sokak attests to the presence of (shepherd's) cloak-makers – if not in the Kepenekçi Sinan's *madrassa* – in the area. Despite some other surviving street names, such as Siyavuşpaşa Sokağı, obviously relating to the palace in question, as well as Oduncular Yokuşu, Hatab Kapı Yokuşu and Külhan Sokağı, suggesting parts of the whole complex, Siyavuş Paşa's palace cannot easily be plotted with the information gleaned from just this document.

But there is some other evidence. M. Lorichs' 1559 panorama depicts former palaces in this area, including that of the Janissary corps commander-in-chief, perhaps built by Mimar Sinan. Underneath the twin (*Sâlis* and *Râbî*) *madrassas* and the Süleymaniye complex hammam lies

¹¹¹ ORAL, *op. cit.*, p. 77 (fol. 59): "Ol zikr itdüğümüz sarayların ednâsı At meydanı'nda olan İbrahim Paşa sarayıdır ve sarayların a'lâsı Süleymaniye Cami'nin altında Sultan Süleyman vüzerâsından Siyavuş Paşa sarayıdır. Şol mertebe saray idi ki Ayasofya ândan numûne ve nişân olur. Zamanımızda veziriazam olan Arnavud Murad Paşa tasarrufuna mâlik oldukta eski saray olmağla ta'mirine mübaşeret olundukta sarayın pencerelerin bin ikiyüz saymışlar ve üç yüz odadan mütecâviz ve onbeş hamam ve üç etmekçi dükkânı içinde mevcut idi."

¹¹² Evliyâ Çelebi *Seyahatnamesi*, *op. cit.*, fol. 32b, fol. 45b, fol. 93b: "üçyüz kâ'a-i 'azîmli ve şâhnişinli müte'aadid hücreleri vardır ve yedi hammâmı ve elli esnâf dükkânları vardır. Cümle derya zîri pâda nümâyândır ve matbahı ve istâblı pâdişâh sarâyında yoktur."

¹¹³ SELÂNİKÎ MUSTAFA EFENDİ, *op. cit.*, p. 222. The *madrassa* is located across from Devoğlu Çeşmesi and Hoca Hamza Mescidi on Odun Kapısı Yokuşu: Zeynep AHUNBAY, "Siyavuş Paşa Medresesi," in TEKELİ *et al. Düinden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, *op. cit.*, vol. 7, p. 20-21. For the *wakfiyya*, dated 1590, which mentions her will, cf. VGM Defter 732, p. 290-295; NECİPOĞLU, *op. cit.*, p. 506; Jacques PERVITITCH, *Sigorta Haritalarında İstanbul*, İstanbul, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2000), pl. 69.

a horizontally extensive residential structure which might indeed be the palace that was going to be taken over by Siyavuş in the early 1580s and rebuilt by Sinan as one of his late works. It is also visible in an anonymous panorama of 1590 (fig. 4).¹¹⁴ Together with his two Üsküdar palaces, Siyavuş Paşa's Süleymaniye palace too is listed among the master's works in Sinan autobiographies (while the *madrasa* adjoining the palace was built by Sinan's successor Davud Ağa). The *madrasa* was destroyed (together with many palaces in the vicinity) during the 1688 fire, and rebuilt over 1693-1697.¹¹⁵ C. Loos' 1710 panorama still shows several palaces in this neighborhood (fig. 5).¹¹⁶

The slope running down from Süleymaniye to the Golden Horn is rather steep and had to be terraced. Hence, streets that run along the upper and lower sides of the *madrasa* have an elevation difference of 10 m. The palace apartments too were built on terraces. While the male quarters were organized around three courtyards, there were two courtyards in the harem. The following description is based on what Yerasimos' 1650 *waqf* document tells us about the inner composition of the Siyavuş Paşa palace.

The outer gate connected the [first] courtyard to the Süleymaniye neighborhood [possibly this gate opened up to the present Siyavuşpaşa Sokağı]. In this courtyard, a newly constructed, upper-storey chamber was occupied by the vizier's memorandum officer, while there were two kitchens on a higher level: while the old kitchen was being repaired, another, smaller kitchen had been reconstructed. From within the small kitchen, there were stairs going up to the newly constructed chief cook's chamber, and there were two more chambers and toilets for the cooks which had also been previously repaired. A huge gate led to [another part of the apartments in this section that housed] four chambers for the horse masters (*mirahur*), again recently restored, plus a chamber for the chief sergeant-at-arms and his four aides, also said to have been previously repaired.

The middle gate opened into the [second] courtyard (*ikinci muhavvata*). In this section were: a second-storey chamber for the grand vizier's

¹¹⁴ WESTBROOK, RAINSBURY DARK, VAN MEEWEN, *art. cit.* Cf. also the 1590 panoramic views of Istanbul by an anonymous Austrian artist: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, ms. Codex Vindobonensis 8626.

¹¹⁵ Hrand D. ANDREASYAN, "Eremya Çelebi'nin Yangınlar Tarihi," *İstanbul Üniversitesi Tarih Dergisi* 27, 1973, p. 83.

¹¹⁶ Cf. WESTHOLM, *op. cit.*

steward, previously repaired; two adjoining, newly built rooms and a toilet; on the ground floor a newly built chamber for the steward's aides. Two newly built upper-storey chambers for the bailiff, and a newly built chamber for the chief of the Imperial Chancery clerks, were also part of this apartment (*daire*). Another chamber for the secretaries of the Imperial Chancery chief was located on the ground floor. In addition to these workspaces, there were two bakeries and four more chambers, a fountain with running water from Kırkçeşme, a toilet near the stairs, a kitchen where desserts and candies were made (*helvahâne*), another room, a large room for the tasters, and a two-storey storage room (*kilar*).

Listed as part of another [third] courtyard (*üçüncü muhavvata*) are: the old and new chambers for the military band; a room for ablutions, a hammam; a large reception hall (*divânhâne*); a new room with stools or benches (*iskemle odası*) and a *hasır odası*, both serving perhaps as waiting rooms; a corridor leading to the old chamber of the pages; a two-storey tiled store-room for kaftans (*kaftan odası*); a coffee-chamber; and the adjoining stoke-room of a hammam and its various chambers. Another corridor mentioned at this location led to a large tiled room with three sofas, and inside it was a small privy chamber also decorated with tiles. These rooms were on the third storey, while on the second storey was a storeroom for firewood, and on the first floor a dungeon "for slaves". Opposite the dungeon was a large stable. Then came a corridor leading to "the kiosk". Above the corridor was a new chamber. A new kiosk with a fountain was adjoining a tiled room with an old room on its upper storey. Then came another hammam, and another two-storey tiled room, and the Audition Chamber. A *mescid*, a corridor, an ablution chamber, toilets. A chamber for the secretary responsible for preparing document summaries (*telhiscî*), and below it, a chamber for the table-master (*sofracı*). On the alley leading to the Treasury, below the stairs, a large storage room, three treasury chambers, and five small rooms; below all this, a large hall for pages (*oğlancıklar*). Under an arch: the chamber of the water-bottle carrier (*ibrikdâr*); below it another large hall (*divânhâne*) for pages, together with toilets and a school. To one side the laundry room, stoke-room, hammam, a second-storey cellar (*mahzen*), and a shop. Then came two more courtyards (*havlu*) with a fountain, below them a newly built kiosk, an ablution fountain, and vineyards (*asmalıklar*).

The harem quarters were also extensive. They were organized around two courtyards. Towards the women's quarter [first] courtyard, and over

the harem gate, a gatekeeper's chamber, and seven rooms above, and three more rooms also above, one overlooking the street with a protruding kiosk. On the middle floor, again on the harem gate, six rooms for eunuchs, and their toilets. All in all there were 55 rooms in the harem, together with three big hammams and a small hammam, a kitchen with a fountain, and garden(s) and corridor(s). In the second courtyard, under an arch was a stable for camels, ten rooms, a fountain (*şadırvan*), a two-storey stable and another stable facing it, the gate to the street, a fountain (*çeşme*), and a tinner's workshop. On the middle ground, opposite the *şadırvan*: a saddler's (*sarac*) and a blacksmith's (*nalband*) workshops, an unidentified room, [chambers] for berserkers and volunteers (*delüleri ve gönüllüler*), and other toilets below and above, three chambers, a water reservoir, two rooms for tailors, a saddlers' room, two barley barns, and a small barn.

Kara Murad Paşa's Palace as Reflecting "Ottoman Bureaucratic Reform"

The 1650 document discovered by Yerasimos indicates that [Kara] [Dev] Murad Paşa, who had somehow purchased the palace from the estate of Siyavuş Paşa's son Siyavuşpaşazâde Mustafa (d. 1649), intended to have it registered as a *waqf*. It bears the signatures of the judge of Istanbul, el-Seyyid Mehmed Emin bin Sun'i, and was prepared in the presence of Murad Paşa's trustee, Budakzâde Mehmed Ağa. Murad Paşa himself was also present during the transaction. The endowment deed includes a clause to the effect that Budakzâde Mehmed Ağa should give priority to leasing it to grand viziers as against other interested parties ("saray-ı mezkûri vüzerâ-i 'izâmdan eğer vezir-i 'azâm olanlar murâd iderse/itmezse sâirlerinden tâleb olanlara"). This seems to reflect the difficulties that Murad Paşa faced when he had to find a palace.

Why, then, exceptional difficulties arose at this particular time? Was it a power struggle that had led the mid-17th-century grand viziers to search for residence-offices far from the Topkapı palace? Or was it the growing size of the grand vizierial household that forced them to look into alternatives? At the time that Murad Paşa is likely to have been settling into the Süleymaniye palace, the Imperial Chancery and its bureaus, collectively referred to as the Imperial Chancery bureaus (*Divân-ı Hümayûn kalemleri*), had already come under the grand vizier's immediate direction, and were part of his household. The key figures were his

steward,¹¹⁷ the chief sergeant-at-arms,¹¹⁸ and the chief of the Imperial Chancery clerks,¹¹⁹ who were going to be assigned to managing interior affairs, justice, and foreign relations, while only their chief (*başdefterdâr*), in his capacity of the imperial financial record keeper, remained under sultanic jurisdiction.¹²⁰ As we have seen above, in 1654, this chief *defterdâr* had built a palace for himself near Balaban Mescidi, not far from the old Janissary barracks.¹²¹ Was a new, alternative power centre developing in the vicinity of the Süleymaniye complex? Since the 17th-century grand viziers were not so powerful and long-lasting, especially those who rose to power from the Janissary corps ranks they could have chosen to settle in the area where their previous power base would be close at hand. After the court's return to the capital, this was going to change once again. By 1708, the *defterdâr*'s offices were relocated near the Topkapı palace, in the Alay Köşkü/Hagia Sophia area, and in close proximity to the grand vizier palace.

Going over the various components of the Siyavuş Paşa palace as purchased, renovated, and made into a *waqf* by Murad Paşa, what strikes the eye is that all the newly constructed parts of the palace were located in its outer section; furthermore, these new additions – the chambers for the memorandum officer and the chief sergeant-at-arms in the first courtyard, and those for the steward, the chief of the Imperial Chancery clerks, and the bailiff in the second courtyard – were meant to house the administrative aides of the grand vizier. This corresponds rather precisely to the new functions said to have passed from sultanic to grand vizierial jurisdiction, and in spatial terms to be transferred from the imperial palace to the grand vizier palace in the 17th century. Interestingly, only the chambers of the chief sergeant-at-arms and his four aides were repaired before 1650. These

¹¹⁷ Muzaffer DOĞAN, *Sadâret Kethüdalığı (1730-1836)*, Ph. D. dissertation, Istanbul, Marmara Üniversitesi, 1995.

¹¹⁸ Murat ULUSKAN, *Divân-ı Hümayûn Çavuşbaşılığı (XVI-XVII. Yüzyıllar)*, MA dissertation, Istanbul, Marmara Üniversitesi, 1998.

¹¹⁹ Recep AHISKALI, *Osmanlı Devlet Teşkilatında Reisülküttâplık (XVIII. Yüzyıl)*, Istanbul, Tarih ve Tabiat Vakfı Yayınları, 2001.

¹²⁰ UZUNÇARŞILI, *op. cit.*, p. 249-261; Bernard LEWIS, "Dîvân-ı Hümayûn," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*², *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 337-339; Joel SHINDLER, "Career Line Formation in the Ottoman Bureaucracy, 1648-1750: a New Perspective," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* XVI, parts I-III, 1973, p. 217-237; Carter V. FINDLEY, *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire: the Sublime Porte, 1789-1922*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1980; and also Gustav BAYERLE, "Dîvân-ı Hümayûn," in BAYERLE, *op. cit.*, p. 38-39.

¹²¹ The area was burned down in 1660, 1693, 1718 and 1782.

sergeants-at-arms were members of a corps of heralds and messengers specially attached to the grand vizier and often employed on important missions. As long as state affairs were being administered from the Imperial Chancery Hall at the Topkapı palace, the remaining personal aides of the grand vizier were limited to his steward and the *mektubî*, his personal secretary. Moving forward to the 18th century, when Fatma Sultan's palace was enlarged in 1720 to house the personal aides of Damad İbrahim Paşa, we see that not single chambers but entire new apartments were built for the steward, the chief sergeant-at-arms, the memorandum officer, the corresponding secretary, and the bailiff. All these took up so much space that they could no longer be accommodated within just the outer section (*selâmlık*) of the grand vizier palace, but required the incorporation of virtually another palace. Furthermore, in 1725, the steward's office was upgraded as he came to be called *devlet-i aliyye kethüdâsı*.¹²²

Back in 1649-1650, among the newly built structures in the two outer sections of Kara Murad's new (Siyavuş Paşa) palace were new and enlarged kitchens as well as similarly enlarged chambers for the chief-cook and his staff, clearly reflecting the increased demands of a growing household. At the same time, specialized rooms for the Imperial Chancery four main offices, including *beylik* (the Council of State chancery or office), *tahvil* (*kese* or *nişan*, i.e. the office responsible for high officials and fief-holders appointments), *rü'us* (the office tasked with low-level appointments), and *amedî* (the office that received provincial correspondence addressed to the grand vizier), were not listed (as one would expect).¹²³ In the absence of such precise allocations, it is tempting to assume that the various clerks in these bureaus would have been accommodated in close proximity to their section chiefs. In contrast, some other offices, such as that for protocol and ceremonies (*teşrifatçılık kalemi*), or for historical records (*vakânüvislik kalemi*), were going to come under the authority of the grand vizier only after the court returned from Edirne to Istanbul in the early 18th century.

In Kara Murad's (Siyavuş Paşa) palace, new structures in the third courtyard included the *mehterhâne*, a waiting room, and a kiosk with a central fountain and pool. There were many other luxuriously decorated

¹²² Ali AKYILDIZ, *Tanzimat Dönemi Osmanlı Merkez Teşkilâtında Reform (1836-1856)*, Istanbul, Eren Yayıncılık, 1993, p. 67; Muzaffer DOĞAN, *Sadâret Kethüdalığı (1730-1836)*, Ph. D. dissertation, Istanbul, Marmara Üniversitesi, 1995, p. 24.

¹²³ Tervik TEMELKURAN, "Divan-ı Hümayun ve Kalemleri," *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi* 6, 1975, p. 129-175.

kiosks, among them halls where official and private meetings were held by the grand vizier. However, no new construction was noted for the harem quarters.

BY WAY OF A CONCLUSION

I began by noting that the existing scholarly literature on this subject posits a triple claim: it was Derviş Mehmed Paşa (1653-1654) who introduced the principle of a permanent palace for the grand vizier; it was Köprülü Mehmed Paşa (1655-1661) who entertained in his palace the meetings where decisions on substantial matters were taken; and it was with Nevşehirli İbrahim Paşa (1718-1730) that the Sublime Porte was finally and decisively established.

Overlapping with this tradition, resting on the authority of definitional articles or encyclopedia entries by Uzunçarşılı, Gökbilgin, Deny, and Bayerle, has been N. Itzkowitz's argument – based on observations of increased upward mobility for members of the chancery over those working in the Finance Bureau – that the grand vizierate and the associated offices of the Imperial Chancery emerged as the new locus of executive power in the Ottoman state over 1683-1774.¹²⁴ Halil İnalcık for his part has noted that for the better part of the 18th century, the Imperial Chancery ceased to meet in the Topkapı palace and transacted all government business at the grand vizier residence. This went on, İnalcık says, until 1766, when Mustafa III ordered the Council to resume meeting at the Topkapı palace at least once a week, on the grounds that “the Imperial Chancery was first established so that the sultan could hear the complaints of those who had suffered injustices.”¹²⁵ From there we jump to C. Findley's take on “[modern] Ottoman bureaucratic reform”, which he sees as starting only in the first years of the Selimian era.¹²⁶

So there seems to be, first, an agreement on an early-18th-century transformation in Ottoman political practices and culture, centering on the reigns of Mustafa II (1695-1703) and Ahmed III (1703-1730) – in

¹²⁴ Itzkowitz was the first to demonstrate the increasing chancery members' mobility figures over those of finance. He attributed this to the emergence of a new power nexus, the grand vizierate, to which the chancery section was closely tied; cf. Norman ITZKOWITZ, “Eighteenth Century Ottoman Realities,” *Studia Islamica* XVI, 1962, p. 73-94.

¹²⁵ İNALCIK, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

¹²⁶ FINDLEY, *op. cit.*, p. 69-91.

fact I would argue that it was just another outcome of the return of the court from Edirne to Istanbul – and second, on its extension into the late 18th century. The eventual outcome or relative end-point of this process has not been much of a problem. Its beginnings, however, need to be reconsidered.

In this article I have tried to demonstrate, through an attempt at pinning down the ghosts of ephemeral timber palaces, always changing hands from one dignitary patron to another, and thereby also changing names and appearances, that it is much more difficult than hitherto supposed to fix a definite point in time for the creation of a permanent residence, and then an office-residence, for the grand vizier. Very probably it did not have such a clear-cut point of origin or promulgation; instead, it is likely to have started earlier (than Derviş Mehmed), and to have been much more of a gradual process, full of ups and downs, contingencies arising from the swing of political fortunes.

This, after all, is more like what one would expect of a pre-modern state.

APPENDIX

(1b)

Bismillahü'r-rahmanü'r-rahîm

Hamd-ı mevfûr ve şenâ-i nâ-mahsûr ol vakıf-ı cümle umûr ve kâşif-i esrâr-ı cumhûr hazretlerinin dergâh-ı akdes ve bargâh-ı mukaddeslerine ref' olunur ki, kâffe-i kâ'inâtı nizâm-ı bedî'i üzere ibdâ' ve 'âmme-i mesnû'âtı üslûb-ı menî' üzere ihtirâ', husûsâ nev'-i insâna envâ'-i ihsân idüb ahsen takvîm üzere nakş ve tasvîr ve hedâyâ-i hidâyet ve 'atâyâ-i 'inâyet birle ba'zı mümtâz ve ser-efrâz eyleyüb kalblerini nûr-i ma'rifet ile tenvir eyledi. Ve kitâb-ı kerîm vâcibü't-tekrîm ve Resûl-u beşîr ü nezîr lâzımı't-ta'zîm irsâl eyleyüb bisât-ı basîti zalâm-ı zûlm ü çirkden tethir eyledi. Ve eshâb-ı hayrât ve erbâb-ı meberrâtın himmet-i 'ale nehemet ve garimet-i 'ale menkibetleriyle meremmet kılub ehl-i girevi (kisrevi) ta'mîr eyledi. Cell ü celâle ve 'amm-i nevâle ve lâ ile gayre ve salât-ı salavât ve teslimât-ı zâkiyât nebî-i muhtâr ve halîfe-i perverdigâr serdâr-ı cümle enbiyâ serdâr-ı sübhân ez-zî esrâ safâ-bahş şah-nişîn-i istifâ Muhammed Mustafâ 'aleyh min el-salavât mâ-havâ lâ (...) hazretlerinin rûh-ı mutahher ve merkad-ı münevverlerine olsun ki/

(2a)

metîni sebîl-i reşâde irşâd idüp dalâl ve fesâddan tahzîr eyledi, ve el ve eshâb ve etbâ' ve ahhâbı üzerlerine olsun ki 'ahd-ı 'adlinde Hasan Hüseyin dîn-i metîni ve beyza-i şer'-i mübîn ü müstebîni himâyet ve hirâsetde her biri zahîr ve nasîr olub izhâr-ı istikbâr iden eşrârı hedef-i tîr-i tedmîr ve 'alef-i şîr-i şîmşîr eylediler, rizvânallahu ta'âlâ 'aleyhim icma'yin. Ve 'ale't-tâbi'yîn lehem be-ihsân ale yevmü'd-dîn, ve 'ale tab'ü't-tâbi'yîn ve 'ulemâû'd-dîn ve alâ'imetü'l-müctehidîn ve cemî'ü'l-mü'minîn ve'l-müslimîn.

(...) el-Seyyid Mehmed Emin bin Sun'î el-kâzi be-dârü's-sultane es-seniyye Kostantiniyye (...)

Ve ba'd bu kitâb-ı sihat-nisâb ve bu hitâb 'anberîn nikâb ol kaziyye-i şer'iyetü'l-mübennâdan mebnî ve şol maslahat-ı mer'iyeyü'l-ma'nâdan menhîdir ki çün Hazret-i Rabbü'l-'izzet insâna ihsân eylediği mevâhib-i celliye ve 'atâyâ-i 'aliyye (...) mîsdâkınca bir 'add ile ma'dûd be bir hadd ile mahdûd olmağa kabiliyyet mertebesinden dur ve dâ'ire-i

imkândan mehcûrdur. Pes ‘âkıl musîb ve lebîb edîb oldur ki “eş-şükr (...)” hadisinin fehvâ-i beşaret ihtivâsı ile ‘âmil olub her müftenâ (?)

(2b)

ez kâr şükr-i tekrâr ve ilâ bi-intihâ fikrini müeyyed (?) dil-i bî-karar ide ve nefis-i nefis insânı ve rûh (...) fütûh kâmrânı bu mesken-i fenâ ve mevtın-ı ‘inâyeye vedâ’ etdikden sonra sebeb-i zikr-i müstetâb ve bâ’is-i du’â-i müstecâb olacak nesne itmek savbına ‘inân-ı ‘azimeti masrûf ve zimâm-ı himmeti ma’tûf kıle ve bu murti’ (...) tde eşheb ‘ömr-i dâim sâim ve hatıra-i huzûrda her zamân muğtenim itmekle meydân-ı vagâ-i nefis-i pür-iğvâda kârgüzâr olmyub mağlub ve meslûb olmasından hazer idüb rahle-i ahret için zâre ve yevm-i ma’âd için i’dâd-ı ‘atâde bezl ü cehd eyleye, çün fahr erbâbü’l-hayrâtü’l-‘uzâm zuhr erbâbü’l-hüsâm, bâsıt-i bisâtü’l-ihsân ‘ale basitü’l-gabrâ, mahid-i mihâdü’l-lütf beynü’l-berâyâ, mu’în-i kavânînü’l-en’âm, sâhibü’d-devlet ve’l-ikbâl, sâhib-i ezyâlü’l-mecd ve’l-iclâl, ma’danü’l-cûd ve’l-himmem, nâzım-i umûr-u cumhûrî’l-umem, muslih-ı mesâlih-i beni adem, mütemmim-i mahâmmü’l-enâm fi’l-âlem, mesned-nişin vezâret-i ‘uzmî ve câlis-i kürs-i sadâret-i kübrâ, vezir-i a’zam ve a’del, müşîr-i ekrem ü ekmel, vekîlü’s-saltanatü’l-kahire ‘alelilâk kefilü’l-mu’adeletü’l-bâhire fî’l-afâk, asafü’l-ahd ve’l-zamân ve asafü’l-emin ve’l-imân, bedrü’l-gurre ve’l-alâ, mâlikü’l-vezâret melikü’l-vüzerâ, mutasarrafü’l-devletü’l-osmâniyye, lâzâl mahfûfâ be-sunûfü’l-‘avâtıf er-rahmâne Hazret-i Murâd Paşa, yeserallahu emâniye hasbemâyeşâ, ma’ânî-i sâlîfe-i mülâhaza, fikr-i vezâd ahreti tedbir ve zikr idüb hvâb-ı gafletden intibâh ile intibâh ve’l-dünya mezra’a ü’l-ahret mezmûnundan agâh/

(3a)

ve mâ-‘inde kim (...) mukarrer olduğuna ‘âlem olmalarıyla bir sadaka-i câriyeye ‘âzim olduklarına inşâ idecekleri hayrât ve hasenâtı tahrîr ve ihbâr buyuracakları sadakât ve müberrâtı takrîr için meclis-i şer‘-i hatîr lâzım el-ikrâm ve mahfil-i dîn-i münif seyyidü’l-enbiyâ ‘aleyhü’s-selâm bi’z-zât kendüleri hâzır ve vakıf atıü’l-beyânı itmâm ve ahkâm bir tesbili (?) teslîm ve tescîl ile ahkâm için mütevellî nasb buyurdukları beynü’l-ekâbir ve’l-‘ayân Budâk-zâde dimekle şehir rey-i tedbîrinde bi-nazîr fahr-ı erbâbü’l-‘izz ve’l-ikbâl zuhr-i eshâbü’l-mecd ve’l-kemâl Mehmed Ağa mahzarında ikrâr-ı tâm ve takrîr-i kelâm idüb vakf-ı atıü’l-tafsîl sudûruna değîn merhûm Siyâvuş Paşa-zâde Mustafa Paşa veresesinden şirâ-i şer‘î ve ibtiyâ‘-i mer‘î ile dahl-ı mülk-i sahîh ve hakk-ı sarihim

olub, ba'de içinde mahz mâlîm ile nice büyü't ve ebniye ihdâsı ile ihyâ ve ta'mîr eylediğim mahmiye-i Kostantiniyye'de Süleymaniye altında vâki' iş bu bir taraftan merhûm ve mağfurunlehâ Fâtma Sultân medresesine ve bir tarafı Kepenekçi-zâde evleri demekle ma'rûf evlere ve bir tarafı merhûm Monlâ Çelebi evleri demekle ma'rûf menzile ve iki tarafı dahî tarîk-ı 'âmma müntehâ hâzhâne (?)den Süleymâniye semtine açılan taşra kapudan girildikde müceddeden binâ olunan fevkânî bir bâb tezkireci odası ve ol odanın üzerinde meremmet olunan eski kebir matbah ve yeniden binâ olunan bir küçük matbah ve ol matbahın içinden çıkılur müceddeden binâ olunan aşçıbaşı odası ve eskiden meremmet olunub aşçılara mahsûs olan iki oda ve iki kenif, ve bir büyük kapu içinden gidilür ta'mir olunan dört mîrahûr oda, ve yine ol dairede eskiden/

(3b)

meremmet olunan bir bâb çavuşbaşı odasın ve dört taife odasın. Ve ikinci muhavvatada orta kapudan girildikde eskiden meremmet olunan fevkânî bir bâb kethüdâ beğ odasın ve müccededen ana muttasıl binâ olunan iki bâb oda, ve altında müceddeden binâ olunan bir bâb taife odasın, ve fevkânî kenif, ve yine bu dairede müceddeden binâ olunan fevkânî iki bâb muhızır ağa odasın ve müceddeden binâ olunan re'is odasın ve altında küttâb oturacak hâlî yeri ve yine bu daire altında eskiden meremmât olunan iki etmekçi furunu ve dört bâb oda ve Kırkçeşme'den gelen su ceryân itdüğü bir çeşme, ve nerdübân yanında bir kenif ve helvâhâne ve bir oda ve eskiden meremmet olunan büyük çâşnigîrler odasın ve iki kat kilâr. Ve üçüncü muhavvatada biri cedid biri 'atfık iki bâb mehterler odasın ve bir abdesthâne ve hammâm ve hasır odasın ve büyük divânihâne ve cedîd iskemli odasın ve dehliz ve ana muttasıl eskiden bir bâb iç oğlanlar odasın ve kâşili iki kat kaftan odasın ve bir kahve odasın ve ana muttasıl külhân ve hammâm ve dehliz ve kâşili üç sofalu bir büyük oda ve anın içinde kâşili bir bâb küçük hâss oda ve altında odun anbarı ve anın altında bir esir zindanı ve zindan karşusunda bir büyük ahur, ve köşke gidecek dehliz ve dehliz arşında (?) müceddeden bir oda ve şadırvanlı bir cedîd köşk ve ana muttasıl bir kâşili oda ve eskiden bir fevkânî oda ve bir hammâm ve yine bir kâşili oda ve üstünde dahi bir oda ve eskiden bir 'arz odası ve bir mescid ve dehliz ve abdesthâne ve kenîf ve üzerlerinde telhisci olacak bir oda ve altında sofracı odası ve hazine odasına giden yolda nerdübân dibinde bir büyük kilâr ve üç bâb hazine odası ve bir hazinedâr odası ve beş bâb küçük oda ve bu cümlemin altında bir büyük divânihâne oğlancıklar için/

(4a)

ve kemer altında ibrikd r odası, altında yine o lan odası div nh ne şeklinde ve bir kenif ve mekteb ve bir tarafda dahi c me   h ne ve k l-h n ve hamm m ve f(evk n ?) [frayed/yırtık] mahzen ve bir d kk n ve iki havlu ve i inde bir  e me (ve) [frayed/yırtık] altında ba  ede m ceddeden bin  olunan k  k ve  adırv n ve asmalıklar. Ve muhavvata-i dahiliyyeye gidilecek yerde harem kapusunun  zerinde bir kapuc  odası ve  st nde yine yedi b b oda ve dahi  st nde biri zukaka bakar k  kli sair  k  ks z    oda ve orta tabakada yine harem kapısı  zerinde kenifi ile alt  b b h dımlar odası ve harem-ı muhteremde cem'an elli be  oda ve    b y k hamm m ve bir k  k hamm m ve i inde  e mel  bir matbah ve sair ba  e ve dehlizi ve ta rada ikinci muhavvatada kemer alt  deve ahur  ve on oda ve bir  adırv n ve iki kat ahur ve kar usunda dahi bir ahur ve zuk k kapısı ve  e me ve bir kalayc  d kk n  ve orta tabakada  adırv n kar usunda iki b b biri sar c ve biri na'lb nd d kk n  ve bir oda ve del ler ve g n ll ler olacak altında ve  st nde ba ka kenifleri ile   er oda ve su mahzeni ve iki derziler odası ve sar clar odası ve iki arpa anbar  ve bir k  k anbar  m stemil m lk sarayımı be-c mle et-tev bi' ve'l-lev h k ve k ffe-i el-men fi' ve'l-mer fik hasbetullah 'l-' z z vakf-ı sah h  er'  ve hal s sar h mer'  ile vakf ve habs eyled   mden sonra   yle  art eyled m ki: m d m ki kend m lib s-ı havb  l bis olub sihh t-ı bedenime m l bes ola kend m s kin ve diledim kim mutasarr f olub tebdil ve ta yır  merre ba'd ahari yeddimde ola b -emr Allah 'l-m t ' l bu d r-ı fen dan dar-ı bek ya irtih l eyled   md  Budak-z de mezb r Mehmed A a yevmi on ak a vaz fe ile m tevell  olub saray-ı mezk ri v zer -i 'iz mdan e er vezir-i 'az m olanlar mur d iderse/

(4b)

itmezse s irlerinden t leb olanlara  cret-i m 'eccele-i misli ile ic r id b (...)'l olan  creti evl dımın ve evl d-ı evl dımın ve evl d-ı evl d-ı evl dımın batnen ba'de batn z k ri ve in s  beynlerinde mir s gibi lil-zeker-i misl hazz 'l- ns yin taksim oluna, ve ba'd el-inkir z 'l-'iy z bi'l-h lik 'l-feyy z  cret-i mezk reye karında ım ve kızkarında ım kez lik lil zeker misl hazz 'l- ns yin mutasarr f olub anlardan sonra benim evl dım mutasarr f oldukları gibi anların dahi evl dı ve evl d-ı evl dı ve evl d-ı evl d-ı evl dı ve an sefele lil-zeker misl hazz 'l- ns yin mutasarr f olalar, anların dahi evl dı m nkariz olursa ol zaman  cret-i mezk re yedd-i m tevell  ile Med ne-i m nevvere saliullah 'ale m nevverh 

fukarasına müstakil surre ile irsâl oluna, ve meşrûtlehum bu mukâbeledede beni du'â-i hayr ile yâd idüb mümkün olduğu merteye icrâ-i şerife (ti) lâvet ve sevâbını rûhuma ihdâ ideler. Ve saray-ı mezkûr meremmete muhtâc oldukda içinde ücret ile sâkin olan vezir zi-şân-ı kiramından teberru'ân malı ile ta'mîr ve meremmet iderse fe behâ, ve illâ muktezâ-i şer' kavlim üzere icâresi zabt ve şurût-ı (...)hm olanlara virilmeyub anunla ta'mîr ve meremmet oluna. Ve mezbûr Mehmed Ağa'nın fevtinden sonra tevliyet-i mezbûre 'utakâdan müstehak ve 'uhdesinden (...)ke kâdir kimesne bulunursa ana tevcîh (oluna), bulunmazsa ma'rifet-i vezir-i a'zam ve şeyhü'l-islâm/

(5a)

ve rey hâkimü'l-şer' ile bir mustehaka tevcih oluna diyü saray-ı mezkûri ba'd et-tahliyeü's-şer'iyeye târîh-i kitâbdan berây mukdim-i mütevellî-i mezbûr Mehmed Ağa'ya teslim ve ol dahi kabz ve tesellüm ve sâir mütevelliler gibi vakfiyet üzere tasarruf eylediğini ikrâr ve mütevellî mezbûr dahi vâkf-ı mümâileyhi cemi' kelimâtında tasdik itdikden sonra vâkıf mümâileyh hazretleri lâcel itmâm emrû'l-vakf muhâsemeye şurû' idüb evvelâ vakf-ı 'akâr muktedâ-i e'ime-i kibâr olan imâm-ı â'zam ve hümâm-ı akdem Ebu Hanife-i Kûfî cevzî hayrû'l-cezâ-i ve Kûfî katında gayr lâzım husûsâ imâm fâsıl Semdânî telmîd-i sâni Mehmed bin el-Hasan el-Şeybânî katında vâkıf menâfi'-i vakfı nefesine şart eylediği sûretde vakf bi'l-külliye bâtıl olduğuna binâen mezkûri bana teslim eylesun mülkiyet üzere zabt iderim diyüb mütevellî mersûm dahi müstevcib-i sevâb cevâb be-esvâb virüb, eğerce anlar katında hâl-ı best olunan minvâl üzeredir, lakin telmîz ol hazret-i imâm Ebu Yûsuf el-imâm el-sânî katında şart-ı mezkûr sahîh sihhat ise anın kavlı şerifi üzere müfârik 'an el-lüzûm olmayub ve vakfda 'amel anun mezheb-i şerifi fe fetbvâ anın kavlı latîfî üzere olduğu 'amme-i ketb-i mu'teberede mestûr ve fî zamânına hükkâm kavlı essah ve müfti ne eyle 'amele me'mûr olmağla hilâfî eyle hükümden memnû'lerdir diyü redd ve teslimden/

(5b)

(...) idüb vâkıf-ı mezbûr ile husûmet (...)râ' iderek fark-ı kitâbı tevkî'-i müstetâbî ile (...)ki'(...)

fî evâhir-i şehr-i rebi'ü'l-ahir sene sittin ve alf (23/04-01/05/1650)

Şuhûdü'l-hâl :

- (...)stûr zî şân vezir asaf-ı ‘unvân Hazret-i Kapudân Mehmed Paşa ibn el-merhûm Haydar Ağa
 -(...) erbâbü’l-‘izz ve’l-ikbâl zehr-i eshâbü’l-mecd ve’l-iclâl Bekdâş Ağa Ağa-i Yeniçeriyân sâbıkâ

(6a)

- ‘umde erbâbü’l-mecd ve’l-iclâl zîde eshâb el-‘izz ve’l-ikbâl Mustafâ Ağa Ağa-i Yeniçeriyân-ı Dergâh-ı ‘âlî
 -‘umdet erbâbü’l-‘izz ve’l-ikmâl Mustafâ Ağa Kethüdâ-i Beğ hâlâ
 -‘umdetü’l-mevâlîü’l-kirâm Hüseyin Efendi Re’isü’l-müneccimin
 -fahr erbâbü’l-emâcid ve’l-â’yân Mehmed Ağa Küçük Mîrâhûr
 -‘umdet erbâbü’t-tahrîr ve’l-kalem zübdet eshâb et-takrir ve’l-rakkam Sıdkı Efendi re’isü’l-küttâb
 -‘umdet erbâb el-‘izz ve’l-ikbâl Mehmed Efendi tezkireci-i evvel
 -‘umdetü’l-küttâb Mehmed Efendi Küçük tezkireci
 -fahrü’l-â’yân Kaya Ağa Ağa-i silahdârân hâlâ
 -Malkoç Mehmed Ağa Ağa-i bölük
 -fahrü’l-emâcid ve’l-â’yân Şeyh-zâde Çakırcıbaşı hâlâ
 -‘umdetü’l-â’yân Hüseyin Ağa Aşağa Bölük ağası
 -Mevlânâ Ahmed Çelebî ibn Siyâmî
 -fahrü’l-emâcid ve’l-â’yân Turak Mehmed Ağa Çavuşbaşı hâlâ
 -‘umdetü’l-emâsil ve’l-a’yân Hasan Ağa Kapucılar Kethüdâsı
 -fahrü’l-â’yân Mustafâ Ağa tâbi’-i Kapudân Paşa
 -fahrü’l-akrân İsmâ’îl Ağa tâbi’-i merhûm Sâlih Paşa

(6b)

- zehrü’l-â’yân Şâtır Ahmed Ağa
 -fahrü’l-akrân Kara Şa’bân Ağa tâbi’-i Çiftelerli
 -fahrü’l-akrân İpşirli Hasan Ağa
 -fahrü’l-akrân Mehmed Ağa ibn Hasan Ağa
 -‘umdet erbâbü’t-tahrîr ve’l-kalem Monlâ Çelebî ibn Re’is Efendi
 -fahrü’l-akrân Kuloğlu Mehmed Ağa
 -Ömer Ağa tâbi’-i Bekdâş Ağa
 -Hüseyin Çelebi ibn
 -Mühürdâr ‘Alî Ağa
 -İbrâhîm Çelebî tâbi’-i Mehmed Efendi
 -Hazinedâr ‘Alî Ağa el-yesârî
 -Hazinedâr İbrâhîm Ağa ibn
 -Benli Ömer Ağa ibn

- Diyarbakirli Mustafâ Ağa ibn
- Murâd Beğ Samsuncılar Odabaşısı
- Türk ‘Alî Ağa ibn
- Murtaza Ağa ibn
- Rum Hasan Ağa ibn
- ‘Arab ‘Anber Ağa ‘Abdullah
- Derviş Kasım Bektâşî



Fig. 1. Lots 1-7, seven main sites over which the grand vizierial palaces were spread. Based on Ekrem Hakk  Ayverdi, *19. Asırda İstanbul Haritası*, İstanbul, İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti 1978 [1st ed.: 1958].



Fig. 2. A 1574 drawing attributed to Lambert de Vos. Freshfield Album, Cambridge, Trinity College Library Inv. ms 0.17.2, fol. 20.



Fig. 3. Cornelius Loos' panorama. Alfred WESTHOLM, *Cornelius Loos: Tekningar fran en expedition till Fram're orienten, 1710-1711*, Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, 1985, p. 3a.



Fig. 4. The Siyavuş Paşa Palace on the 1590 panoramic view of Istanbul by an anonymous Austrian artist. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, ms. Codex Vindobonensis 8626.

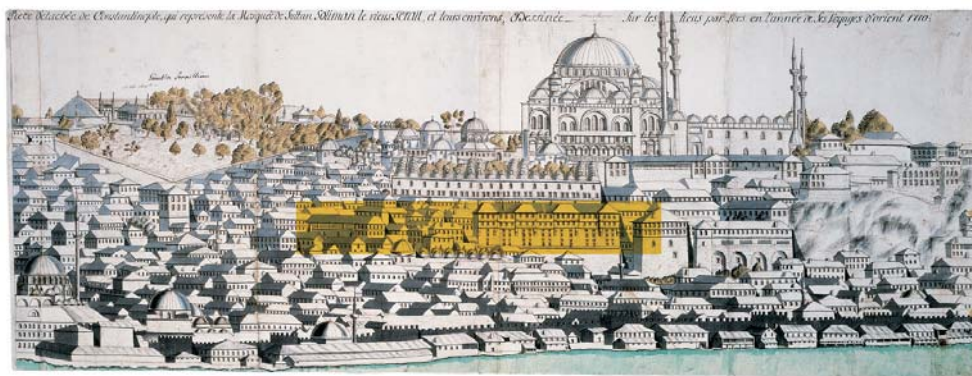


Fig. 5. The Siyavuş Paşa Palace on the Loos panorama, 1710.
Alfred WESTHOLM, *Cornelius Loos: Tekningar fran en expedition till Fram're
orienten, 1710-1711*, Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, 1985

Tülay ARTAN, *L'établissement de la Sublime Porte près de l'Alay Köşkü et une visite d'un palais de grand vizir près de la Süleymaniye*

Le présent article retrace l'histoire des palais de grand vizir dans les alentours du palais de Topkapı pendant la période allant des années 1630 aux années 1730. Les textes ont souvent situé ces palais de façon aussi vague qu'«en face du» ou «en dessous de l'» Alay Köşkü. Tant la date de séparation entre la maison du grand vizir et celle du sultan que la localisation exacte de ce(s) palais restent inexplorées. Les spécialistes ont longtemps soutenu que la Sublime Porte apparut pendant le mandat de Damad İbrahim Paşa, dans le premier quart du XVIII^e siècle; cependant l'établissement du bureau permanent du grand vizir a été daté du grand vizirat de Derviş Mehmed Paşa (milieu du XVII^e siècle). Par ailleurs, il est généralement convenu que la résidence et la maison du grand vizir ont pris place dans l'arène politique pendant la période de Köprülü Mehmed Paşa (et de ses successeurs) après les années 1650. Nonobstant, un document de *waqf* nous rend un compte détaillé du dit palais et nous laisse déduire l'utilisation, encore dans les années 1650, d'un palais de grand vizir monumental, datant de la fin du XVI^e siècle, construit par le grand vizir Siyavuş Paşa (d. 1593) près du complexe de la Süleymaniye. De plus, le palais en question abritait les bureaux des collaborateurs administratifs du grand vizir – évolution considérée en règle générale comme indicative de son contrôle de la Chancellerie impériale et datée du début du XVIII^e siècle. Sur cette base, il est démontré qu'au milieu du XVII^e siècle un palais (assez distant du palais de Topkapı) pourrait avoir déjà été considéré comme une résidence permanente des grands vizirs.

Tülay ARTAN, *The Making of the Sublime Porte near the Alay Köşkü and a Tour of a Grand Vizierial Palace at Süleymaniye*

This article traces the history of the grand vizierial palaces in the vicinity of the Topkapı palace from the 1630s to the 1730s, often referred to as no more precisely than “across from” or “below” the Alay Köşkü. Both the date of the separation of the grand vizier's household from the sultan's, and the exact location of these grand vizierial palace(s), remain unexplored. Scholarship has long maintained that the Sublime Porte came into being during Damad İbrahim Paşa's tenure in office in the first quarter of the 18th century, but meanwhile the setting up of a permanent office for the grand vizier has been dated to Derviş Mehmed Paşa's mid-17th-century grand vizierate. There is also the conventional view that the grand vizier residence and household were inserted into the political arena during the term of Köprülü Mehmed Paşa (and his successors) after the 1650s. However, in the light of a *waqf* document which provides us with a detailed account of the palace in question, it is understood that a monumental late-16th-century grand vizierial palace, built by the grand vizier Siyavuş Paşa (d. 1593) near the Süleymaniye complex, was still in use in the 1650s. Furthermore, the palace in question included the offices of the administrative aides of the grand vizier – a development which has conventionally been taken as indic-

ative of his control of the Imperial Chancery, and has been dated to the early 18th century. On that basis, it is demonstrated that by the mid-17th century, a palace (at a location rather distant from the Topkap  palace) might already have come to be regarded as a permanent residence for grand viziers.

LES BIJOUX DANS L'EMPIRE OTTOMAN AU XVIII^e SIÈCLE : L'EXEMPLE DAMASCÈNE

Universellement portés depuis les époques préhistoriques et dans toutes les contrées, les bijoux échappent trop facilement à l'histoire, qui ne s'y arrête pas. Les ouvrages généraux où l'on s'attendrait à les trouver ne leur consacrent guère de place¹. Aussi sera-t-il donc malaisé d'établir une spécificité ottomane du monde des parures dans un empire qui englobe l'Europe, l'Afrique et l'Asie et recouvre l'histoire de cinq siècles². Cependant, les bijoux sont là, décrits par les voyageurs, comptabilisés dans les inventaires après décès qui en établissent la part dans les patrimoines et enfin pièces prestigieuses présentées dans les collec-

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¹ G. VIGARELLO, *Histoire de la beauté : le corps et l'art d'embellir de la Renaissance à nos jours*, Paris, Seuil, 2004 ; N. ZEMON DAVIS, A. FARGE (dir.), *Histoire des femmes -III- XVI^e-XVIII^e siècles*, Paris, Perrin, 2002 ; F. BRAUDEL, *Civilisation matérielle, économie et capitalisme : XV^e-XVIII^e siècle -I- Les Structures du quotidien, le possible et l'impossible*, Paris, Armand Colin, 1979.

² Citons cependant I. ABBACK, J. HANNOYER (dir.), *Mémoire de soie : costumes et parures de Palestine et de Jordanie*, Catalogue d'exposition, Institut du monde arabe, Paris, 18 oct. 1988-19 fév. 1989, Paris, Institut du monde arabe/Édition française pour le monde arabe, 1988 ; Sh. WEIR, *Palestinian Costume*, Londres, The Trustees of the British Museum, 1989, consacrés à la description des costumes et parures de Palestine. Dans les glossaires de ces ouvrages figurent les noms arabes des différentes parures à l'époque contemporaine.

tions privées ou publiques. Il sera difficile d'en cerner les fonctions : ornement, affirmation de prestige, réserve de richesse où puiser en cas de besoin, porte-bonheur, symbole religieux ?

————— DANS LE MONDE OTTOMAN, LES BIJOUX NE DEVRAIENT PAS ÊTRE
« MONNAIE COURANTE »

Trois sourates dans le Coran concernent les « atours », dont la sourate XXIV, 31³ : « Dis aux Croyantes de baisser leurs regards, d'être chastes, de ne montrer de leurs atours que ce qui en paraît. [...] Qu'elles montrent seulement leurs atours à leurs époux, ou à leurs pères, ou aux pères de leurs époux, ou à leurs fils, ou aux fils de leurs époux, ou à leurs frères, ou aux fils de leurs frères, ou aux fils de leurs sœurs, ou à leurs femmes, ou à leurs esclaves [...]. Que [les Croyantes] ne frappent point [le sol] de leurs pieds pour montrer les atours qu'elles cachent ! ». Le dictionnaire Kazirmiski propose comme traduction du terme *zîna* utilisé dans la sourate : « atour, ornement, parure », ce qui ne signifie pas exactement bijou. Mais les derniers mots de la sourate évoquent bien le tintement du bracelet de cheville.

Mouradja d'Ohsson, reprenant l'avis de certains théologiens musulmans, remarque : « En général, toute parure qui a pour objet la vanité est blâmable aux yeux de la religion »⁴. Les hommes sont particulièrement visés : ils « ne doivent jamais se permettre aucune parure en or ou en argent. [...] Excepté pour les cachets, les boucles de ceinture et les gardes de sabre, où l'on peut employer non pas l'or mais l'argent. Le Prophète lui-même n'a jamais eu qu'un cachet d'argent »⁵. D'Ohsson constate cependant : « Si, parmi les Musulmans, les hommes s'écartent des principes de la loi sur la nature des étoffes et des métaux qu'ils emploient à leur vêtement et à leur parure, on peut juger avec quelle liberté les femmes en usent, elles pour qui la loi est infiniment plus indulgente »⁶. Elles en usent et ne sont pas strictement les seules.

³ *Le Coran*, trad. R. Blachère, Paris, Maisonneuve et Larose, 1966, p. 379.

⁴ M. D'OHSSON, *Tableau général de l'Empire ottoman*, Paris, Firmin Didot, 1788-1824, vol. 4, p. 97.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 145.

Les catalogues de musée et d'exposition⁷ reproduisent les plus beaux, rares et précieux des bijoux ottomans, faits d'or finement travaillé, de diamants, de perles et de pierres précieuses. Certains chapitres du catalogue *Topkapı à Versailles* présentent plusieurs types de bijoux qu'agrémentent des commentaires suggérés par les voyageurs dont il n'est pas possible de relever ici toutes les remarques. La plupart de ces voyageurs sont des hommes, privés d'un accès facile au monde féminin ; de plus, les femmes qu'ils ont pu rencontrer ne laissent voir d'elles-mêmes et de leurs « atours » que peu de choses. « On ne voit d'elles ni les yeux ni la bouche [...] de telle sorte qu'elles peuvent voir les autres mais ne peuvent être vues des autres », soulignait Luigi Bassano, au milieu du XVI^e siècle⁸. « Leur coiffure est cachée d'un voile blanc qui leur couvre la tête jusques au front, et un autre qui leur vient brider le nez [...] Les jeunes n'ont pas seulement la liberté de découvrir leurs yeux, et elles ont dessus un crêpe noir fait de crin de cheval »⁹. « Elles ne peuvent se parer et faire montre

⁷ Citons, sans prétendre à l'exhaustivité, J.-P. ROUX (dir.), *L'Islam dans les collections nationales*, Catalogue d'exposition, Grand Palais, Paris, 2 mai-22 août 1977, Paris, éd. des Musées nationaux, 1977 ; J. M. ROGERS (dir.), *Topkapı Sarayı : objets d'art*, Paris, éd. du Jaguar, 1987 ; M. BERNUS TAYLOR, *Soliman le Magnifique*, Catalogue d'exposition, Grand Palais, Paris, 15 fév.-14 mai 1990, Paris, Association française d'action artistique, 1990 ; J. KALTER, « Syrian Folk Jewellery », in J. KALTER, M. PAVALOI, M. ZERNICKEL (dir.), *The Arts and Crafts of Syria : Collection Antoine Touma and Linden-Museum Stuttgart*, Londres, Thames and Hudson, 1992, p. 79-102 ; D. FOTOPOULOS, A. DELIVORRIAS, *Greece at the Benaki Museum*, trans. M. Skiadaressis, Athènes, Benaki Museum, 1997 ; *Topkapı à Versailles : trésors de la cour ottomane*, Catalogue d'exposition, Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, Versailles, 4 mai-15 août 1999, Paris, Association française d'action artistique/éd. de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1999 ; B. COSTERMANS, P. GUNST (dir.), *Mothers, Goddesses and Sultanas : Women in Turkey from Prehistory to the End of the Ottoman Empire*, Catalogue d'exposition, Bruxelles, Palais des Beaux-Arts, 6 oct. 2004-16 janv. 2005, Bruxelles, Bozar Books, 2004 ; M. ROGERS (dir.), *Arts de l'Islam, chefs-d'œuvre de la collection Khalili*, Catalogue d'exposition, Institut du monde arabe, Paris, 6 oct. 2009-14 mars 2010, Paris, Institut du monde arabe, 2009. Trois catalogues concernent plus spécialement la partie arabe et orientale de l'Empire : ABBACK, HANNOYER (dir.), *op. cit.* ; WEIR, *op. cit.* ; *Treasures of the Moscow Kremlin at the Topkapı Palace*, Catalogue d'exposition, Istanbul, İstanbul 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti, 2010. N'ignorons pas l'existence de trois ouvrages riches de textes et de photos : S. AL-JADIR, *Arab & Islamic Silver*, Londres, Stacey International, 1981 ; A. TERZİ, *Saray, Mücevher, İktidar*, Istanbul, Timaş, 2009 ; A. TERZİ, *Hazine-i Hassa Nezareti*, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2000.

⁸ L. BASSANO, *Costumi et i modi particolari della vita de' Turchi*, ed. F. Babinger, Munich, Max Hueber, 1963, p. 7.

⁹ S^r DU LOIR, *Les Voyages du sieur Du Loir : ensemble de ce qui se passa à la mort*

d'élégance que dans leur harem ou le harem d'une amie à qui elles rendent visite, car, dans la rue, il leur est interdit de laisser voir au public la moindre partie de leur corps à nu [...] Elles brillent par l'or et les pierreries en particulier, c'est-à-dire dans leurs appartements, ou, en quittant leur feredjaz, elles étalent tous leurs charmes. Leur habillement y paraît dans tout son lustre : les diamants, les rubis, les perles et autres pierres des plus précieuses de leurs colans, ou ceintures, de leur tarpouz, ou coiffures, de leurs colliers, de leurs brasselets se semblent disputer comme à l'envi aux plus riches étoffes dont elles sont vêtues »¹⁰. M. d'Ohsson décrit : « Deux voiles de mousseline leur couvrent le visage. [...] le tout est arrangé de façon qu'on voit à peine les yeux ».¹¹

En conséquence, les commentaires qui accompagnent dans les catalogues la présentation des bijoux s'appuient-ils souvent sur des descriptions féminines : Lady Mary Montagu sera souvent citée.

Nazan Ölçer note : « Toutes les femmes du harem prennent grand soin de leur tenue et surtout de leur coiffure. Des maîtres coiffeurs tressent leurs longs cheveux [...] et les décorent de rubans et de pierres précieuses »¹². Il s'appuie sur les lettres de Lady Mary Montagu, à qui son statut autorise les rencontres féminines et qui s'extasie à plusieurs reprises sur les parures portées par les dames ottomanes. Ne citons que sa description de la sultane Hafiza : « elle portait une veste appelée *dualma*. [...] Sur les manches [...] un rang serré de perles [...] de la grosseur d'un pois, avec des brandebourgs en diamants. [...] Sa chemise fermée [...] par un gros diamant. [...] Sa ceinture constellée de diamants. [...] À son cou trois colliers qui lui descendaient aux genoux ; l'un était de grosses perles, et au bout pendait une émeraude [...] ; le second se composait de deux cents émeraudes [...] ; le troisième, c'était encore de petites émeraudes. [...] Mais ses boucles d'oreille éclipsaient tout le reste : c'était deux diamants en forme de poires [...]]. En outre sa coiffure était couverte d'épingles à tête d'émeraudes et de diamants. Elle portait de grands bracelets de diamants et cinq bagues aux doigts avec des solitaires »¹³.

du feu sultan Mourat dans le sérail, les cérémonies de ses funérailles, Paris, G. Clouzier, 1634, p. 184-185, cité par R. MANTRAN, *La Vie quotidienne à Istanbul au siècle de Soliman le Magnifique*, Paris, Hachette, 1990, p. 261-262.

¹⁰ A. DE LA MOTTRAYE, *Voyages du Sr. A. de La Motraye, en Europe, Asie et Afrique*, La Haye, T. Johnson et J. Van Duren, p. 254, cité par R. MANTRAN, *op. cit.*, p. 261-262.

¹¹ D'OHSSON, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

¹² N. ÖLÇER, « Le harem », in *Topkapi à Versailles*, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

¹³ Lady M. MONTAGU, *L'Islam au péril des femmes : une Anglaise en Turquie au XVIII^e siècle*, trad. A.-M. Moulin, P. Chuvin, Paris, La Découverte, 1987, p. 188-189.

Ces évocations sont accompagnées dans le catalogue *Topkapi à Versailles* par les reproductions en couleur de ces parures, datées, localisées et commentées par Thérèse Bittar et Alef Özyay¹⁴. Y sont également présentés des bijoux absents dans les lettres de Lady Montagu : le porte-aigrette (*sorguç*), « symbole de souveraineté » qui indiquait le statut de son porteur, et un bracelet de chevilles en or. Nazan Ölçer note également qu'à partir du XVIII^e siècle les femmes de la famille du sultan portent un diadème appelé *istefan*¹⁵.

Quelques occasions autorisaient aux femmes l'exposition de leurs parures : les visites et les bains. Lady Montagu fait allusion aux visites : ainsi, « une quinzaine de jours [après leur délivrance], les femmes rendent les visites, en habits neufs et parées de tous leurs bijoux ». Et Nicolas de Nicolay, à propos des Turques allant aux bains : « En tel appareil vont les esclaves derrière leurs maîtresses [...] Or étant là arrivées, ayant fait étendre le tapis, se dépouillent dessus, et y posent leurs vêtements et joyaux. Car leur préparation et parade est telle qu'allant aux bains, soient Turques ou chrétiennes, pour mieux complaire les unes aux autres, s'ornent de tous leurs plus riches habits et plus précieuses bagues »¹⁶.

Ljubomir Mikov, en faisant le relevé des tombes et des stèles tombales dans la Bulgarie du Nord-Est constatait : « Le sac à lanière est l'ornement le plus typique des pierres tombales. [...] Le sac représenté sur les pierres tombales symbolise probablement un petit sac en cuir où l'on plaçait l'*amaali*, petit livre imprimé d'*aeti* (*âyât*), versets choisis du Coran. [...] le livre *amaali* était considéré comme une amulette qui protégeait les gens contre les forces du mal. [...] Tout ce que nous venons de dire au sujet des "*amaali*-sacs" est également valable pour les monuments des femmes »¹⁷. L'existence de ces amulettes suggère que la fonction d'un bijou n'est pas qu'ornementale : le bijou éloigne le mal, remarque Johaness Kalter : « les bijoux ont encore une importante fonction, les amulettes [par exemple] contiennent des textes du Coran, cylindriques ou rectangulaires, [...] souvent cousues sur les vêtements [...] ou attachées à des chaînes portées autour du cou ou à l'épaule [...] » ; ou encore : « ces

¹⁴ *Topkapi à Versailles*, op. cit., p. 224-228.

¹⁵ ÖLÇER, art. cit., p. 215.

¹⁶ N. DE NICOLAY, *Dans l'empire de Soliman le Magnifique*, éd. M.-C. Gomez-Géraud, St. Yérasimos, Paris, Presses du CNRS, 1989, p. 138-140.

¹⁷ L. MIKOV, « Monuments funéraires anthropomorphes des musulmans en Bulgarie du Nord-Est », in J.-L. BACQUÉ-GRAMMONT, A. TIBER (dir.), *Cimetières et traditions funéraires dans le monde islamique, Actes du colloque international du CNRS, Istanbul, 28-30 sept. 1991*, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1996, vol. II, p. 191-196.

bijoux de tête [...] n'ont pas qu'une fonction esthétique, ils repoussent l'œil du diable du visage de celui qui les porte »¹⁸.

Enfin, en ces temps où le numéraire n'est pas abondant et l'existence quotidienne soumise à de nombreux aléas, les bijoux servent de réserve de richesse. André Latron souligne que « La femme syrienne, chez le peuple et surtout dans les campagnes, se pare de bijoux qui sont ses réserves de capital ; ses bracelets, torsades ou anneaux d'or et d'argent représentent ses économies personnelles ; une paysanne qui travaille en ville achète d'abord des bijoux et ensuite thésaurise de l'or ou des billets. En année de bonne récolte, le paysan achète des bijoux pour sa femme ; s'il est riche, il doit en offrir à celle qu'il épouse. Il se fait ainsi, à l'intérieur du pays, un grand commerce de métal précieux et dans toutes les petites villes on trouve des bijoutiers. En cas de besoin, le paysan revend ces bijoux avec autant de facilité que s'il remettait en circulation des monnaies thésaurisées ; il s'en sépare sans hésitation étant assuré de pouvoir en racheter d'identiques à la première occasion ».¹⁹ L'utilisation fréquente de pièces utilisées comme pendentifs facilite cette fonction.

De nombreux facteurs ont sans doute déterminé le style des bijoux. « Tout au long de leur histoire, l'art et l'architecture islamiques ont été influencés par les traditions artistiques des empires avec lesquels l'Islam entraînait en contact. [...] Les échanges commerciaux ont contribué à intensifier ces interactions [...] »²⁰. Les joailliers étaient souvent issus des minorités juive et chrétiennes : à Istanbul, il y aurait eu environ 147 boutiques de bijoutiers, 40 boutiques de marchands de perles, « uniquement des juifs », affirme Evliya Çelebi, cité par R. Mantran²¹ ; au Caire, remarque André Raymond, « les juifs étaient traditionnellement spécialisés dans les mêmes métiers que les Coptes : le commerce et le travail de l'or et de l'argent monnayé reposaient largement entre leurs mains »²². Or ces artisans, orfèvres et joailliers « étaient parmi les artisans les plus mobiles et leur production pour les trésors du palais tendait souvent vers un style cosmopolite. L'éclectisme ne connaissait pas les

¹⁸ KALTER, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

¹⁹ A. LATRON, *La Vie rurale en Syrie et au Liban*, Beyrouth, Institut français de Damas, 1936, p. 45.

²⁰ ROGERS (dir.), *op. cit.*, p. 15.

²¹ MANTRAN, *op. cit.*, p. 412 et p. 448-449.

²² A. RAYMOND, *Artisans et commerçants au Caire au XVIII^e siècle*, Damas, Institut français de Damas, 1973-1974, p. 460.

frontières»²³. Th. Bittar évoque ainsi les influences des grands empires voisins : « ces ornements, [ornement de turban] insignes du pouvoir, sont fréquemment représentés dans les miniatures. Assez simples au XVI^e siècle, ces bijoux se compliquent aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles. [...] Peut-être est-ce là une influence des modes persane et indienne ? »²⁴. Dans le chapitre « Le harem », elle reproduit des bracelets de cheville en or qui évoquent les bracelets indiens de pied²⁵.

**LES BIJOUX AU SEIN DE L'ENSEMBLE DE LA POPULATION :
L'EXEMPLE DE DAMAS VERS 1700**

« L'élite au pouvoir a exhibé ses richesses pour montrer sa magnificence, rehausser son pouvoir et son prestige et éblouir ses sujets »²⁶. Qu'en est-il du commun des mortels, les ignorés des catalogues, les ignorés de l'histoire ?

Les inventaires après décès sont les seuls documents permettant d'établir « qui possédait quoi » et de mesurer la part des bijoux dans la valeur des patrimoines : 523 inventaires appartenant à des habitants et des habitantes de la ville de Damas, des *ra'âyâ* et des *'askar* ont été analysés. Ils permettent de reconstituer la composition générale des actifs détenus par cet échantillon de la population damascène vers 1700. Seule la place des bijoux dans les patrimoines retiendra ici notre attention²⁷. Une étude plus étroite, concernant 121 *ra'âyâ* et 77 *'askar*, hommes et femmes, s'est attachée à relever le nom, la valeur et le nombre de tous les biens détenus par ces défunts (bijoux, mais également tissus, vêtements, objets

²³ ROGERS (dir.), *op. cit.*, p. 19.

²⁴ G. VEINSTEIN, « Les pouvoirs du sultan », in *Topkapi à Versailles*, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

²⁵ Th. BITTAR, « Bracelets de chevilles », in *Topkapi à Versailles*, *op. cit.*, p. 228.

²⁶ ROGERS (dir.), *op. cit.*, p. 17.

²⁷ L'étude repose sur un dépouillement effectué par J.-P. Pascual et nous-même dont les conclusions sont présentées dans nos travaux. Citons-en en particulier ceux dans lesquels apparaît le sujet des bijoux : C. ESTABLET, « Les intérieurs damascains au début du XVII^e siècle sous bénéfice d'inventaire », in D. PANZAC (dir.), *Les Villes dans l'Empire ottoman : activités et sociétés -II- Habitat, modes de vie, édifices économiques collectifs*, Paris, CNRS, 1994, p. 15-46 ; C. ESTABLET, J.-P. PASCUAL, *Familles et fortunes à Damas : 450 foyers damascains en 1700*, Damas, Institut français de Damas, 1994 ; C. ESTABLET, J.-P. PASCUAL, « Être pauvre, être riche à Damas vers 1700 », in J.-P. PASCUAL (dir.), *Pauvreté et richesse dans le monde musulman méditerranéen*, Paris, Maisonneuve et Larose, 2003, p. 227-253 ; C. ESTABLET, J.-P. PASCUAL, *Des tissus et des hommes : Damas vers 1700*, Damas, Institut français du Proche-Orient, 2005.

du manger et du boire, mobilier, vaisselle). Le *cadi* et ses scribes notent de façon précise l'état, la couleur, les matériaux des différents effets recensés ; ces descriptions minutieuses constituent une base de données essentielle pour qui s'intéresse aux objets personnels du quotidien domestique et sans doute du moins quotidien, les bijoux.

La part des bijoux dans les patrimoines

- La part des bijoux s'élève à 5 % de la valeur de l'ensemble des patrimoines (*ra'âyâ*, *askar*, hommes et femmes) (tabl. I).
- La loi est infiniment plus indulgente pour les femmes, soulignait M. d'Ohsson (cf. n. 6). Les faits lui donnent raison : les bijoux constituent 27,3 % des avoirs féminins et 1,3 % des avoirs masculins.

Tableau I : La part des bijoux dans les patrimoines*

Échantillon		Valeur des bijoux (piastres)	Valeur du patrimoine net (piastres)	Pourcentage des bijoux sur le patrimoine net
Hommes	332	3 949	293 090	1,4
Femmes	191	12 987	47 479	27,4
Total	523	16 936	340 569	5,0

* Contrairement au classement suivi dans d'autres de nos ouvrages et articles, dans les bijoux ont été comprises les ceintures, les réserves de matériaux précieux et les monnaies extérieures à l'énumération spéciale effectuée par le *cadi*, des espèces (*naqdiyya*) du défunt. La part des bijoux dans les actifs globaux s'en trouve augmentée.

- Dans la société damascène, les bijoux prennent plus de place dans les patrimoines des femmes '*askar* (34,4 %) que dans ceux des femmes *ra'âyâ* (24,2 %) (tabl. II). Dans l'ensemble, les actifs des femmes '*askar* sont près de cinq fois supérieurs à ceux des femmes *ra'âyâ*²⁸. Cette aisance explique sans doute l'importance particulière des bijoux dans leurs avoirs. La part des bijoux dans les actifs masculins est faible, quel que soit le groupe auquel le défunt appartient.

²⁸ C. ESTABLET, J.-P. PASCUAL, *La Gent d'État dans la société ottomane damascène : les 'askar à la fin du XVIII^e siècle*, Damas, Institut français du Proche-Orient, 2011, p. 67-84.

**Tableau II : La part des bijoux dans les patrimoines
des femmes *ra'âyâ* et *'askar***

Échantillon		Valeur des bijoux (piastres)	Valeur du patrimoine (piastres)	Pourcentage des bijoux dans le patrimoine
Femmes	19 <i>'askar</i>	4 974	14 450	34,4 %
	172 <i>ra'âyâ</i>	8 013	33 029	24,3 %
Hommes	55 <i>'askar</i>	125	41 517	0,3 %
	277 <i>ra'âyâ</i>	3 824	251 574	1,5 %

« Des pieds à la tête »

Les cadis et leurs scribes désignent les bijoux, en arabe ou en turc, les comptent, en donnant la valeur et souvent le poids. Autant de données qui évitent les traductions occidentales vagues de « bracelets », « colliers »... et qui permettent de saisir les noms des bijoux les plus fréquemment portés, de connaître la qualité et le cours des matériaux qui les composent. Les chiffres posent moins de problèmes que les noms : aucune collection, aucun catalogue n'a présenté la variété des bijoux damascènes à la fin du XVII^e siècle. Comme le dit Dina, l'héroïne de Herbjørg Wassmo : « J'aurais étudié. Tout trouvé sur les chiffres. Tu sais, les chiffres, ils changent pas. C'est pas comme les mots, les mots, ils mentent tout le temps. Quand les gens les disent, et quand les gens les disent pas... Mais les chiffres ! ils sont sûrs ! »²⁹.

Le tableau III présente les noms, le nombre et la valeur des bijoux détenus par l'échantillon des seuls 198 hommes et femmes damascènes dont a été relevé l'ensemble détaillé des effets. Pas de bagues de pied, mais, de temps en temps, à la limite du vêtement et du bijou, sur les pieds, de beaux *qabqâb*, socques d'argent ou argentés, parfois incrustés de perles, 4 piastres en moyenne, au taux de 2,5 piastres le ducat vénitien. Puis des bracelets de cheville (*khalkhâl*), portés en paire, en argent (*sîm*, *fidda*, *gümüch*) ou en or (*dhahab* ou *altûn*) ; leur valeur évolue de 6 à 7 piastres lorsque le bracelet de cheville est fait d'argent, de 20 à 40 lorsque l'or en constitue le matériau.

²⁹ H. WASSMO, *Le Livre de Dina -II- Les Vivants aussi*, trad. L. Hinsch, Larbey, Gaïa Éditions, 1994, p. 134.

Tableau III : Désignations, nombre et valeur des principaux bijoux présents dans les inventaires damascènes

Bijoux	Valeur (piastres)	Nombre
Bracelets (<i>siwâr</i> et <i>bilazik</i>)	5 850	117
Colliers (en or <i>biqâ'i</i> , <i>tawq</i> , <i>qilâda</i>)	3 095	148
Colliers de perles (<i>habl</i> et <i>bughma</i>)	1 357	22
Ornements de chevelure (' <i>uqûs</i> , <i>sadjî bâghî</i> et <i>chayyâlât lu'lû</i>)	1 553	144
Ceintures (<i>zunnâr kemer qûchâq</i>) et boucles (<i>famm</i>)	620	62
Bracelets de cheville (<i>khalkhâl</i>)	539	9
Boucles d'oreilles (<i>halqa</i> et <i>kûpe</i>)	474	126
Diadèmes (<i>istifân</i>)	207	5
Disques ronds (<i>qars</i>)	195	4
Socques (<i>qabqâb</i>)	88	22
Bagues (<i>khâtîm</i> et <i>yûzuk</i>)	76	64
Amulettes (<i>hamâ'ilî</i> et <i>khîrz</i>)	6	3
<i>Chahhrâr lu'lû</i> (?)	75	6
<i>Kashtawân</i> (?)	165	11
Total	*14 300	743

* N'ont pas été pris en compte dans ce tableau les pièces de monnaie, ni les matériaux bruts.

Nombreuses, les ceintures (*zunnâr*, *kemer*, *qûchâq*, *zunnâr rakht*, ceinture de mariage) sont à la fois des vêtements et des bijoux ; leur valeur est très variable, de 2 à 80 piastres. La plupart sont en argent, estimées entre 2 et 33 piastres, variations de prix liées au poids du métal, de 9 à 240 *dirham*. Il est parfois précisé que seule la boucle (*famm*) est en argent. Mais les plus onéreuses des ceintures sont décorées de perles ou de pierres précieuses : 80 piastres pour une ceinture d'argent incrustée de pierres (*ahdjâr*), sans précision, 60 piastres pour une ceinture d'argent incrustée de rubis (*yâqût*). Une des ceintures pèse 770 g.

Les bracelets (*siwâr*, *bilazik*) sont les plus portés des bijoux. Toujours pesés par le cadi, toujours en or, le plus souvent en paire, rarement incrustés de perles et de pierres, ils sont de grande valeur : à eux seuls, ils occupent près de la moitié de la valeur de l'ensemble des bijoux et présentent une grande variété de poids, (8 à 116 *mithqâl*) et de prix, (20 à 322 piastres).

Sur les doigts, des bagues (*khâtîm* et *yûzuk*), souvent en or, parfois incrustées de pierres (*ahdjâr*, *tâch hindî*) de peu de valeur, non pesées, moins de 2 piastres en moyenne.

Nombreux aussi les colliers, qui portent différents noms. Lorsqu'ils sont en or seul, ce sont des *biqâ'i*, des *tawq* ou des *qilâda*, très souvent pesés, de 11 à 99 *mithqâl*, et de valeur donc très variable, de 5 à 272 piastres. Le *tawq* est moins lourd (18 *mithqâl* en moyenne) et moins cher (46 piastres) que le *biqâ'i* (51 *mithqâl*, 122 piastres). Il est souvent précisé que le *biqâ'i* est constitué de chaînes (*habl*) : peut-on en conclure que le *tawq* doit être un simple et unique cercle ? Adrien Barthélémy, dans son *Dictionnaire*, donne à *tawq* le sens de « collier » et en deuxième sens, propose « cercle de fer qui entoure une balle d'étoffe » ou « cercle de tonneau »³⁰. Nous butons ici sur une mission impossible, au moins pour le moment : celle de trouver exactement ce qui distingue ces colliers les uns des autres. Quant à l'exemplaire unique de *qilâda*, non estimé, mais décrit, c'est un type de collier auquel sont accrochées des pièces³¹, ici de petites monnaies sans grande valeur, des *misriyya*³².

Les *ahbâl lu'lû* et les *bughma lu'lû* sont des colliers faits de perles (*lu'lû* ou *inci*) ou dans lesquels la perle domine. Les *ahbâl* (toujours cités au pluriel) sont lourds et chers, pesant de 6 à 25 *mithqâl*, et estimés de 3 à 120 piastres (en moyenne un *ahbâl lu'lû* pèse 13,8 *mithqâl* et vaut 74 piastres) ; les *bughma* moins lourds et moins chers (11 *mithqâl*, 41 piastres). On peut supposer que les *ahbâl* sont des chaînes d'or auxquelles sont attachées des perles : d'une part, le cadi compte parfois le nombre de *habl*, 2 ou 4 ; il signale également à deux reprises le nombre de perles, 6 ou 8, et leur taille : un *ahbâl* de 6 grosses perles vaut 56,8 piastres. Les *bughma* seraient de simples « colliers de perles de plusieurs rangs par devant et fermés par un seul fil derrière »³³. Sur les *cha'rûr lu'lû*, le mystère plane : bijou de perle, certes, mais collier ? Parure de tête ? Leur valeur moyenne est de 12,5 piastres ; les variations de prix importantes : de 1,5 à 33 piastres. Le mot *chahr* est attesté, désignant le côte sud de l'Arabie d'Aden à Mascate³⁴ : *chahhrûr* pourrait-il

³⁰ A. BARTHÉLEMY, *Dictionnaire arabe-français, dialectes de Syrie : Alep, Damas, Liban, Jérusalem*, Paris, Librairie orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1969, 2 vol.

³¹ *Qlede* : « grand collier de luxe composé de petites pièces d'or » (*ibid.*).

³² La *misriyya* étant la quarantième partie de la piastre.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ Sir J. W. REDHOUSE, *A Turkish and English Lexicon : Showing in English the Signification of the Turkish Words*, 3^e éd., Istanbul, Çağrı, 2006.

être un adjectif désignant l'origine géographique des perles ? L'hypothèse est syntaxiquement incorrecte. Faut-il ranger parmi les colliers ou pendentifs des *qars* détenus par seulement trois personnes, des « disques de métal »³⁵ : le bijou est cher, non pas composé de vil métal, comme le laisse entendre A. Barthélemy³⁶, mais associé à la chaîne d'or (*habl*) et aux perles ; 20 piastres pour un simple *qars lu'lû* ; 53 pour un *qars lu'lû* associé à deux chaînes d'or. Parmi ces *qars*, figure une pièce anormalement estimée : 4,7 *mithqâl*, 122 piastres. Une erreur de lecture ? Il ne semble pas. Une erreur du scribe : le phénomène est rare. Cette pièce appartient à un personnage hors du commun, un homme qui cumule les particularités, un riche *chaykh* de la confrérie *Sa'diyya*.

Les parures de tête, ces ornements particulièrement destinés à l'intimité domestique, occupent la place de choix soulignée par les voyageurs, aussi nombreuses que les bracelets, mais de moitié moins onéreuses. Les *chayyâlât* sont des « ornements de tête en perles fines (ou en sequins dorés) qui retombaient sur chaque joue et se fixaient sur le derrière de la tête »³⁷ ; ils sont ici tous faits de perles (*lu'lû*), presque tous pesés, 18 piastres en moyenne. Les '*uqûs* sont des objets « servant à tresser et à attacher par une barrette une longue chevelure »³⁸, à rapprocher peut-être des bijoux de tête reproduits par Th. Bittar dans le catalogue *Tokapi à Versailles* et ainsi décrits : « les perles fréquemment employées par les Ottomanes pour orner leurs multiples tresses ; ici dix chaînes souples, perles, or, cristal de roche, émeraudes, rubis »³⁹. Ces parures présentent des supports d'argent ou d'or qui soutiennent perles ou pièces d'or (15 *ankâris*, des ongres, ou 6 ou 8 *sharîff*, par exemple) ou perles et pièces d'or ('*uqûs bi lu'lû wa 15 ankâris*) ; d'autres sont simplement faites d'argent ; une dernière n'est faite que de soie. Aussi les variations de prix sont-elles importantes : si le prix moyen de cette parure est d'une trentaine de piastres, les estimations varient entre une demie et 133 piastres.

Une seule femme appartenant au groupe des agents de l'État possède deux *sadjî bâghî* (des peignes ?) en or, pesants (22 *mithqâl* pour l'un) et onéreux, de 50 à 80 piastres ; un *sadjî bâghî* en ambre n'est estimé qu'à 3 piastres.

³⁵ *Qars* : « disque de métal dont se parent les femmes » (BARTHÉLEMY, *op. cit.*) ; « a round flat disk » (REDHOUSE, *op. cit.*).

³⁶ BARTHÉLEMY, *op. cit.*

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ '*uqûs* : « a braiding and looping up long hair » (REDHOUSE, *op. cit.*).

³⁹ ÖLÇER, *art. cit.*, p. 225.

Près du visage, les paires de boucles d'oreille (*halq*, *küpe*) sont très répandues, d'une valeur moyenne de 4 piastres, simples anneaux d'or, à quelques exceptions près : une boucle est ornée de rubis (*la'l*), l'autre de perles, une dernière de perle et de rubis.

Les diadèmes (*istifân*⁴⁰) sont rares, au nombre de 5, mais chers : de 28 à 62 piastres.

La présence de quelques 3 amulettes, *khirz* ou *hamâ'ilî*⁴¹, de faible valeur, de 1 à 3 piastres, confirme le rôle porte-bonheur du bijou.

L'honnêteté invite à ne pas laisser de côté la présence de 11 mystérieux *kashtawân* ou *kastawân* ou *gyustuwân*, des « bijoux », mais non identifiés. Objets mystérieux par leur sens d'abord : « dé à coudre », « armure de cheval », « housse de cheval »⁴². Les oscillations de valeur accentuent le mystère : d'argent, ils valent moins de 1 piastre ; de corail plaqué d'or (*mudhahab*), 3 piastres ; d'or, de 1 à 110 piastres. Deux d'entre eux sont pesés : 13 et 36 *mithqâl*. Le sens de dé à coudre s'effondre alors. Le sens d'armure de cheval ou de housse de cheval est tout aussi insatisfaisant puisque ces objets, en or, sont en outre des possessions féminines. Le problème reste sans solution pour le moment, à moins que l'on admette que le mot se rapproche de *kushtî*, terme venant d'Inde, signifiant « ceinture, guirlande »⁴³.

Bijoux ou parures de vêtements ? Les cordons qui serrent les caleçons, les *zamâma*, peuvent embellir autant qu'ils attachent : ils s'ornent de perles (*zamâma lu'lû*) ou sont des cordelettes dont la chaîne est d'or et les décorations de perles (*zamâma bi habl lu'lû*) ; un *zamâma* est en or orné de perles et de « petits boutons d'or ou d'argent doré que l'on coud sur une étoffe comme des paillettes » (*briqât*)⁴⁴. Les boutons, (*azrâr* ou

⁴⁰ Le mot vient du grec *stephanos*.

⁴¹ *Hamâ'ilî* : « objet d'or ou d'argent, ceinture d'épaule enfermant des reliques et qu'on porte en sautoir au moyen d'une chaîne » (BARTHÉLEMY, *op. cit.*)

⁴² *Kustabân* (et non *kuchtawân*) : « dé à coudre » (R. DOZY, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, reproduction de l'éd. originale de 1881, Beyrouth, Librairie du Liban, 1968) ; *Kashtawân* ou *kishtiawân* : « horse-armor, a barb » (REDHOUSE, *op. cit.*) ; *Kestüwân* : « Dorsuale, stratum quo jumentorum dorsa teguntur » (F. MENINSKI, *Thesaurus Linguarum Orientalium Turcicae-Arabicae-Persicae*, Istanbul, Simurg, 2000) ; « housse de cheval » (A. DE KAZIMIRSKI BIBERSTEIN, *Dictionnaire arabe-français contenant toutes les racines de la langue arabe, leurs dérivés, tant dans l'idiome vulgaire que l'idiome littéraire ainsi que les dialectes d'Alger et de Maroc*, Beyrouth, Albouraq, 2004).

⁴³ F. STEINGASS, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary Including the Arabic Words and Phrases to be Met with in Persian Literature being Johnson and Richardson's Persian, Arabic, and English dictionary revised, enlarged and entirely reconstructed*, New Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal Publications, 2008, p. 1033.

⁴⁴ BARTHÉLEMY, *op. cit.*

duyme) objets indispensables pour clore les longs vêtements (les deux parties de devant des *qunbâz*, des *qaftân*, des '*antârî* et même des gilets-*yalik*, le bas des manches, parfois le bas des pantalons-*sharwâl*) ne sont mentionnés que lorsqu'ils sont de valeur : boutons fabriqués de simples tissus ornés de fils métalliques d'or ou d'argent (*qasab*, *sarmâ*) ou, mieux, des perles, ou enfin, plus fréquemment, faits d'argent. Enfin, sur certaines pièces de tissus, certains habits, s'ajoutent exceptionnellement quelques métaux semi-précieux, sans doute appliqués au produit fini : le corail (*marjân*) pesé en *dirham* (un tiers de piastre les 100 *dirham*), l'ambre (*kârba*), ou encore des pierres, du verre et des perles (*hijâra qazâz wa lu'lû*'). Ces actes notariés confirment ainsi les commentaires de Th. Bittar : « les Ottomans appréciaient énormément les pierres précieuses. [...] Dans les vêtements aussi ce goût se manifestait : diamants ou perles pour les boutons, ceintures recouvertes de diamants et de pierres précieuses, [...] galons de perles de la grosseur d'un pois »⁴⁵. Et l'on se doit de citer la description enthousiaste et poétique de Lady Montagu : « Les boutons sont des perles, les roses des rubis de différentes couleurs, les jasmîns sont des diamants, les jonquilles des topazes »⁴⁶.

Les matériaux

On élargira un peu le champ de l'investigation en mentionnant non seulement les bijoux en soi, mais également certaines des pièces de monnaie détenues par les défunts en général. Le cadi recense en début d'inventaire les espèces faisant partie du patrimoine (*naqdiyya*) ; mais parfois, il évoque la présence de pièces d'or au milieu de ses énumérations de bijoux, comme si ces pièces étaient destinées à être utilisées en bijoux, chose souvent pratiquée. Parfois aussi, le scribe note la présence de réserves d'argent, de pierres, de perles, à l'état brut.

L'or (*dhahab*, *altûn*) est le plus souvent mentionné, 202 fois. Puis la perle (*lu'lû*, *inci*), 102 fois ; enfin l'argent (*fidda*, *gümüch*, *sîm*), 74 fois. Sont aussi cités l'onyx (*balghamî*), le corail (*marjân*), différentes qualités d'ambre (*kahrubâ* ou *karbâ*, *kahrâmân*) ; plus rarement, les pierres précieuses : l'émeraude (*zamrût*), le rubis (*yâqût* ou *la'l*) ou des « pierres » (*tâsh*, *ahdjâr*), sans autre précision ; quelques rares mentions existent enfin des très humbles fer et cuivre.

⁴⁵ Th. BITTAR, « Boucles d'oreilles », in *Topkapi à Versailles*, op. cit., p. 226.

⁴⁶ MONTAGU, op. cit., p. 145.

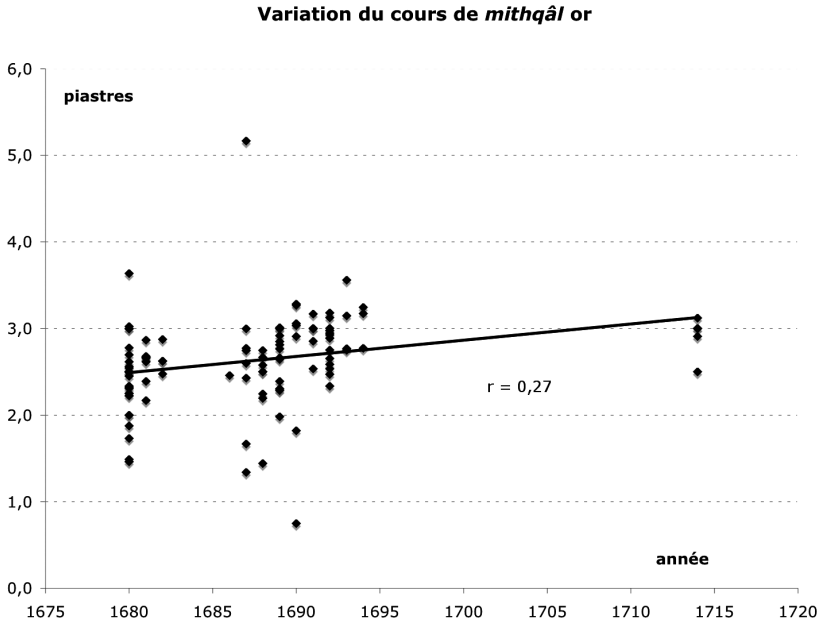


Fig. 1. Les variations du cours du *mithqâl* d'or.
Le coefficient de corrélation r est très significatif.

Il ne faut pas conclure que cette hiérarchie dans l'utilisation des matériaux, déduite de l'analyse des actes, s'applique à la réalité du monde des bijoux damascènes aux environs de 1700. Les inventaires ne concernent que des défunts propriétaires d'un patrimoine, si minime soit-il. Dans un ensemble de population plus étendu, englobant les miséreux, l'argent, voire le cuivre ou le fer, devaient être plus souvent utilisés... ou les bijoux, absents : l'on n'en saura jamais rien, aucune source chiffrée n'autorisant l'accès à la connaissance de toute la population de la ville.

Le poids de l'argent est évalué en *dirham* (3,207 g.)⁴⁷ ; celui de l'or, de la perle, sont estimés en *mithqâl* (4,745 g.)⁴⁸.

⁴⁷ D. PANZAC, « Poids et mesures », in F. GEORGEON, N. VATIN, G. VEINSTEIN (dir.), *Dictionnaire de l'Empire ottoman*, à paraître : « Le *dirhem* est l'élément de base servant à évaluer les différents poids en usage dans l'Empire ottoman. Après avoir varié quelque peu au cours des XIV^e et XV^e siècles, il est généralement fixé à 3,207 grammes ».

⁴⁸ P. KELLY, *Le Cambiste universel, ou traité complet des changes, monnaies, poids et mesures de toutes les nations commerçantes et de leurs colonies*, Paris, J. P. Aillaud,

Le cours de l'argent, d'une parure à l'autre, est stable, le *dirham* vaut 0,1 piastre. C'est sans doute la qualité du travail qui, dans deux cas, élève sa valeur à 0,2 piastres : il s'agit de deux ceintures dont les boucles sont faites de deux ou trois parties (*chaqfa*).

Le *mithqâl* d'or est, en moyenne, estimé à 2,65 piastres⁴⁹ ; pour la plupart des bijoux, le *mithqâl* d'or vaut entre 2 et 3 piastres. Quelques exceptions, observables sur le nuage de points correspondant à la valeur du *mithqâl* (fig. 1) entraînent vers le haut ou vers le bas l'estimation du *mithqâl* : un collier, un *biqâ'î* à une seule chaîne, pesant 80 *mithqâl* n'a été estimée que 60 piastres (0,8 piastre le *mithqâl*). Tandis que deux bracelets en or dit *mabrûm* et deux bracelets de pied pesant 99 *mithqâl* valent 511 piastres (5,2 piastres le *mithqâl*) : l'heureux possesseur de ces onéreuses parures est toujours le très riche *chaykh* 'Alî al-Sa'dî al-Jibbâwî, de la confrérie Sa'diyya, un personnage exceptionnel.

Dans l'ensemble, entre les dates extrêmes de 1680 et de 1714, apparaît une légère inflation de l'or liée à la dépréciation de la piastre : l'inflation est de 1,8 % par an sur l'ensemble de la période, mais touche essentiellement les années du début du XVIII^e siècle. Cette inflation, calculée à partir de la valeur des bijoux et des monnaies d'or exprimée en piastres, avait déjà été constatée⁵⁰.

La valeur d'un bijou n'est certes pas uniquement fondée sur le poids du métal, mais aussi sur la qualité du travail effectué. Le scribe mentionne, uniquement lorsqu'il décrit les bracelets, deux types d'or : or *mabrûm* ou or *jadal*. A. Barthélémy traduit *jadal* par « tressé » et *mabrûm* par « tordu »⁵¹. Les deux termes ne sont pas synonymes : plusieurs personnages détiennent, précise le scribe, et un bracelet en or *jadal* et un bracelet en or *mabrûm*. Le *mithqâl* d'or dit *jadal* est estimé à 2,6 piastres, le *mithqâl* d'or *mabrûm*, tordu davantage, près de 2,96 piastres, à quelque date que ce soit. Ce qualificatif désigne-t-il une technique particulière du travail du métal ? Avouons notre ignorance. De la simple observation des transactions effectuées à l'heure actuelle dans la Turquie rurale ou en Inde, une conclusion anachronique s'impose : quand un client investit dans l'acquisition d'un bracelet-réserve de richesse, il choisit souvent un bracelet simple, un jonc, dont le poids seul fait la

1823 : « Le metical qui sert à peser les perles et l'ambre gris équivaut à 1½ drames ou 73 grains anglais ou 4,745 grammes ».

⁴⁹ Le calcul a été fait à partir de 108 poids et prix exprimés par le cadi.

⁵⁰ C. ESTABLET, J.-P. PASCUAL, « Damascene probate inventories », *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 24, 1992, p. 373-393.

valeur : le *jadal* serait peut-être moins travaillé que le *mabrûm* ? Pure hypothèse.

La perle est précieuse : 4,2 piastres en moyenne le *mithqâl*. Cette moyenne cache d'importantes oscillations du cours. Soixante-trois parures de perles ont été pesées et estimées : le cours de la perle varie entre 1 et 10 piastres. Ces oscillations dépassent de beaucoup l'inflation générale et sont liées, sans doute, à la qualité et à la taille de l'objet⁵². Ainsi la valeur d'un collier *ahbâl* qui comporte 6 grosses perles (*kabîr*) et pèse 7,3 *mithqâl* vaut 56,8 piastres ; tandis que le même collier paré de 8 perles non qualifiées pèse 6 *mithqâl* et est estimé à 25,5 piastres ; dans le premier cas, le cours de la perle est donc de 7,8 piastres et seulement 4,3 dans le second. Le personnage qui détient les meilleures des perles, dont le cours se situe entre 7 et 10 piastres le *mithqâl*, est derechef le *chaykh* 'Alî al-Sa'dî al-Jibbâwî⁵³.

D'où proviennent ces perles ? Du golfe Persique sans doute. Evliya Çelebi avait noté qu'un important marché de perles se situait sur les lieux du pèlerinage à Mina, m'a fait remarquer Suraiya Faroqhi. Mais on ne peut écarter une autre hypothèse : dans le commerce qui unit l'Empire ottoman et l'Inde à l'époque moghole, les importations de perles indiennes ne sont pas absentes⁵⁴. Ainsi, un pèlerin de Bursa qui perd la vie à Damas sur le chemin du retour des lieux saints, en 1687, détient des « perles de Dakka » dans ses bagages.

Les femmes, les hommes et les bijoux

Les femmes damascènes détiennent plus des trois quarts de tous les bijoux recensés par les juges. Le bijou porte certes la marque du féminin, mais pas d'un « universel » féminin : si presque toutes les femmes '*askar*', riches, en sont pourvues, près de la moitié des femmes '*ra'âyâ*', les plus pauvres, ne possèdent aucun bijou parmi leurs effets. En revanche, certaines des plus aisées les accumulent : 11 bagues, 3 paires de boucles

⁵¹ BARTHÉLEMY, *op. cit.*

⁵² Au musée de Topkapi est présenté un pendentif qui comporte de nombreuses perles de grosseur très variable.

⁵³ M^{me} Claudie Plé, une des spécialistes internationales du marché de la perle fine, nous fait remarquer qu'en 2011, cette perle restait extrêmement onéreuse ; sa valeur oscille beaucoup en fonction de son origine et de sa qualité.

⁵⁴ D. C. WELLINGTON, *French East India Companies: an Historical Account and Record of Trade*, Lanham, Hamilton Books, 2006.

d'oreille, 1 bracelet, 3 ceintures, 3 ornements de chevelure, 4 colliers et, en plus, des perles en vrac dans des boîtes pour une seule femme 'askar. « Selon que vous serez puissante ou misérable »...

Quant aux hommes, s'ils n'obéissent pas exactement aux préceptes des théologiens, ils sont cependant peu nombreux à détenir des bijoux⁵⁵. Les agents civils et militaires de l'État se sont davantage laissé tenter : 11 'askar sur 55, seulement 11 *ra'âyâ* sur 277. À quelques exceptions près, ces hommes ne possèdent pas exactement les mêmes parures que les femmes ou, du moins, pas dans la même proportion.

Les bagues (*khâtîm*) dominent dans les avoirs masculins, sans constituer la totalité de leurs bijoux. Ce sont bien les seuls bijoux « admis », pour les hommes, par les théologiens. Un pèlerin, extérieur à l'échantillon de la population damascène présentée, dont la vie s'éteint à Damas en 1686, porte deux bagues : une incrustée de pierres gravées (*bi ahjâr maktûb*) et une en argent.

L'or est beaucoup moins présent dans les parures masculines que dans les bijoux féminins : les bagues des femmes sont presque toutes en or ; les bagues des hommes sont faites d'argent. Le fer même a été utilisé dans 3 colliers (*biqâ'î demir* ou *hadîd*) et le cuivre pour une boucle d'oreille. Rappelons nous M. d'Ohsson, déjà cité : la proscription de l'or est visible, pas celle de l'argent (cf. n. 5).

Par ailleurs, les hommes détiennent des matériaux bruts : du corail, de l'ambre, des rubis, des émeraudes, des grains d'or (*habb*) ou des pièces de monnaies (*sikka dhahab*) non incluses par le cadi dans le numéraire. Ces matériaux précieux paraissent plutôt constituer des réserves destinées à faire face à des jours difficiles, à moins qu'ils ne soient les matières premières de futurs bijoux... féminins.

Cependant, les exceptions existent, toutes deux situées dans le groupe des sujets. 'Umar b. al-sayyid Yûsuf b. al-sayyid Ahmad Aghâ, une des plus grosses fortunes damascènes, ayant appartenu au milieu des 'askar, comme son nom l'indique, et grand commerçant en tissus, concentre dans ses biens près de 10 % de la valeur de l'ensemble des bijoux masculins, avant tout de lourds bracelets. Le *chaykh* de la confrérie Sa'diyya, 'Alî al-Sa'dî al-Jibbâwî, accumule encore les bijoux illicites : bagues, colliers

⁵⁵ En revanche, ils sont presque les seuls à posséder des chapelets, *masbaha* ou *tasbîh-tespih*, objets usuels et de faible valeur sur lequel le scribe ne s'arrête pas, sauf lorsqu'ils sont composés de matériaux recherchés : l'ambre, le corail ; un chapelet de corail atteint la valeur de 1,75 piastres ; un chapelet d'ambre (*kahrubâ*), de 3 piastres.

de toutes sortes, bracelets, diadème, tous en or, colliers de perles, ornements de chevelure, dont la valeur représente près de 60 % de la valeur de l'ensemble des bijoux possédés par les hommes. Toujours présent dans les exceptions, le même *chaykh* se distinguait également des autres hommes par l'utilisation de la soie, proscrite, dans ses vêtements et certains éléments du mobilier, les draps et les coussins⁵⁶. Ces hommes accumulent-ils des réserves ou destinent-ils ces parures à leurs filles et épouses ? Les sources restent muettes. Elles sont tout aussi silencieuses sur la fonction des bijoux.

La fonction des bijoux

Ornements ? À coup sûr : les femmes se parent. Les récits des voyageurs le prouvent. Et la mort ne met pas une fin définitive à ce comportement, puisque sur certaines des stèles des cimetières d'Istanbul, un collier finement ciselé sur le cou apparaît, rappelant sans doute un passé révolu⁵⁷.

Réserves destinées à une dépense imprévue ? Une donnée, inscrite par le scribe, le laisse clairement imaginer : un bracelet a servi à payer les frais de sépulture d'un défunt.

Ou gages ? Dans une société aussi endettée, on peut supposer aussi que certains biens de valeur pouvaient cautionner un prêt. Les scribes détaillent quelques cas de biens ayant été placés en dépôt (*amâna*) chez un défunt. Aucune certitude n'existe sur la cause de ces dépôts : le défunt a pu partir en voyage, effectuer le pèlerinage ou bien il a demandé un prêt garanti par cet *amâna*. Les bijoux figurent bien dans ces ensembles énumérés et quantifiés par le cadî ; ils sont accompagnés de biens beaucoup moins prestigieux : des marmites, des bassines, banals objets d'un métal cher, ou des tissus précieux et des fourrures. Plus révélateurs, les biens qui ont été mis en gage (*rahûn*) chez des défunts qui, tout en exerçant une activité commerciale, ne négligeaient pas le prêt. Tel est le cas

⁵⁶ C. ESTABLET, J.-P. PASCUAL, « Les étoffes dans les maisons », in C. ESTABLET, J.-P. PASCUAL, *Des tissus et des hommes*, op. cit., p. 237-288.

⁵⁷ J.-L. BACQUÉ-GRAMMONT, H.-P. LAQUEUR, N. VATIN, *Stelae turcicae II : cimetières de la mosquée de Sokollu Mehmed Paşa à Kadirga Limani, de Bostanci Ali et du türbe de Sokollu Mehmed Paşa à Eyüb*, Tübingen, Ernst Wasmuth Verlag, 1990. Nicolas Vatin a attiré mon attention sur les stèles de Sokollu Mehmed Pacha (Kadirga) représentées dans les planches sous les n^{os} SMK D 164, SMK D 172, SMK D 186, SMK D 189, SMK E 251, SMK F 316.

d'un négociant en tissus⁵⁸, portant le titre de *khawâja*, dont le patrimoine, à sa mort, se compose de différents types de textiles, de créances et de gages. 'Abdarrahîm b. Hâjj 'Alî est à la tête d'un actif de 720 piastres : du numéraire, des biens commerciaux et des créances. Le montant de ses créances s'élève à 141 piastres. Les noms des débiteurs, femmes et hommes, sont indiqués ; sous le nom des femmes – et pas des hommes – débitrices, parfois désignées par leur seul *ism* (une *fâtima* est ainsi citée à plusieurs reprises, une voisine, une connaissance, une habituée de l'emprunt ?) apparaît souvent le type de biens qui a été mis en gage. À l'exception d'un mouchoir (*mandîl*) et de couteaux (*sikkîn*) argentés, seuls les bijoux sont cités ; de pauvres bijoux sans valeur, 2 boucles d'oreille en or, des bracelets, non pas en paire, mais en pièce unique, des boucles d'oreille, quelques bagues, tous en argent et en mauvais état, une bague ornée de pierres, évalués à quelques *misriyya*. L'analyse d'un seul document n'autorise pas de conclusion définitive : dans le cas de ce crédit accordé aux femmes, les bijoux jouent un rôle essentiel. Et la pauvre qualité, la moindre valeur de ces parures, données en gage pour de faibles crédits, apportent leur éclairage sur la pauvreté générale de la société damascène vers 1700. La brillance de l'or, les couleurs des émeraudes et des rubis, la nacre de la perle ne concernent sans doute qu'une petite partie de la population féminine de Damas.

Transmission des bijoux

Les actes de succession étudiés ici même le confirment ; à la mort du défunt, de la défunte surtout, les parures échoient aux enfants, garçons et filles, phénomène banal d'héritage. On ignore si des arrangements *post mortem* entre les héritiers suivent, privilégiant une transmission féminine.

Les bijoux font aussi partie du trousseau de la mariée. Parmi les actes du registre 10 figure un document (n° 96) daté de 1681, le seul qui détaille la composition du trousseau d'une future mariée, le *djihâz*.

Dans les pays musulmans, lorsqu'un mariage se conclut, il est d'usage que l'époux donne à sa future femme une certaine somme d'argent, appelée *mahr* ou *sadâq*, payée en une seule fois ou à terme⁵⁹. Les prestations

⁵⁸ Inventaire n° 118 du registre 15. Merci à J.-P. Pascual de m'avoir aidée à déchiffrer ce document difficile à lire.

⁵⁹ C. ESTABLET, J.-P. PASCUAL, « À propos du *sadaq* ou *mahr* dans une région arabe

Tableau IV : Les bijoux dans un *jihaz* féminin

Bijoux	Poids (g)	Prix (piastres)
Paire de boucles d'oreille en or avec 4 perles, 2 rubis, 2 émeraudes	?	45,00
Diadème en or orné de perles et de pierres	?	36,75
Collier d'or (<i>biqâ'î</i>)	60,0	170,00
Chaînes (<i>habl</i>) avec des perles	7,5	39,50
Caractères illisibles	?	36,25
Caractères illisibles avec des perles	4,0	26,00
<i>Chahrûr</i> (perles)	5,0	17,50
<i>Chahrûr</i> (perles)	5,3	21,50
Une paire de larges bracelets d'or	40,0	112,00
Cordons (<i>zamâma</i>) en or	2,5	6,50
Paire de bracelets en or dit <i>mabrûm</i> (40 m), parure de chevelure (<i>uqûs</i>) avec 10 pièces de monnaie (30 m), paire de bracelets de cheville en or (25 m)	95,0	285,00

dirigées de la famille de la femme vers le futur époux existent aussi : les parents donnent un trousseau : *djihiz* ou *jihaz*. M. d'Ohsson le décrit ainsi : « l'époux reçoit en retour du linge de corps et des essuie-main brodés en or, en argent, ou en soie. [...] Les parents et les amis de l'époux se rendent chez la mariée pour recevoir son trousseau, qui, chargé sur des chevaux ou des charriots couverts de riches étoffes est transporté avec appareil dans sa nouvelle demeure. [...] La mère suit le convoi, et fait exposer dans ce logement le trousseau de sa fille. La valeur de ce trousseau dépend de la fortune ou de la vanité des parents »⁶⁰.

Cet acte donne donc la chance d'observer la composition exacte d'un trousseau. Le *wasî*, tuteur et exécuteur testamentaire de l'orpheline Sâfiyya bt 'Ali Çelebî s'entoure du témoignage de nombreux personnages provenant de membres de grandes familles damascènes (dont les Ustuwânî). Il détaille tous les biens qu'il a achetés pour composer un *jihaz*. Le trousseau représente une forte somme, 2 035 piastres, dont 796 piastres de bijoux : on y retrouve les parures décrites plus haut.

de l'Empire ottoman à l'aube du XVIII^e siècle », in *Religion, pouvoir et liberté : l'argent du mariage*, n° spécial de *Droit et culture* 42, 2001-2002, p. 211-229.

⁶⁰ D'OHSSON, *op. cit.*, vol. 5, p. 140-160.

Le contenu du trousseau est varié : y figurent du linge et en particulier 10 paires de *lihâf* (couverture piquée) de velours *mulawwana* (bigarré) qui sont estimés à 103 piastres, des coussins, des vêtements (*libâs*, caleçons), souvent brodés, de la vaisselle en cuivre et en argent, des aiguières (*ibrîq*), des *tâs* (bols), de nombreuses pièces de tissu (*tûb*), des coffres argentés... et des bijoux, présentés dans le tableau IV.

Ces bijoux ont été achetés avec les avoirs de la jeune orpheline : l'acte ignore l'identité du vendeur de bijoux qui pouvait faire partie des bijoutiers de la ville⁶¹.

L'existence du trousseau amène donc dans la future famille un ensemble de bijoux dont la femme gardera sans doute la propriété.

Cet arrêt prolongé sur la partie orientale et arabe de l'Empire ottoman vers 1700 a permis d'ancrer l'histoire des bijoux ottomans dans une réalité historique et spatiale. À Damas, vers 1700, les femmes possèdent des bijoux dont on sait exactement les noms en arabe ou en turc, dont on peut évaluer le poids, le prix et le matériau qui les compose. Ces parures constituent plus du quart de leur patrimoine et font partie de réserves de biens faciles à négocier. Des rapports personnels qu'entretiennent ces « femmes aux bijoux » avec leurs parures, l'histoire n'en dit rien. Échappent également à la connaissance visuelle, une fois encore, les images des parures, englouties sous les ans du passé. Mais l'espoir n'est pas perdu de retrouver, enfouis dans des musées, chez des collectionneurs, des bijoux qui aient conservé leurs noms vernaculaires. Les joyaux des grands de la Cour, souvent aussi privés de leurs désignations d'époque, sont représentés dans les catalogues dont les illustrations et les descriptions reposent avant tout sur les remarques des voyageurs : on peut s'autoriser à penser que les bijoux des plus aisées de nos humbles défuntés s'inspiraient des bijoux en vogue à la Cour.

⁶¹ Deux bijoutiers chrétiens figurent dans les registres 15 et 19 de la *qisma 'arabiyya* de Damas.

Colette ESTABLET, *Les bijoux dans l'Empire ottoman au XVIII^e siècle : l'exemple damascène*

Il est malaisé d'établir la spécificité ottomane du monde des parures dans un empire qui englobe l'Europe, l'Afrique et l'Asie et qui couvre l'histoire de cinq siècles. Quelques sourates coraniques, quelques théologiens ne semblent pas favorables au port des « atours ». Cependant, les bijoux ottomans, admirés par les voyageurs, ont été collectionnés et ont fait l'objet de nombreuses expositions dont les catalogues reproduisent les plus belles pièces. L'analyse d'inventaires après décès autorise une approche plus humble. À Damas, vers 1700, les femmes possèdent des bijoux qui constituent plus du quart de leurs patrimoines ; les scribes en ont relevé les noms, en langues arabe et turque, le poids, le prix et le matériau qui les compose. La source permet donc d'ancrer l'histoire des bijoux ottomans dans une réalité historique et spatiale.

Colette ESTABLET, *Jewels in the Ottoman Empire in the 18th Century : the Example of Damascus*

In ornament, it would be difficult to define a character specific to a three-continental five-centuries-old empire such as the Ottoman Empire. Some suras in the Koran, some theologians do not seem to approve “adornment” wearing. Yet, Ottoman jewels have been admired by travellers, promoted to be collector's items, and shown in many exhibitions. Photos of the most beautiful amongst them can be seen in the exhibition catalogues. Post-mortem jewellery inventory analysis allows for a more humble approach. In Damascus, in about 1700, women's heritage consists of jewellery at a rate higher than one-fourth ; scribes registered names, in Arab and Turkish, weight, price and materials. Sources provide for embedding the history of the Ottoman jewellery in a historical and spatial reality.

THE ALBANIAN *TELLÂK* CONNECTION:
LABOR MIGRATION TO THE HAMMAMS
OF 18TH-CENTURY ISTANBUL,
BASED ON THE 1752 *İSTANBUL*
HAMÂMLARI DEFTERİ

“T ————— INTRODUCTION

he Ottoman Empire began and ended with migration,” Reşat Kasaba poignantly states in his recent book *A Moveable Empire*.¹ Neither was the empire between its beginning and end a static entity, and an almost constant movement of short- and long-term labor migrants, nomads and refugees continued to shape and reshape its cities and provinces.² As the capital and focal point of the empire, Istanbul was the one city most affected by the constant demographic movements, and especially in the 18th century the ever-growing influx of migrants, while necessary to ensure a steady labor supply replacing population

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¹ Reşat KASABA, *A Moveable Empire: Ottoman Nomads, Migrants and Refugees*, Seattle-London, University of Washington Press, 2009, p. 11.

² An earlier version of the present paper was presented under the title “Who Worked in Istanbul’s Hamams in the 17th and 18th Centuries? Hamam Business, Chain Migration and Identity” at the 1st Turkish Economic History Congress (Birinci İktisat Tarihi Kongresi), Marmara University, Istanbul, 7-8 Sept. 2007. I owe a debt of gratitude to Hilal Kazan who generously assisted with deciphering a number of personal and place names in the document. At the various stages of writing, I have benefitted from the comments of Amy Singer, Deniz Yüksek, Murat Ergin, and Betül Başaran, as well as the anonymous referees. Any mistakes that remain are my own.

losses due to epidemics and other disasters, worried the Ottoman authorities.³ Keeping the countryside populated in order to ensure food supply and tax revenue; the need to feed, house and control the urban population; and the wish to curb vagrancy and rising criminality, whether actual or perceived – these all were of great concern to the authorities. Several different measures were implemented in order to prevent migrants from disturbing the social order, in particular single males without ties to established communities, who came to Istanbul in search of employment opportunities. These measures included, for instance, the issuing of passport-like documents (*mürûr tezkeresi*) to individuals who had permission to travel, the expansion and stricter application of the guarantor system (*kefâlet*), the deportation of individuals who could not fulfill the necessary requirements, and – most importantly for the context of this study – the official monitoring and registration of specific professional groups in *defters*.⁴

It is the 18th-century labor migration into the capital and particularly what I call the “Albanian *tellâk* connection”, as reflected in an archival document related to the city’s hammams, that this article will investigate. The document in question is a bathhouse register (*İstanbul Hamâmları Defteri*), listing all male bathhouse employees in the greater area of Istanbul, written in AH 1165 (AD 1752) and preserved in the Prime Ministry’s Ottoman Archives (fig. 1).⁵ The register has been given an incorrect title in the catalogue, which might explain why this rich source has not been studied or published as of yet. In the following, I will present the information contained in this source; the profile of the labor force in Istanbul’s hammams that one can extract thence; a scenario of migration

³ For the “classical” studies on 18th-century migration into Istanbul, cf. Münir AKTEPE, “İstanbul’un Nüfus Meselesine Dair Bazı Vesikalar,” *Tarih Dergisi* 9, 1958, p. 1-30; Yücel ÖZKAYA, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda XVIII. Yüzyılda Göç Sorunu,” *DCTF Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* 1981-1982, p. 171-208. For the most recent and comprehensive contribution to this *problématique*, cf. Betül BAŞARAN, *Remaking the Gate of Felicity: Policing, Social Control, and Migration to Istanbul at the End of the Eighteenth Century*, Ph. D. dissertation, Chicago, The University of Chicago, 2006. Cf. also her *Between Crisis and Order: Selim III, Social Control and Policing in Istanbul at the End of the Eighteenth Century*, Leiden, Brill, forthcoming.

⁴ For an extensive discussion of such measures, cf. BAŞARAN, *op. cit.*, p. 62-71.

⁵ Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (hereafter BOA), Kamil Kepeci Müteferrik Defterleri 7437. I originally came across this document while conducting archival research for my doctoral thesis entitled *From Bath to Tourist Attraction: the Life Story of the Çemberlitaş Hamam, Istanbul*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota, 2005. At that point, I only made use of the source’s section on the Çemberlitaş Hamamı.

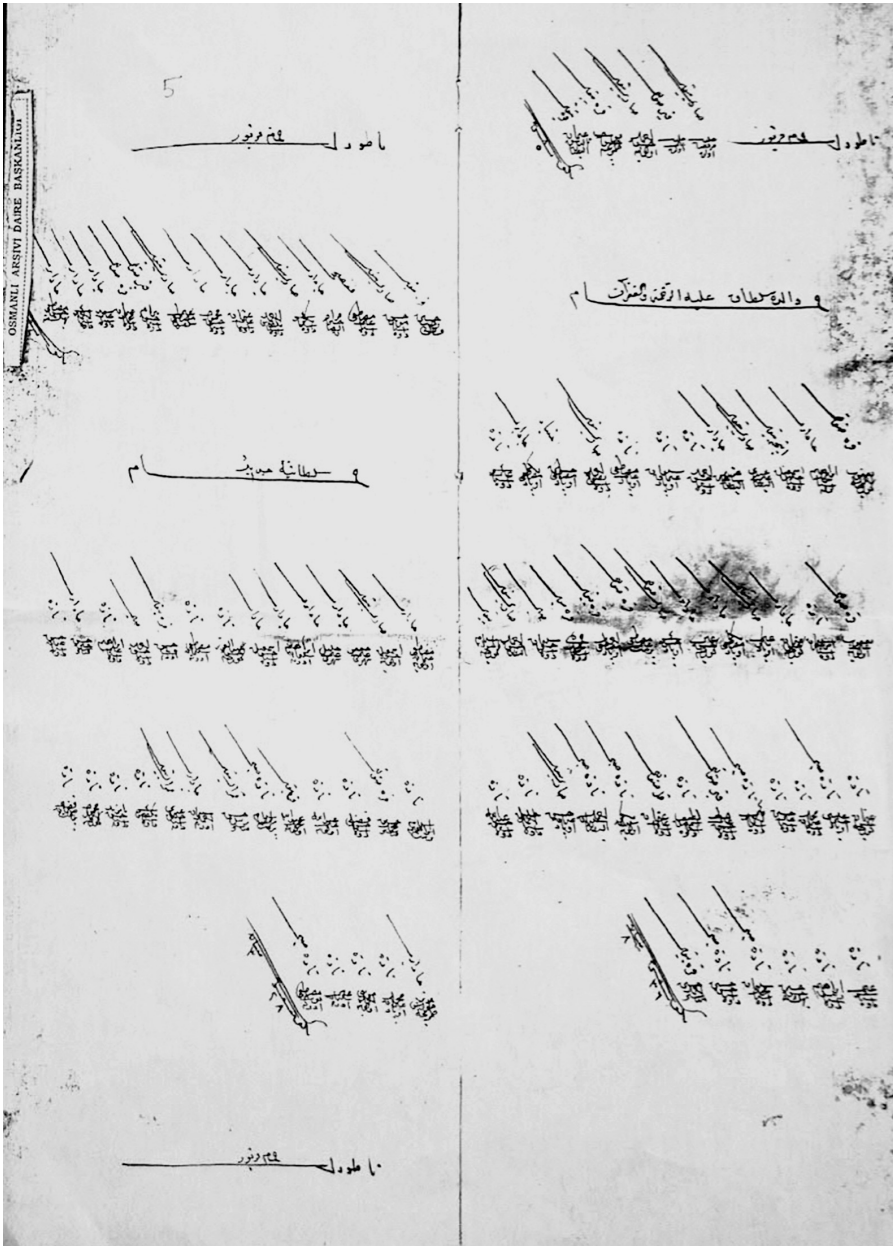


Fig. 1. Kamil Kepeci Müteferrik Defterleri 7437, fol. 4 v° and 5 r°.

Source: Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, İstanbul.

dynamics in the light of this information as well as contemporary migration theory; and, finally, the source's contribution to our current knowledge of Ottoman labor migration into Istanbul. However, first it will be necessary to describe hammams as workplaces and to put the document in its specific historical context.

HAMMAMS AS WORKPLACES

The majority of the 177 hammams of Istanbul recorded in the 1752 register were revenue-generating components of charitable endowments.⁶ As such, they were rented out to private persons who operated them independently as businesses for profit. These *hamamcıs* – who had a guild of their own⁷ – were responsible for the hiring and firing and payment of their own employees. To run a bathhouse in the proper manner required at the very least a staff of one furnace stoker (*külhâncı*) and one bathhouse attendant (*tellâk*, cf. fig. 2) who washed, scrubbed, massaged and if so desired also shaved the bathers. Mid-sized or large bathhouses not only had a large number of *tellâks*, but also many more additional employees: a head *tellâk* called *ser-nevbet*, who supervised all others; male servants called *nâtırs* whose job it was to perform small services for the customers;⁸ a launderer (*çâmeşuy*) who washed the towels; and a coffee-cook (*kahveci*). If the hammam also had a women's section, the total number of employees was increased by a few female attendants. However, if current practices are any indication, female staff were probably less numerous, even in hammams where the women's section was as large as that of the men, since many female bathers came in groups and scrubbed each other. Since the administration apparently

⁶ For a more comprehensive discussion of a hammam as workplace and business venture, particularly as related to endowments, cf. Nina ERGİN, "Bathing Business in Istanbul: a Case Study of the Çemberlitaş Hamamı in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in Nina ERGİN (ed.), *Bathing Culture of Anatolian Civilizations: Architecture, History and Imagination*, Louvain, Peeters, 2011, p. 142-167.

⁷ For a visual depiction of the guild dating to the late 16th century, cf. Nurhan ATASOY (ed.), *1582 Surname-i Hümayun: an Imperial Celebration*, Istanbul, Koçbank, 1997. For a textual description of the hammam managers' guild during a procession, cf. Robert DANKOFF, Seyit Ali KAHRAMAN, Yücel DAĞLI (eds.), *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi: Topkapı Sarayı Bağdat 304 Numaralı Yazmanın Transkripsiyonu, dizini*, Istanbul, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2006, vol. 1, p. 329.

⁸ The term *nâtır* only later came to describe a female bathhouse attendant, as it does today.



Fig. 2. Portrait of a *tellâk* in Enderuni Hüseyin Fazlı's *Hubân-nâme*, 18th century. Source : Istanbul University Library, n° 5502, fol. 50 r°.

Table I: Male Employees of Tahtakale Hamamı

Name	Physical Traits	Province of Origin
<i>tellâk</i>		
Ali Hüseyin	<i>kumrâl sakâllı, ser-nevbet</i>	Görice
Ali İbrahim	<i>ak sakâllı</i>	[not recorded]
Ahmed Mehmed	<i>kumrâl sakâllı</i>	Cezair
İslâm Ali	<i>kumrâl bıyıklı</i>	Opar
Monla Hüseyin	<i>sârı sakâllı</i>	Görice
Mehmed Mehmed	<i>kumrâl bıyıklı</i>	Kastamonu
Osman Mehmed	<i>çâr'ebû</i>	İstarova
Hassan Ali	<i>kara sakâllı</i>	Kastamonu
Mustafa Hassan	<i>kara bıyıklı</i>	Görice
Ahmed Yakup	<i>kara bıyıklı</i>	Avlonya
Zenbil Sefer	<i>tâze</i>	İstarova
Süleyman Hüseyin	<i>tâze sabi</i>	İstarova
Mehmed Mustafa	<i>tâze</i>	Tamariçe
Osman Ali	<i>tâze</i>	Görice
Mustafa Mehmed	<i>tâze sâbi</i>	Tomoriça
Mehmed Mustafa	<i>tâze</i>	Kastamonu
Mehmed Osman	<i>tâze</i>	Kastamonu
İbrahim Hassan	<i>tâze sâbi</i>	İstarova
Süleyman Osman	<i>tâze</i>	Opar
Hüseyin Mehmed	<i>tâze</i>	Kastamonu
İbrahim Muhtar [?]	<i>tâze sâbi</i>	Elbasan
İsmail Şir	<i>tâze</i>	Kastamonu
Hüseyin Mustafa	<i>tâze sâbi</i>	Kastamonu
Ali Hüseyin	<i>çâr'ebû</i>	Opar
Mustafa Şir	<i>çâr'ebû</i>	Kastamonu
İsmail Mehmed	<i>çâr'ebû</i>	Sivas
Musa İslâm	<i>çâr'ebû</i>	Görice
Osman Bekir	<i>sâbi</i>	İstarova
Mehmed İbrahim	<i>çâr'ebû</i>	Kastamonu
Osman Ahmed	<i>çâr'ebû</i>	İstarova

Name	Physical Traits	Province of Origin
Halil Aziz	<i>çâr'ebîrû</i>	İstarova
Şir İsa	<i>kumrâl sakâllı</i>	Avlonya
Ali Mehmed	<i>kara bıyıklı</i>	Kastamonu
Ali Mehmed	<i>çâr'ebîrû</i>	Kastamonu
Hüseyin Ali	<i>kumrâl sakâllı</i>	Kastamonu
İslam Hassan	<i>tâze</i>	Görice
Mustafa Mehmed	<i>çâr'ebîrû</i>	Kastamonu
İbrahim Ahmed	<i>tâze sâbi</i>	Kastamonu
Hassan Ahmed	<i>tâze sâbi</i>	Kastamonu
İbrahim Hüsseyin	<i>tâze</i>	İstarova
Ali Ali	<i>tâze sâbi</i>	Sivas
Sadık Ali	<i>sâbi</i>	İstarova
İbrahim Ali	<i>tâze</i>	Elbasan
Hassan Mehmed	<i>tâze</i>	Kastamonu
Mustafa Mehmed	<i>çâr'ebîrû</i>	Kastamonu
İslam Ahmed	<i>tâze</i>	Avlonya
Mustafa Hüseyin	<i>sakâllı</i>	Kastamonu
Mustafa Mehmed	<i>çârçe [?]</i>	Tophane
Ahmed Mehmed	<i>kara bıyıklı</i>	Kastamonu
Murad İbrahim	<i>kara bıyıklı</i>	Elbasan
Fazlullah Mustafa	<i>kara bıyıklı</i>	Elbasan
<i>nâtr</i>		
Mustafa Hassan	<i>kara sakâllı</i>	İstarova
Mustafa Bayezid	<i>ak sakâllı</i>	İstarova
Mehmed Mehmed	<i>çâr'ebîrû</i>	Kastamonu
Mürteza Hüseyin	<i>kumrâl bıyıklı</i>	Manastır
Osman Mehmed	<i>tâze</i>	Kastamonu
Osman İbrahim	<i>kara sakâllı</i>	Yenişehir
Fazıl Abdi	<i>çâr'ebîrû</i>	İstarova
Mehmed Süleyman	<i>çâr'ebîrû</i>	İstarova

did not consider the female staff of hammams as problematic, the scribe of the 1752 register did not make an effort to record them, something he would have had to do based on hearsay rather than direct observation in any case.

In the middle of the 18th century, the largest bathhouse, Tahtakale Hamamı, had a male staff of 59 *tellâks* and *nâtırs* (cf. table I). This was a considerable number, especially given that Ottoman businesses even at the beginning of the 19th century rarely numbered more than 50 employees.⁹ Together with Tahtakale Hamamı, the other large bathhouses – Çemberlitaş Hamamı with 58 male employees, Gedik Paşa Hamamı with 56, and Mahmutpaşa Hamamı with 51, all located in densely settled commercial areas in *intra muros* Istanbul – made up only 2% of all bathhouses in Istanbul (cf. table II). More common were hammams with a staff of between 20 and 29, or between 10 and 19 male employees. Almost half of the bathhouses had fewer than 10 employees; without a doubt, these small establishments catered to the inhabitants of smaller residential neighborhoods (*mahalle*). In addition to the people working inside the baths, numerous other professions were connected to the hammam business: the weavers producing bath wrappers (*peştemâlcıs*) and the producers and sellers of such necessities as soap, clogs (*nâlin*), hammam bowls (*tâs*), soap containers, and other bath products. Although Evliya Çelebi's numerical estimates always have to be taken with a grain

Table II : Size of Istanbul Hammams Based on Number of Male Employees

Number of Employees	Number of Hammams	% Value*
50 or more	4	2
40-49	6	3
30-39	4	2
20-29	34	19
10-19	45	26
1-9	84	48
Total	177	100

* % values have been rounded.

⁹ Cengiz KIRLI, "A Profile of the Labor Force in Early Nineteenth-Century Istanbul," *International Labor and Working-Class History* 60, 2001, p. 128.

of salt, his description of a guild procession in Istanbul – including 150 hammam managers, 2,000 *tellâks*, 1,000 *nâturs*, 400 towel-weavers, 50 sellers of depilatory paste, and 106 clog-makers, making for a total of 3,706 guildsmen related to hammams – shows that the hammam business was a significant part of the city's economy.¹⁰ In fact, it would not be wrong to speak of a bathing industry, given how many people earned their livelihood through hammams in one way or another.

THE DOCUMENT IN ITS HISTORICAL CONTEXT

On 2 October 1730, the Patrona Halil Revolt ended with the deposition of sultan Ahmet III – a rather successful outcome from the point of view of the rebels. Named after the Albanian Janissary and *tellâk* who instigated it, the revolt was a reaction to several problems in the Ottoman Empire: the continued debasement of currency and the problems accompanying inflation; the changes in the guild system resulting from the influx of Rumelian and Anatolian migrants into Istanbul; and the burdensome taxes extracted from the guilds in order to mobilize the army against the Safavids.¹¹ The political involvement of the “mob”, to a certain extent not unlike that of the French *sans-culottes* in their demographic composition and manner of mobilization, was based on discussion of politics in public spaces and ensuing rumors.¹² The rebels, largely

¹⁰ DANKOFF, KAHRAMAN, DAĞLI, *op. cit.*, p. 329-330. The number of 150 *hamamcıs* appears to be a correct estimate, since there were probably about that many bathhouses in Istanbul. Cf. Mehmet Nermi HASKAN, *İstanbul Hamamları*, Istanbul, Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu, 1995. The number of 177 hammams recorded in the 1752 register was likely one of the highest numbers of bathhouses in the city; in 1768, an imperial decree prohibited any further construction of baths, as their excessive number was claimed to cause fuel and water shortages. For this decree, cf. Ahmet Refik ALTINAY, *Onikinci Asr-ı Hicrî'de İstanbul Hayatı (1689-1785)*, Istanbul, Enderun Kitabevi, 1988, p. 216.

¹¹ Robert OLSON, “The Esnaf and the Patrona Halil Rebellion in 1730: a Realignment in Ottoman Politics?,” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 17, 1974, p. 335. For a book-length analysis of the revolt, cf. Münir AKTEPE, *Patrona İsyanı (1730)*, Istanbul, Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1958. Published primary sources on the event include: Faik Reşit UNAT (ed.), *1730 Patrona İhtilali Hakkında bir Eser: Abdi Tarihi*, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1943; Bekir Sıtkı BAYKAL (ed.), *Destarı Salih Tarihi: Patrona Halil Ayaklanması Hakkında bir Kaynak*, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1962.

¹² Cf. Marinos SARIYANNIS, “Mob, Scamps and Rebels in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul: Some Remarks on Ottoman Social Vocabulary,” *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 11, 2005, p. 13-14. I thank the anonymous reviewers for drawing my attention to the *sans-culottes* as a parallel example in some respects.

guildsmen, managed to depose the Sultan, demonstrating the power they could muster thanks to the cohesion of their group. It should come as no surprise that, following the revolt, the urban administration was quite wary of bathhouse employees, particularly of those of Albanian origin.¹³ Therefore, in 1734-1735, an imperial decree ordered that:

*“whoever works in a hammam [...] shall all be registered with their names and patronymics and it shall be written where they are from, their appearance and their features shall be described; next to the names of the Albanians, with a red pen shall be made a sign saying “Albanian.” If afterwards it proves necessary to hire [someone] for the hammams, not one person shall be taken from among the Albanians, old or young; [...] if [they] leave the hammam and return to their home country, they can never be hired again [...] after their return, even if they want to; in their place shall be hired boys from Anatolia or from the city [i.e., Istanbul].”*¹⁴

Clearly, the Ottoman administration felt so threatened by the Albanian bathhouse employees, a group that by dint of their profession came into contact with a large number of people, that they wanted to police them more closely. One can easily imagine a *tellâk* chatting about the issues of the day with his customer while washing and massaging him, exchanging ideas and opinions.¹⁵ Indeed, in the early 19th century, an exchange of political ideas was enough of a threat to lead to the “arrest” of several women bathers in a hammam, by a female spy.¹⁶ Moreover, the *tellâks* of Istanbul seem to have formed a strong network based on regional and ethnic solidarity (*hemşehrî*, *hemcins*) due to the relative homogeneity of their origin from the Western and Central Balkan Peninsula,¹⁷ and such

¹³ On Ottoman attitudes against Albanians as “the Other”, regardless of their trade, cf. Antonis ANASTASOPOULOS, “Albanians in the Ottoman Balkans,” in Elias KOLOVOS, Phokion KOTZAGEORGIS, Sophia LAIOU, Marinos SARIYANNIS (eds), *The Ottoman Empire, the Balkans, the Greek Lands: toward a Social and Economic History, Studies in Honor of John C. Alexander*, Istanbul, Isis Press, 2007, p. 37-47.

¹⁴ The text of this decree has been published in transcription under the entry “Dellak” in Reşat Ekrem KOÇU (ed.), *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul, İstanbul Ansiklopedisi ve Neşriyat Kollektif Şirketi, 1965, vol. 8, p. 4363. Translation mine. Unfortunately, I have not been able to find the original document.

¹⁵ For a more detailed discussion of hammams as a social venue, cf. Ebru BOYAR, Kate FLEET, *A Social History of Ottoman Istanbul*, Cambridge-New York, Cambridge University Press, 2010, p. 249-270.

¹⁶ Mehmet Ali BEYHAN (ed.), *Cabi Ömer Efendi, Cabi Târîhi, târîh-i Sultân Selâm-i Sâlis ve Mahmûd-ı Sâni: tahlîlve tenkidli metin*, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2003, vol. 1, p. 392.

¹⁷ On ethnic solidarity as a factor in Ottoman administration and government, cf. Metin KUNT, “Ethnic-Regional (*cins*) Solidarity in the Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Establishment,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 5, 1974, p. 233-239.

networks held great potential to instigate urban unrest, as the Patrona Halil Revolt had proven.

The aim of listing and describing the hammam attendants in order to control them, as requested per imperial decree, quite clearly emerges from the first inscribed page of the 30 folios of the leather-bound *defter*, dated AH 1st *ramadan* 1165 (13 July 1752). Each of the 177 records of individual bathhouses begins with the name of the hammam and, occasionally, if necessary, with the identification of its neighborhood. For example, Kapudan Paşa Hamamı was identified as being located in the neighborhood of the Old Palace (*sarây-ı atîk*), or, in other words, close to the Süleymaniye mosque.¹⁸ Below, the scribe registered first the *tellâks* and then the *nâtırs* with their names and patronymics, their nicknames if they had one, their status as non-Muslim (*zimmî*) if applicable, and the province of origin. Placed diagonally above each entry, a one- or two-word physical description allowed the administration to identify the respective employee. After the last entry for each group, the scribe calculated the total number of employees. Going from bathhouse to bathhouse, the scribe thus recorded until AH 25 *ramadan* 1165 (6 Aug. 1752), the date inscribed on the last page, over the period of slightly less than a month the 2,400 male hammam employees working in the larger area of Istanbul – including Eyüp, Hasköy, Kasımpaşa, Galata, and the European and Asian shores of the Bosphorus.

Similar 18th- and 19th-century inspection registers of other professional groups have been discussed in relation to labor, migration and social control.¹⁹ The general format of a list of shops or businesses together with information on the shopkeepers and employees (such as patronymics, place of origin, if applicable membership in the Janissary corps, name of the respective guarantors, and so on) remained roughly the same. However, the way in which the targeted shops, professions or guilds were grouped varied, so that it is possible to understand which ones the authorities considered in greater need of attention and policing.

¹⁸ BOA, Kamil Kepeci Mütferrik Defterleri 7437, fol. 2 r^o.

¹⁹ BAŞARAN, *op. cit.*, p. 150-181; KIRLI, *art. cit.*; Hüseyin Necdet ERTUĞ, *Osmanlı Kefalet Sistemi ve 1792 Tarihli bir Kefalet Defterine Göre Boğaziçi*, MA thesis, Sakarya Üniversitesi, 2000. An interesting case of a register listing unattached young men to be sent as construction workers from Istanbul to Hotin, probably in order to remove this potentially so disruptive group from the capital, has been addressed by Suraiya FAROQHI, "Repairs to Hotin Fortress in the Early Eighteenth Century," paper presented at the XIVth Symposium on Ottoman Material Culture: the Ottoman Construction Industry, Istanbul, 4-5 June 2010.

For example, Başaran has studied a group of 12 *defters* written up by the military police between 1791 and 1793, on the orders of sultan Selim III, following an attack on his person at the Ayasofya mosque.²⁰ Among these, 11 list the hammams together with other shops, based on location, while the one *defter* (dated to AH 1207/AD 1792) to which she devotes most attention does not include a single bathhouse.²¹ She mentions that taverns, sweet drink sellers, prostitutes, and bathhouses were registered separately, but concedes that she was not able to find any evidence to support this speculation concerning the latter establishment; for the former three, there exists at least a reference in another register.²² The *İstanbul Hamâmları Defteri* provides evidence of the existence of separate bathhouse registers, of which more examples are preserved,²³ and in all likelihood even more will eventually come to light. Moreover, they demonstrate that, even though access to bathhouses was a religious necessity for the canonical full-body ablution (*gusûl*), the authorities considered this institution so dangerous to the social order that they deserved to be treated in the same manner as taverns and brothels.

That hammams did in some instances serve as a space for illicit sexual encounters and prostitution has been proven beyond a doubt based on archival as well as literary sources. For example, a late-16th-century entry in the Şerîyye Sicilleri describes Ortaköy Hamamı as the hangout of a female procuress, and Evliya Çelebi confirmed this unsavory reputation.²⁴ Gender segregation in bathhouses might not have been so difficult to surpass, at least in smaller establishments, but it posed no obstacle whatsoever in the context of homosexual encounters and male prostitution. Young *tellâks* were “a favorite object of the Ottoman homoerotic imagination”.²⁵ As such, they frequently appear in literary works with an

²⁰ BAŞARAN, *op. cit.*, p. 150-181. Başaran and Kırılı are currently working on an ongoing project that involves the analysis of all of the registers from this era. Cf. their forthcoming article in Fatmagül DEMİREL (ed.), *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Esnaf ve Ticaret*, İstanbul, Tarih Vakfı.

²¹ The register in question is BOA, Bab-ı Asaî Divan (Beylikçi) Kalemî (A.DVN) 899-L.

²² BAŞARAN, *op. cit.*, p. 161, n. 83.

²³ Cf., for example, İstanbul Belediye Kütüphanesi (hereafter İBK), Muallim Cevdet Tasnifi, *İstanbul Hamamcı Esnafı ve Tellaklarının İsimlerini Havi Defter*, AH 1147/1735 AD. I am indebted to Ahmet Yaşar for pointing out this source to me and for providing me with digital images.

²⁴ Marinos SARIYANNIS, “Prostitution in Ottoman Istanbul, Late Sixteenth-Early Eighteenth Century,” *Turcica* 40, 2008, p. 58.

²⁵ SARIYANNIS, “Prostitution,” *art. cit.*, p. 61.

explicitly erotic content, among others in the *Dâfi'ü'l-gumûm ve râfi'ü'l-humûm* by Deli Birader (d. 1535),²⁶ the *Hammâmnâme-i Dilsûz* by Belîğ (d. 1758-1759),²⁷ the *Hubânnâme* by Enderunlu Fâzıl Bey (d. 1810) (cf. fig. 1), and, maybe most notoriously, the *Dellâknâme-i Dilküşâ* (1685) by Dervîş İsmail.²⁸ The latter even gives a price list and description of services offered by eleven famous bathhouse attendants. As we shall see, the way in which the many young *tellâks* were recorded and characterized as beardless youth – and therefore as a third gender and sexually desirable for Ottoman adult males²⁹ – may be interpreted as an open acknowledgment of the homoerotically charged environment of the Ottoman hammam and the “business opportunities” that this afforded.

A LABOR PROFILE OF ISTANBUL'S HAMMAMS IN 1752

As mentioned above, the labor force permitted to work in Istanbul's hammams was 2,400-persons strong; of course, there may have been many more who had managed to escape the authorities during the inspection. Based on the information provided in the register's entries, one can profile the officially acknowledged labor force from several perspectives. The nicknames, and in some cases also the physical descriptions, allow tantalizing glimpses into the lives of the individuals who were part of this workforce. For example, in İplikçi Hamamı in Kasımpaşa worked one Kalyoncu Mustafa, and in Çukur Hamamı in Fatih one Kapudan Ali, both titles hinting that these two had previously been sailors. Other nicknames refer to easily recognizable bodily characteristics – such as Uzun (“the tall”) Ali, Kanbur (“the hunchbacked”) İbrahim, or Küçük (“the small”) Mustafa – or even to mental characteristics – such as Deli (“the crazy/brave”) Yusuf.

²⁶ For a translation of the full text of this very popular pornographic text, cf. Selim Sırrı KURU, *A Sixteenth-Century Scholar: Deli Birader and his Dâfi'ü'l-gumûm ve râfi'ü'l-humûm*, Ph. D. dissertation, Cambridge MA, Harvard University, 2000.

²⁷ For a survey of *hammâmnâmes* within the context of a broader study on Ottoman and Turkish erotic literature, cf. Irvin Cemil SCHICK, “Representation of Gender and Sexuality in Ottoman and Turkish Erotic Literature,” *The Turkish Studies Association Journal* 28, 2004, p. 90.

²⁸ The text has been published, albeit not in a scholarly fashion, in Murat BARDAKÇI, *Osmanlı'da Seks: Sarayda Gece Dersleri*, İstanbul, Gür Yayınları, 1992, p. 86-102. The manuscript is in the personal collection of the author, who does not make it available for further study.

²⁹ Cf. SCHICK, *art. cit.*, p 87.

There were 19 employees who claimed to be descendants from the Prophet (*seyyid*) and 17 *mollas*, men who somehow had acquired religious learning before working in the hammams and therefore possessed higher social status and tax exemption. Ten persons had completed the pilgrimage to Mecca and thus had the right to call themselves *hâcî*. One *hâfız* from the Peloponnese had made his way into Müfti Hamamı and worked there as a *tellâk*. Sufi hammam employees also existed: a total of 19 carried the by-name *Bektâş*, clearly indicating an affiliation with the order. Interestingly, several visually impaired persons also worked as *tellâks* and *nâtırs*, of whom 5 had lost one eye (*yek-çeşm*) and 3 were blind (*kör*). Apparently, visual impairment was not considered an obstacle to working in a bath-house; in fact, the enhanced sense of touch that blind people often develop could have been an asset for a *tellâk*.

Several scholars working on guilds have shown that by the 17th century the *esnâf* of Istanbul were replete with members belonging to the Janissary corps.³⁰ This trend continued in the 18th century; however, there are only three instances in which a hammam employee was registered in this *defter* as carrying a name that refers to his military rank: one *sipahi* working in Vefa Hamamı, one *onbaşı* in Atpazarı Hamamı and another in the Büyük Hamam in Sarıgerz. Descriptions of rank commonly found in other registers (such as *beşe*) appear nowhere in this register. This does not necessarily mean that none of the registered persons belonged to the Janissaries, especially given the clear connection between the *bektaşis* as they were also present among the hammam employees and the corps. Their absence may be due to the scribe's attention to this matter (or lack thereof).³¹

The majority of physical descriptions relates to the existence and quality of facial hair, an important marker of age and status for Ottoman men.³² The scribe recorded whether the person in question had a mus-

³⁰ Cf. Donald QUATAERT, "Janissaries, Artisans and the Question of Ottoman Decline, 1730-1826," in Donald QUATAERT (ed.), *Workers, Peasants and Economic Change in the Ottoman Empire, 1730-1914*, Istanbul, Isis Press, 1993, p. 197-203; Eunjong Yi, *Guild Dynamics in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul: Fluidity and Leverage*, Leiden, Brill, 2004, p. 132-143.

³¹ In the registers studied by Başaran, separate letters and numbers next to the names denote the registered persons' membership to specific Janissary units. Cf. BAŞARAN, *op. cit.*, p. 162. No such abbreviations can be found in this *defter*.

³² For an examination of the significance of facial hair as identity marker in contemporary Turkey, cf. Carol DELANEY, "Untangling the Meaning of Hair in Turkish Society," *Anthropological Quarterly* 67, 1994, p. 159-172. For the Islamic world in general, cf.

Table III: Age Distribution of Hammam Employees

Physical Description	Count	% Value*
old (<i>ihtiyâr</i>)	28	1
elderly (<i>ak bıyıklı, ak sakâlli</i>)	51	2
mature (<i>bıyıklı, sakâlli, köse</i>)	1,007	42
youth with large build (<i>genç irîsi</i>)	14	1
youth with slight facial hair (<i>çâr'ebîrû</i>)	487	20
youth without facial hair (<i>tâze</i>)	669	28
young boy (<i>sâbi</i>)	112	5
unidentifiable, not recorded	32	1
Total	2,400	100

* % values have been rounded.

tache or a beard, and if so what color it had; if he was mature but hairless (*köse*); if his facial hair had not yet started to grow (*tâze*); or if it had become slightly visible (*çâr'ebîrû*). Other categories of physical description included the terms *sâbi* (i.e., a boy who has not yet reached puberty), *ihtiyâr* (old), and *genç irîsi* (youth with a large build). Since the existence or absence of facial hair gives clues regarding the approximate age, it is possible to reconstruct the distribution of age groups among hammam employees (cf. table III).

Because the job of a *tellâk* was physically very demanding, it should come as no surprise that persons described as old or having white or graying hair constitute altogether no more than 3% of the workforce. The largest share of 42% is made up by adult men. Older teenagers contributed 20% to the workforce, younger teenagers 28%, and young boys 5%. In general, the labor force working in Istanbul's hammams was dominated by teenagers. Entering the profession of *tellâk* did not require any skills that necessitated long years of training or any capital beyond a relatively healthy, strong body; hence, this type of work was ideally suited for young migrant men who could be trained on the job.

The province of origin of the hammam employees can easily be traced based on the careful entries in the register (cf. table IV). Compared to the

Table IV : Province of Origin of Hammam Employees

Province of Origin	Count	% Value*
Anatolia	403	17
Rumelia	1,727	71
Istanbul	159	7
Not recorded	24	1
Other	87	4
Total	2,400	100

* % values have been rounded.

Table V : Province of Origin of Hammam Employees from Rumelia

Province of Origin	Count	% Value*
Avlonya (Vlorë)	649	38
İstarova (Starovë)	411	24
Görice (Korçë)	140	8
Opar	89	5
Berat (Belgrade)	73	4
Elbasan	64	4
Premeti (Përmet)	61	4
Tomoriça (Tomorica)	56	3
İskrapar (Skrapar)	49	3
Edirne	38	2
Manastır	37	2
Other	60	3
Total	1,727	100

* % values have been rounded.

71% of Rumelians, the share of Anatolians (17%), Istanbulites (7%), and of those few stragglers who had made their way to Istanbul from as far away as Iran is quite small. Among the Anatolians, one group draws special attention: the Christians (*zımmî*) from Sivas who altogether constituted the 2% non-Muslims of the otherwise purely Muslim group. Among the Rumelian hammam employees (cf. table V), the single largest group (649 persons, or 38%) came from the Albanian province of

Avlonya (present-day Vlorë). Next came workers from İstarova (present-day Starovë) with 411 persons, or 24%, and after them former residents of Görice (present-day Korçë) with 140 persons, or 8%. Then followed, in relatively even distributions, migrants from the provinces of Opar, Berat (Albanian Belgrade), Elbasan, Premedi (present-day Përmet), Tomoriça (present-day Tomorica), İskrapar (present-day Skrapar), Edirne and Manastır (present-day Bitola). Many of these provinces on the Western and Central Balkan Peninsula were predominantly populated by Albanians, although they also had Bulgarian and Greek populations among them. If one considers the imperial decree of 1734-1735 that ordered the substitution of Anatolian and Istanbulite hammam workers for the Albanian ones, then the situation had not (yet) changed all that much by 1752.

HAMMAM LABOR MIGRATION FROM ALBANIA:
CONTRIBUTING FACTORS, MIGRATION DYNAMICS,
AND THE CAPITAL'S COUNTERMEASURES

Why did so many Rumelians – and in particular Albanians – migrate to Istanbul to work as hammam employees? Already in the 17th century, Evliya Çelebi in his description of the town of Berat, which he visited in 1670, remarked about the local male population: “Those who are not soldiers or sailors but peasants generally leave town and go to Istanbul where they serve as professional attendants in the bathhouses.”³³ There was a large number of Albanians in Istanbul in general, not only among the hammam employees, but also among bakers and seasonal laborers of all kinds.³⁴ By 1730, their number was estimated to be around 12,000.³⁵

³³ Robert DANKOFF, Robert ELSIE (eds.), *Evliya Çelebi in Albania and Adjacent Regions (Kosovo, Montenegro, Ohrid): the Relevant Sections of the Seyahatname*, Leiden, Brill, 2000, p. 124-125.

³⁴ Salih AYNURAL, “The Millers and Bakers of Istanbul (1750-1840),” in Suraiya FAROQHI, Randi DEGUILHEM (eds.), *Crafts and Craftsmen of the Middle East: Fashioning the Individual in the Muslim Mediterranean*, New York, I. B. Tauris, 2005), p. 84-118; Suraiya FAROQHI, “Migration into Eighteenth-Century ‘Greater Istanbul’ as Reflected in the *Kadı* Registers of Eyüp,” *Turcica* 30, 1998, p. 173.

³⁵ AKTEPE, *op. cit.*, p. 170; Bruce MCGOWAN, “The Age of the Ayans, 1699-1812,” in Halil İNALCIK, Donald QUATAERT, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire II- 1600-1914*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994, p. 647.

In the 18th century, developments in the region contributed to pushing Albanians and other ethnic groups in Rumelia to the decision to migrate. As elsewhere in the Ottoman provinces, so also on the Balkans banditry threatened security and public order. This was aggravated by the government's lack of authority and the abuse of power by corrupt local officials. Moreover, Albania's population continued to increase considerably in the 18th century.³⁶ The town of İşkodra (present-day Shkodër), for example, doubled in size between 1739 and 1793, to a population of 60,000,³⁷ and it is questionable whether it could support such a significant demographic increase. Generally, the regions inhabited by Albanians offered rather difficult living conditions even in better times, as little of the territory was suited to agriculture. In the areas of present Southern Albania and Southwestern Macedonia, which seem to have been concerned most by emigration, resources were even more limited: forbidding mountain regions allowed people to eke out a precarious living by relying on a poor pastoral economy.³⁸ Likely more so than from the towns that administered them, it was from the resource-poor areas of the provinces that the migrants originated. Thus, Istanbul must have pulled a steadily increasing number of young men with the promise of employment opportunities, relative security, the availability of food, and exemption from the many extraordinary taxes imposed by the imperial administration in order to finance the period's costly wars.

What facilitated the migration from the provinces to Istanbul, from the poorer periphery to the wealthier core, to a great extent were the links that the Ottoman administration had forged between the capital and the outlying areas, ideological, infrastructural or otherwise. Both in Istanbul and in Avlonya, young Muslim boys went to the *sıbyân mektebi* to learn to read at least a few Qur'an verses; they had the opportunity to become *medrese* students if they had the intellectual capabilities; they could join the Ottoman military through different channels; they could become members of a Sufi order; they learned a modicum of Ottoman Turkish; interacted with officials; washed in a hammam on Thursday night and

³⁶ For data concerning the population increase in Albanian cities since the 15th century, cf. Nikolai TODOROV, *The Balkan City, 1400-1900*, Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1983, p. 61-63.

³⁷ Stavri NACI, "Le pachalik de Shkoder considéré dans son développement économique et social au XVIII s.," *Studia Albanica* 3, 1966, p. 123-144.

³⁸ Cf. Frederick ANSCOMBE, "Albanians and 'Mountain Bandits'," in Frederick ANSCOMBE (ed.), *The Ottoman Balkans, 1750-1830*, Princeton, Marcus Wiener Publishers, 2006, p. 92-93.

visited the mosque on Friday; bought necessities from a bazaar; sought food from charitable soup kitchens (*imâret*); and, if they traveled, used Ottoman roads, bridges and caravansaries. The ideological links guaranteed that migrants from the periphery had an affinity to the culture of the core and fairly easily moved to the imperial capital.

The decision to migrate was probably not made by individuals, but by groups (usually households or families), not only with the aim to maximize income, but also to diversify and minimize risk – for example, the risks stemming from crop failure through drought, soil exhaustion, taxes, rebellion, or the many other variables threatening agrarian life.³⁹ Families in the Ottoman provinces whose livelihood depended on local agricultural production might send one or more of their male offspring to the capital, so that they would earn additional income to bolster the family's livelihood. Accordingly, the young men would have to return to their families at least once a year in order to remit the money they had earned (if they did not have at their disposal networks that would carry their remittance for them). This annual trip back home was something that the above-mentioned *fermân* of 1734-1735 tried to prohibit in order to render this type of labor migration unattractive.

Hammam managers must have preferred to hire young migrant men as their employees, since they were willing to work for low wages (and maybe even exclusively for tips), in a job that afforded little social prestige, almost no opportunity for advancement and very little security. It is possible that the importation of Rumelian bathhouse employees began at a time when Istanbul's population was still so low that it depended on imported labor, particularly for menial jobs that Istanbulites themselves preferred to avoid.⁴⁰ It is easy to imagine that, rather than wanting to

³⁹ This scenario is inspired by the theory of the new economics of migration. Cf. Douglas S. MASSEY, Joaquín ARANGO, Graeme HUGO, Ali KOUACHI, Adela PELLEGRINO, J. Edward TAYLOR, "Theories of International Migration: a Review and Appraisal," *Population and Development Review* 19, 1993, p. 436-440. While one may object to the application of theories on migration in the contemporary world to the Ottoman Empire of the 18th century, voluntary migration in this specific historical context appears very similar to modern migration based on household decisions within the capitalist system and therefore lends itself to such an approach.

⁴⁰ In fact, even in the 18th century Istanbul depended on migrant labor to replenish a workforce that was frequently depleted by plagues and other calamities. Cf. Suraiya FAROQHI, "Migration," *art. cit.*, p. 165; Suraiya FAROQHI, "Labor Recruitment and Control in the Ottoman Empire (Sixteenth and Eighteenth Centuries)," in Donald QUATAERT (ed.), *Manufacturing in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey, 1500-1950*, Albany, State University of New York Press, 1994, p. 13-57.

work in a bathhouse, young Istanbulites aspired to be *medrese* students, or apprentices to craftsmen or artisans. The small number of native Istanbulites working in the hammams in 1752 – 159 persons, or 7% of the total labor force – points to their reluctance to enter this profession, even when encouraged to do so by the imperial administration. The fact that, in the long run, Albanian employees were replaced not by local workers, but by migrant workers from another resource-poor province (that is, Eastern Anatolia, with Sivas as the most common province of origin) confirms the low esteem that Istanbulites had for work in hammams. Even raising wages to attract locals was not possible, since this would have upset the occupational hierarchy determined by the guild system.

For migrants, the accumulation of social status in the receiving society is not an issue, at least at the beginning. Most of them are “target earners” – that is, they plan to work long enough to support their family “back home”, to save up the money necessary to set up a business or household of their own, or buy land. Thus, for the many Albanian *tellâks* and *nâtırs* of Istanbul their low-prestige jobs with virtually no opportunities for upward mobility would have been transitional: young men worked until they had saved enough to return to their communities and set up a household of their own. This scenario is also corroborated by the fact that 48% of *tellâks* and *nâtırs* had not reached maturity yet, and that elderly (*i.e.*, white-haired) employees were very rare. Moreover, while working in a hammam might have been a low-status profession in the receiving society in Istanbul, it still might have carried honor and prestige for young men in the sending society in Albania. For some hammam workers, the job might have been of the kind one took on in between careers: Kalyoncu Mustafa of İplikçi Hamamı and Kapudan Ali of Çukur Hamamı had said goodbye to a life at sea and now turned to an occupation on land, maybe until another opportunity came along, or until they had saved enough money to set up a business of their own.

Once the migratory flow from Rumelia to Istanbul was in place, several conditions worked together to perpetuate its momentum. Institutional theory posits that, once migration has started, institutions and organization that facilitate movement emerge – such as businesses organizing contacts between employers and migrants, arranging marriages to acquire legal residency, counterfeiting documents and so forth. Such a culture of migration falls under the purview of the theory of cumulative causation, according to which each act of migration alters the socio-economic con-

text in a way that increases the likelihood of subsequent migration.⁴¹ Once several migrants have achieved a standard of living beyond that available in their home town, village or province, as well as a stronger concept of social mobility, migration becomes deeply ingrained in the repertoire of people's behavior. Especially for young males, migration can become a rite of passage; if they do not consider migrating, they are considered lazy, unenterprising and of little value to their home community. The volume of Rumelians in general and of young men in particular among the hammam workers indicates that such a culture of migration was customary, encouraged by the model function of elder male relatives who either had worked or were working in Istanbul's hammams. These influenced the shape of the younger family members' mental map reflecting their options, aspirations and goals.

Of further particular relevance here is network theory, according to which kinship and friendship ties as well as ties of common origin between migrants, former migrants and non-migrants increase the likelihood of migration, because they lower the risks and costs and increase the benefits of movement.⁴² These ties constitute social capital that enables migrants to find employment and accommodation, as the Albanian *tellâk* connection must have provided. After a certain critical threshold, the network connections create a self-perpetuating migration movement independent of the factors that initially caused it. Overall, governments have great difficulties in controlling this type of migratory flow, since informal networks are outside their control and governments rarely are able and willing to invest the force necessary to restrain them. In the case of 18th-century Istanbul, the government *was* willing to invest, among

⁴¹ For a summary of the theory of cumulative causation, cf. MASSEY, ARANGO, HUGO, KOUACHI, PELLEGRINO, TAYLOR, *art. cit.*, p. 451-454. This theory considers six causative factors, of which a culture of migration is only one. The remaining five are: distribution of income, distribution of land, organization of agrarian production, regional distribution of human capital, and social labeling.

⁴² For a succinct summary of network theory, cf. MASSEY, ARANGO, HUGO, KOUACHI, PELLEGRINO, TAYLOR, *art. cit.*, p. 448-450. Networks have figured in the analysis of migration in the Ottoman Empire in Cem BEHAR, *A Neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul: Fruit Vendors and Civil Servants in the Kasap İlyas Mahalle*, Albany, State University of New York Press, 2003, p. 95-127; Cengiz KIRLI, *The Struggle over Space: Coffeehouses of Ottoman Istanbul, 1780-1845*, Ph. D. dissertation, Albany, State University of New York, 2000, p. 67-135; KIRLI, *art. cit.*, p. 134-138. On migration networks in contemporary Turkey, cf. for example Sema ERDER, "Where Do You Hail From? Localism and Networks in Istanbul," in Çağlar KEYDER (ed.), *Istanbul between the Global and the Local*, Lanham, Rowman & Littlefield, 1999, p. 161-172.

other measures, in the form of personnel and resources allocated to the drawing up of registers.

Several examples from the register illustrate some of the general characteristics of the Albanian *tellâk* connection and similar networks stretching to other locations in the Ottoman Empire. At Çavuş Hamamı, near the Bekir Paşa Mosque, all employees came from the Albanian province of Berat, indicating that this very hammam was the central point of one set of interpersonal ties.⁴³ Küçük Ağa Hamamı and Büyük Ağa Hamamı, both of which were located in the neighborhood of Hocapaşa, had considerable migrant clusters from Çemişgezek in Eastern Anatolia, a group that does not figure in any other hammam. It seems that one Çemişgezek *tellâk* at Küçük Ağa Hamamı – he might be called the anchor person – established a network that encouraged others from his province to follow. When all the available spots in that hammam were filled, this anchor person called upon his ties to the manager or an employee of Büyük Ağa Hamamı to ensure that more of his relatives and friends found employment in the same neighborhood, where they could also share a room in the *bekâr odaları*, the hostel for single males – that is, if they did not live in the hammam itself, as it was quite common to reside in one's workplace.⁴⁴ Thus, the Çemişgezek network spilled over, from Küçük Ağa Hamamı to Büyük Ağa Hamamı, but remained limited to the Hocapaşa neighborhood.

Christians from Sivas, another rather conspicuous network group, penetrated the hammam labor market in fewer numbers in any one place, but were much more widely distributed in the city: 17 hammams had only one *zımmî* from Sivas, usually a *nâtır*, and 14 hammams had more than two at once. While the province of Sivas in terms of its resource-poor conditions was not unlike the Balkan regions from where the Muslim Albanian *tellâks* hailed and therefore could have brought forth similarly extensive migration networks, their limited number was probably due to a fact outside economic conditions. Starting in the 17th century, the mingling of Muslims and non-Muslims in bathhouses was frowned upon, as evidenced in the regulations spelled out in the 1640 *narh defteri*.⁴⁵ This may account for the limited number of Christian *nâtırs*, as well as their

⁴³ BOA, Kamil Kepeci Mütferrik Defterleri 7437, fol. 31 r°.

⁴⁴ KIRLI, *op. cit.*, p. 96-97; BAŞARAN, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

⁴⁵ Mübahat KÜTÜKOĞLU, *Osmanlılar'da Narh Müessesesi ve 1640 Tarihli Narh Defteri*, İstanbul, Enderun Kitabevi, 1983, p. 261-262.

absence among the ranks of *tellâks* who after all were in even closer bodily contact with the majority Muslim clientele.

An interesting characteristic of the Rumelian networks is their relation to the Bektaşî order which had much currency on the Balkans. In 15 of the 177 hammams, one single Bektaşî *tellâk* or *nâtır*, usually from the province of İstarova, was present.⁴⁶ In order to have a spiritual guide familiar with the home community and able to provide the emotional support necessary to cope with separation from kin and friends back home, *tellâks* might well have taken steps to ensure the presence of a Bektaşî among their ranks. This is a further sign of the solidly organized and cohesive nature of their network.

In spite of their networks' solid nature, the authorities' investment paid off, so that eventually they did manage to break the Albanians' network and reshape the ethnic and regional composition of the labor migration to Istanbul's hammams. They did so through discriminatory measures (such as the prohibition of renewed employment after a visit back home to Albania, as mentioned in the *fermân* above) and the simultaneous encouragement to recruit Anatolians and Istanbulites. Thereby, they weakened the informal networks stretching from Avlonya, Berat, Görice and many other Albanian-dominated provinces to the capital's bath-houses and made the profession of *tellâk* unattractive to Rumelians. Although it is not possible to follow exactly how this transformation was achieved, the end result becomes clearly visible from a comparison of data from both earlier and later registers including hammam employees. While in an earlier register dating to AH 1147 (AD 1735), the *tellâks* and *nâtırs* of the bathhouses of *extra muros* Istanbul were still almost exclusively Albanian,⁴⁷ in the *defter* examined here, the regions of origin begin to show more variation, with Anatolians and Istanbulites slowly but surely making inroads into this professional group. An even later register recording Istanbul's *esnâf* working in the settlements along the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus, dated by Kırılı to the turn of the 19th century, records hammam workers as hailing almost exclusively from the Eastern

⁴⁶ Evliya Çelebi mentions İstarova as excellent recruiting grounds for the *devşirme* and as having one dervish *tekke*. He does not mention its affiliation to any order. It is possible that over the decades, İstarova could have developed into a center for this order, especially given its close relationship to the Janissaries, but this remains in the realm of speculation. DANKOFF, ELSIE, *op. cit.*, p. 224-225.

⁴⁷ İBK, Muallim Cevdet Tasnifi, *İstanbul Hamamcı Esnafı ve Tellaklarının İsimlerini Havi Defter*, AH 1147/1735 AD.

Anatolian province of Sivas.⁴⁸ Thus, the sources indeed substantiate Koçu's previously undocumented claim that Albanians once dominated Istanbul's hammam labor force and later were replaced by Eastern Anatolians.⁴⁹

CONCLUSION

Data extracted from the 1752 *İstanbul Hamâmları Defteri* provide not only a snapshot of one particular segment of Istanbul's labor force at a specific point in time, and with it, a picture of its migration dynamics. The data are also useful for investigating the categories of identity that Ottoman officials used in order to record and police workers; the integration of handicapped persons into the workforce; the size and distribution of the city's bathhouses; and the bathing industry and its place in the urban economy. However, perhaps most important at this juncture of the scholarly debate on labor migration to Istanbul, this register of bath attendants adds to our knowledge of the ethnic and religious make-up of professional groups working in the Ottoman capital over the centuries. Summarizing the current scholarship by Faroqhi, Behar and Kırılı, Başaran states that in the early 19th century "a considerable portion of migrations took place in the form of chain migrations from a limited number of places in Anatolia and Rumelia".⁵⁰ If we can consider the outlined hammam labor profile with its networks providing the necessary prerequisites for a chain migration pattern to be a somewhat representative one, then this type of migration pattern was already a significant phenomenon by the middle of the 18th century, with its roots reaching at least as far back as the 17th century, if we are to believe Evliya Çelebi's claims. Therefore, chain migrations may have started much earlier than previously assumed. Moreover, in the case of hammams, a relatively large number of migrants also found access to work in *intra muros* Istanbul, and not only in the outer townships where the city administration's and the guilds' control was less tight, as has been speculated.⁵¹

⁴⁸ BOA, Bah-ı Defteri Başmuhasehe kalemi 42648. KIRLI, *art. cit.*, p. 137.

⁴⁹ Cf. the entry "Dellak" in KOÇU (ed.), *op. cit.*

⁵⁰ BAŞARAN, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 264-265.

From the data and arguments presented in Aynural's study on Istanbul bakers and millers between 1740 and 1840,⁵² Faroqhi's work on migrants to Eyüp,⁵³ Behar's study on the itinerant fruit vendors of the Kasap İlyas neighborhood,⁵⁴ and Kırılı's profile of the labor force based on an early-19th-century *defter*,⁵⁵ one arrives at the assumption that approximately half of the entire workforce among the groups and periods under investigation had immigrated from elsewhere. However, at this point it is not advisable to extrapolate from these partial studies any claims concerning the labor demographics of Istanbul as a whole. Indeed, the 1752 *İstanbul Hamâmları Defteri* shows a radically different picture: the professions of *tellâk* and *nâtır* were even more heavily dominated by migrants – in fact, workers originally from outside Istanbul constituted more than 90% of this group (or, in absolute terms, 2,241 out of 2,400)! Still, this number also needs to be considered in the specific context of this profession, since menial jobs such as that of a *tellâk* were not necessarily very desirable and therefore much more open to migrants. Other professions that present a similar make-up of their labor force were equally based on menial labor, such as day laborers, porters, water carriers, and boatmen.⁵⁶ Only a continued and sustained study of many more registers, such as the one illustrating the Albanian *tellâk* connection here, will allow historians to add piece-by-piece to the mosaic of Istanbul's labor force composition and distribution over the centuries, so that one day a more comprehensive and at the same time refined picture may emerge; a picture that includes the underlying complex social networks of local as well as migrant workers and whose edges reach beyond the city's boundaries.

⁵² AYNURAL, *art. cit.*; Salih AYNURAL, *İstanbul Değirmenleri ve Fırınları: Zahire Ticareti (1740-1840)*, Istanbul, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2001.

⁵³ FAROQHI, "Migration," *art. cit.*

⁵⁴ BEHAR, *op. cit.*

⁵⁵ KIRILI, *art. cit.*

⁵⁶ Halil İNALCIK, "Istanbul," in Clifford Emeri BOSWORTH, Emeri J. VAN DONZEL, Bernard LEWIS, Charles PELLAT (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Islam*, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, p. 239.

Nina ERGİN, *Le Réseau des tellâk albanais: travailleurs migrants dans les hammams d'Istanbul au XVIII^e siècle d'après l'İstanbul Hamâmları Defteri (1752).*

Cet article s'inscrit dans le débat sur la migration vers Istanbul au XVIII^e siècle, en s'appuyant sur un registre inédit (*İstanbul Hamâmları Defteri*) datant de 1752, conservé dans les Archives ottomanes de la Présidence du Conseil. Tout particulièrement après la révolte de Patrona Halil en 1730, les autorités surveillèrent de près les employés (*tellâks* et *nâtırs*) des hammams de la capitale ottomane et les enregistrèrent de façon très méticuleuse. L'article présente les informations contenues dans la source et établit un profil de la main-d'œuvre des hammams d'Istanbul; il propose un scénario des dynamiques migratoires à la lumière de ces informations et de la théorie contemporaine de la migration et examine l'apport de la source à notre connaissance de la migration de main-d'œuvre vers la capitale de l'Empire ottoman.

Nina ERGİN, *The Albanian Tellâk Connection: Labor Migration to the Hammams of 18th-Century Istanbul, based on the 1752 İstanbul Hamâmları Defteri.*

This article adds to the discussion of migration to 18th-century Istanbul, on the basis of a previously unpublished register (*İstanbul Hamâmları Defteri*) dated 1752 and preserved in the Prime Ministry's Ottoman Archives. Especially after the Patrona Halil Revolt in 1730, the authorities paid close attention to the many Albanian bathhouse attendants (*tellâks* and *nâtırs*) employed in the capital and recorded them in meticulous detail. In addition to presenting the information contained in this source, the article draws a profile of the labor force in Istanbul's hammams, offers a scenario of migration dynamics in the light of this information as well as contemporary migration theory, and discusses the source's contribution to our current knowledge of Ottoman labor migration into the imperial capital.

Les fondations de Koca Sinan Pacha ont attiré de longue date l'attention des historiens de l'Empire ottoman. Deux articles indispensables ont répertorié les *waqfiyya* et autres actes relatifs à celles-ci, conservés de nos jours à Topkapı : Tahsin Öz, « Topkapı Sarayı Müzesinde Yemen Fatihi Sinan Paşa Arşivi », *Belleten* X/37, 1946, p. 171-193, et Sadi Bayram, « Yemen Fatihi Gazi Sinan Paşa Vakfiyeleri ve Tezyinatı ve Türk Süsleme Sanatındaki Yeri », in François Déroche *et al.* (dir.), *Actes du 10^e Congrès international d'art turc, Genève, 17-23 sept. 1995*, Genève, Fondation Max Van Berchem, 1999, p. 163-176. Plusieurs de ses contemporains déjà signalaient une activité non commune de bâtisseur et de fondateur d'institutions charitables, sans d'ailleurs jamais l'associer à un zèle religieux extraordinaire. Les édifices typiquement ottomans qu'il a laissés au Caire et à Damas, ainsi que plusieurs fondations plus modestes essaimées dans les Balkans ont fait l'objet de publications et d'études. Elles s'insèrent à la fois dans une histoire de l'art et dans une histoire urbaine et sociale qui ont promu les *waqf* comme domaine de recherche majeur. Les études synthétiques, qui se sont multipliées, ont choisi jusqu'ici pour objet soit un type particulier de bâtiment et de fonction, soit une approche locale ou régionale. L'œuvre singulière des grands fondateurs, autres que sultanien, restait à interroger, dans la lignée du livre monumental intitulé *The Age of Sinan : Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire*, que Gülru Necipoğlu a consacré en 2005 aux commanditaires du célèbre architecte Sinan. Au-delà des modèles, des motivations, de la marge d'initiative individuelle d'un grand fondateur tel que Koca Sinan Pacha, l'enquête gagne à être encore élargie à la destinée *post mortem* de ses fondations qui faisaient vivre des centaines de personnes : car « le *waqf* de Sinan Pacha » est devenu un acteur à part entière dans la destinée de plusieurs villes, telles que Damas, Le Caire ou Alexandrie.

L'idée du dossier présenté ici est due à Brigitte Marino et Ghislaine Alleaume qui, confrontant des documents apparus dans leurs corpus d'archives et relatifs aux *waqf* de Koca Sinan Pacha à Damas et à Alexandrie, se sont rendu compte de l'intérêt d'une mise en perspective plus globale de ceux-ci. Le dossier réunit un essai de synthèse et cinq contributions originales. Son ambition est de convaincre, par des approches

variées, de l'intérêt d'étudier conjointement l'ensemble des fondations liées à un même personnage (qui peut ne pas en être formellement le fondateur) de son vivant et dans leur devenir ultérieur. Le lecteur n'en trouvera ici qu'une première approche, car une étude exhaustive des « *waqf* de Sinan Pacha » demanderait plus d'une vie : la documentation, dispersée entre plusieurs pays, surabonde dans les *daftar* financiers et les *siğill* des tribunaux, mais elle est si éparpillée, que sa découverte est souvent le fruit du hasard. En attendant un travail collectif de plus grande ampleur, nous espérons que le lecteur trouvera ici de quoi nourrir la compréhension d'une conscience impériale et de la nécessité, éprouvée des siècles durant, de perpétuer sous des formes adaptées des institutions devenues nécessaires aux villes ou aux étapes commerciales qu'elles contribuaient à façonner.

La chronologie qui suit cette présentation est due à Nicolas Michel. La bibliographie de base a été réunie par Brigitte Marino pour servir à tous les contributeurs du dossier ; elle est incluse dans la bibliographie de l'essai de synthèse. Dans le cadre de cette collaboration sont aussi intervenus, à des titres divers, Doris Behrens-Abouseif, Edhem Eldem, Frédéric Hitzel et Sabine Partouche, que nous tenons à remercier.

CHRONOLOGIE

- Avril 1556** : nomination d'un Sinan, *çaşnegir başı* (goûteur), au *sancak* de Tripoli de Syrie.
- Entre septembre et novembre 1559** : exécution d'Ayas Pacha, frère aîné de Koca Sinan Pacha.
- Décembre 1559** : mention d'un Sinan, ancien *sancakbegi* de Tripoli.
- Avril 1560** : mention de Sinan comme *sancakbegi* de Gaza.
- Mars 1561** : Sinan, *sancakbegi* de Gaza, « le frère d'Ayas Pacha », est nommé au *sancak* de Malatya.
- Juillet 1564** : nommé *beglerbegi* d'Erzurum.
- Février 1565** : démis de cette fonction et nommé *beglerbegi* d'Alep.
- Décembre 1567** : nommé *beglerbegi* d'Égypte ; prend ses fonctions au Caire en février 1568.
- Août 1568** : nommé vizir et *serdar* pour la campagne du Yémen, à la place de Lala Mustafa Pacha.
- Décembre 1568** : révoqué du gouvernorat d'Égypte.
- Janvier 1569** : départ pour le Yémen.
- Mai 1570** : fin de la campagne du Yémen.
- Mars 1571** : s'embarque à Mokha pour Djedda.
- Mai 1571** : accomplit le *hağğ* ; nommé de nouveau *beglerbegi* d'Égypte ; entre en fonction au Caire en juin.
- Février-mars 1573** : *waqfiyya* pour Le Caire, Damiette et Quşayr.
- Avril 1574** : démis du gouvernorat du Caire ; rentre à Istanbul comme 7^e vizir de la coupole ; fait commandant des troupes ottomanes pour la Tunisie.
- Août 1574** : prise de La Goulette ; septembre : capitulation du port de Tunis ; novembre : retour de l'armada ottomane à Istanbul.
- Décembre 1576-janvier 1577** : première modification de la *waqfiyya* pour Le Caire.
- Mai 1577** : nommé *serdar* de l'aile de Bagdad et Şehrizar dans l'expédition projetée contre les Safavides.
- Mars 1578** : démis de sa fonction de *serdar* confiée au seul Lala Mustafa Pacha.
- 988/février 1580-février 1581** : *waqfiyya* pour diverses fondations pieuses à Kasımpaşa, Üsküdar et Yenişehir.
- Avril 1580** : quitte Istanbul pour Erzurum où il prend la tête de la campagne de Géorgie.
- Juillet 1580** : nommé grand vizir ; la nouvelle lui parvient vers la fin août.
- Novembre 1580** : revient à Erzurum pour y hiverner.
- Juillet 1581** : rentre à Istanbul.
- Novembre 1581** : seconde modification de la *waqfiyya* pour Le Caire.
- Décembre 1582** : démis de ses fonctions et exilé à Dimetoka, puis à Malkara.
- Juin 1586** : *waqfiyya* pour le complexe de Kaçanik.
- Décembre 1586** : obtient le gouvernorat de Damas.
- 995/1587 et 996/1588** : copie des *waqfiyya* de Damas.
- 996/1588** : *waqfiyya* pour Damas.

Février 1588 : première addition à la *waqfiyya* du Caire.

Février-mars 1588 : *waqfiyya* portant sur Istanbul, Üsküdar, Yenişehir, Mihaliç, Malkara, Acre, etc.

Juin 1588 : destitué de son poste de Damas ; réside ensuite à Üsküdar.

2 avril 1589 : incident du *beglerbegi* ; nommé grand vizir pour la deuxième fois.

Entre mars 1589 et juin 1590, ou entre avril 1591 et juin 1592 : addition à la *waqfiyya* de Malkara.

Février-mars 1590 : *waqfiyya* portant sur Galata, Üsküdar, Büyükdere, Yenişehir, Mihaliç.

998/novembre 1589-octobre 1590 : *waqfiyya* pour le complexe de Zanzaqıyya.

Janvier-février 1591 : seconde addition à la *waqfiyya* d'Égypte, pour Bülâq et Alexandrie.

Août 1591 : démis du grand vizirat.

Janvier 1593 : nommé grand vizir pour la troisième fois après une révolte des janissaires.

Juillet 1593 : début de la Longue Guerre, à laquelle il était favorable ; dirige la campagne de Hongrie.

Février 1595 : démis du grand vizirat, exil à Malkara.

Juillet 1595 : nommé grand vizir pour la quatrième fois, commence immédiatement la campagne en Valachie.

Octobre 1595 : démis du grand vizirat ; bannissement à Malkara en novembre ; retour tout de suite après au grand vizirat pour la cinquième fois.

1004/septembre 1595-août 1596 : *waqfiyya* pour Istanbul et Üsküdar.

Janvier 1596 : addition à la *waqfiyya* du complexe d'Uzuncaova.

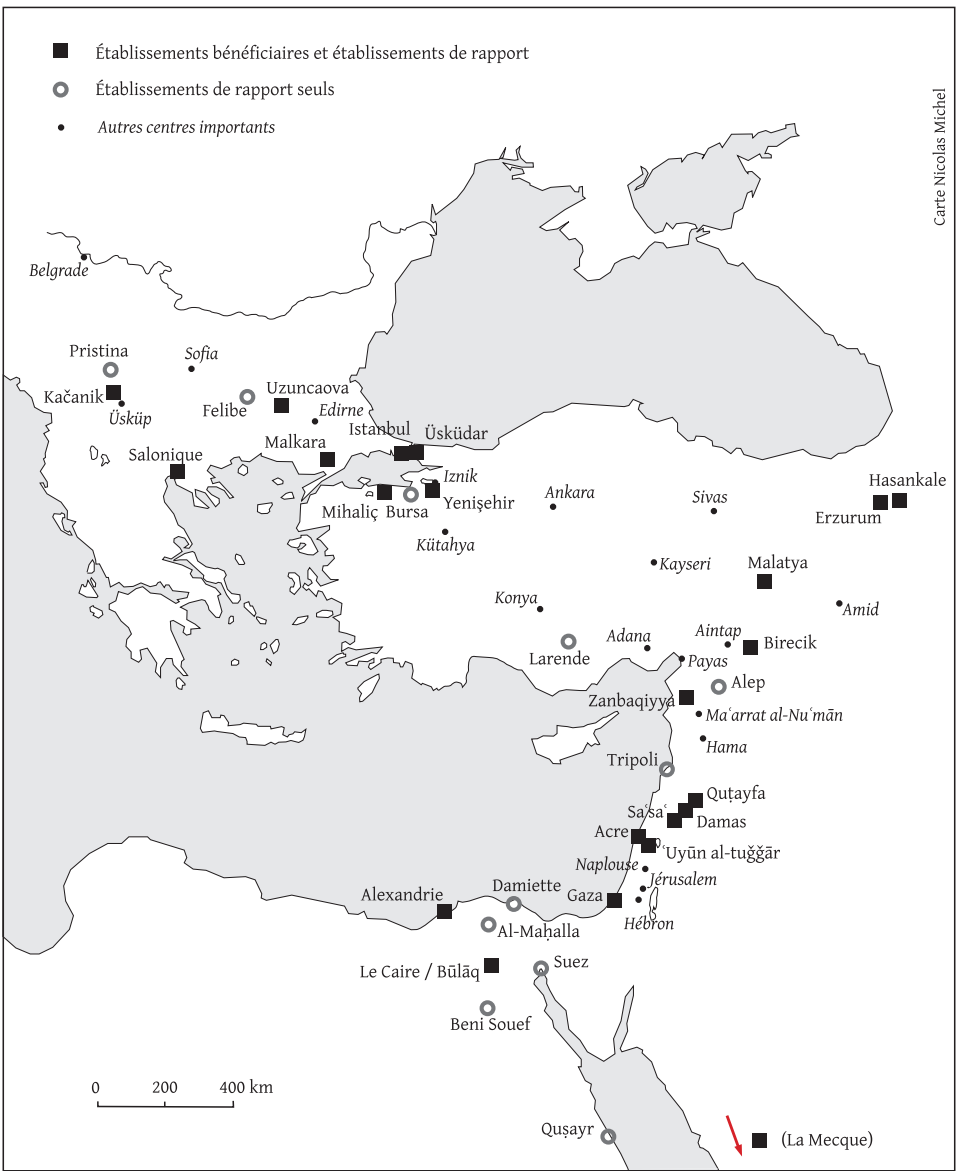
Février 1596 : *waqfiyya* pour Damas et Acre ; pour Yenişehir et Mihaliç ; pour Salonique ; pour Erzurum.

Février 1596 : *waqfiyya* pour Salonique, Erzurum, Uzuncaova ; partie de *waqfiyya* pour Malkara ; *waqfiyya* pour le Bilâd al-Şâm.

Mars 1596 : *waqfiyya* pour Malkara.

Janvier-mars 1596 ? : *waqfiyya* non datée pour Malatya.

Avril 1596 : décède ; enterré dans son *türbe* d'Istanbul, à Çarşıkapı.



Les waqfs de Koca Sinan Pacha

INSCRIPTION DE LA PORTE D'ENTRÉE DE LA MOSQUÉE SINÂNIYYA À DAMAS

La mosquée Sinâniyya de Damas porte, au-dessus de sa porte d'entrée, une inscription en turc ottoman gravée sur une plaque de marbre. Une première édition en a été proposée en 1997 par Qutayba al-Shihâbî¹. Ce dernier, ne connaissant pas l'ottoman, précisait dans sa notice qu'il considérait son travail comme provisoire. C'est la raison pour laquelle les responsables de ce dossier consacré aux *vakf* de Sinân Pacha m'ont demandé de m'essayer à mon tour à déchiffrer et traduire en français cette inscription.

Je disposais pour ce faire de l'édition de Q. al-Shihâbî et de quelques photographies prises par M. Boqvist, qui me les a très aimablement communiquées. Il a ainsi été possible de parvenir à une lecture dans l'ensemble plus satisfaisante². Des doutes demeurent cependant. Il faut notamment souligner que si les clichés mis à ma disposition sont de bonne qualité par eux-mêmes, l'emplacement de la plaque fait qu'ils ont malheureusement été pris en contre-plongée. Le déchiffrement est de ce fait plus difficile dans le dernier hémistich, où une lacune demeure.

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¹ Qutayba AL-SHIHÂBÎ, *al-Nuqûsh al-kitâbiyya fî awâbid Dimashq*, Damas, Manshûrât wizârat al-thaqâfa, 1977, p. 221.

² Tous mes remerciements vont à Edhem Eldem qui a bien voulu se pencher également sur cette inscription et me faire part de ses suggestions.

L'inscription se compose de cinq distiques attribuant la construction de la mosquée à Sinân Pacha présenté comme l'Aşaf du Salomon de son temps, autrement dit comme le grand vizir de Murâd III. La formulation, par moments elliptique, m'a amené à gloser la traduction, au risque de commettre un contresens. La principale difficulté réside dans le dernier distique, consacré à la date. Le premier hémistichie annonce, par la formule *dédim ta'rîhîn* (« j'ai dit sa date »), que le second hémistichie constitue un chronogramme par l'addition de la valeur numérique des caractères qui le composent (*ebced*). Deux points méritent d'être soulignés.

D'une part, il ne semble pas que le poète auteur du chronogramme se nomme dans le premier hémistichie : *semti* doit désigner ici l'espace de la mosquée et non le nom propre *Semtî*.

D'autre part, comme c'est très souvent le cas, la date est également clairement inscrite en chiffres : il s'agit de l'année 999 de l'Hégire. Or c'est le chiffre 799 qu'on obtient en tenant compte de ce qu'il a été possible de déchiffrer dans un premier temps, soit : *mescid-i aķşâ-dur* (...) *şankim hem-ân*. Constatation qui confirme que quelques caractères ont été gravés à la suite de *-dur*, au-dessous de *şankim*, formant un mot que Q. al-Shihâbî n'a pas relevé. Une solution tentante serait de lire non pas *DR* (*dur*), mais *DRR*, autrement dit *durur*, forme archaïque de *dur*. La lettre R valant 200, nous obtiendrions ainsi un chronogramme tout à fait satisfaisant. Néanmoins cette lecture est loin d'être totalement convaincante, dans la mesure où plusieurs caractères semblent bien avoir été gravés à la suite de ce qui pourrait en effet être un R. Faut-il n'y voir qu'un remplissage à but purement esthétique, comme ceux que l'on voit au dessus de *Süleymân* ou de *serdâr* aux première et deuxième lignes ? Il paraît difficile de l'affirmer avec certitude. Un déchiffrement sur place, ou du moins une photographie prise à la hauteur de l'inscription permettra peut-être un jour d'y voir plus clair.



*Aşaf-ı Sulţân Murâd ibn Selîm / 'adli-ile ol-dur
Süleymân-ı zamân*

L'Aşaf de Sulţân Murâd fils de Selîm / [Car] ce
dernier par sa justice est le Salomon de son
temps

*Nâm-ı zî-şânı Sinân Paşa-dur / hem o-dur
serdâr-ı dîn şâhib-kırân*

Porte le nom glorieux de Sinân Pacha / Il est
encore le commandant en chef de la religion,
conjonction des astres³

*Yapdı Şâm-i cennet-âbâd içre ol / bir müşerref
câmi'-i zîbâ-mekân*

Il a construit dans la ville paradisiaque de
Damas / une noble mosquée où réside la beauté

*Câmi' içre ol minâr-ı sebz-reng / oldı gûyâ
serv-i gülzâr-ı cinân*

Dans la mosquée ce minaret de couleur verte /
est pareil au cyprès de la roseraie du Paradis

*Ṭavaf edüb semti dedim ta'rihin / mescid-i aḡşâ
durur⁴ (...) şankim hem-ân*

L'ayant arpentée j'ai dit sa date : / On dirait la
mosquée du Dôme du Rocher

999

999

³ L'épithète complexe *şâhib-kırân* est normalement réservée au souverain. Quant à la formule *serdâr-ı dîn*, « commandant en chef de la religion », désigne-t-elle le pacha (commandant en chef de la religion et du seigneur de la conjonction des deux astres), ou plutôt le souverain lui-même ?

⁴ Sur cette lecture très hypothétique, cf. *supra*.

LES WAQF-S D'UN HOMME D'ÉTAT OTTOMAN DANS LA SECONDE MOITIÉ DU XVI^e SIÈCLE : ESSAI DE SYNTHÈSE

_____ UNE FAMILLE, UNE CARRIÈRE

La carrière de Koca Sinan Pacha est marquée par la durée^{1,2}. Il appartient à la génération qui fut poussée au sommet du gouvernement de l'Empire ottoman par les deux grands hommes d'État des années 1550-1570, Rüstem Pacha (mort en 1561) et Mehmed Sokollu Pacha (grand vizir à partir de 1565)³ ; il parvint aux plus hautes responsabilités après la disparition de ce dernier, en 1579. Sa date de naissance, conventionnellement fixée à *ca* 1520, est déduite de plusieurs estimations avancées à la fin de sa vie ; par exemple, dans un mémorandum (*telhis*) adressé en 1589-1591 au sultan, il déclare vivre dans la religion musulmane depuis soixante-dix ans ; dans un autre, approcher soixante-dix ou quatre-vingts ans⁴. Seule sa personne publique nous est connue, à travers les documents

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¹ Je remercie chaleureusement Brigitte Marino, qui a accompagné avec générosité toutes les étapes de ce travail, et Benjamin Lellouch, qui l'a relu avec attention. Les opinions exprimées dans cet essai n'engagent cependant que leur auteur.

Abréviations : BA = Başbakanlık Arşivleri ; KK = Kamil Kepeci ; TSA = Topkapı Sarayı Arşivleri.

² Principales synthèses : BABINGER, DÁVID, 1997 ; TURAN, 2002 ; İPŞİRLİ, 2009.

³ VEINSTEIN, 1997.

⁴ TURAN, 1958, p. 670a-b, d'après ms. Süleymaniye, Es'ad Efendi 2236, f. 40 v^o =

d'archives, les rapports des consuls et ambassadeurs étrangers, les récits des historiens ottomans du temps, comme Mustafa 'Âlî et Selaniki, ou de ceux de la génération immédiatement postérieure, comme İbrahim Peçevi et Hasanbeyzade. Son père était Albanais : Mustafa 'Âlî insiste lourdement sur ce point⁵. Nous ne savons rien de sa formation ni de son éducation, sinon qu'elle se fit au Palais, où démarre sa carrière. Son ascension, qui date de la fin du règne de Soliman, n'a rien de fulgurant. Il émerge du néant documentaire en avril 1556, comme goûteur en chef (*çaşnegir başı*) du sultan. Sa carrière a débuté à l'ombre de son frère aîné Ayas Pacha, alors gouverneur d'Erzurum (1553-1559)⁶. Elle ne semble pas avoir souffert de la disgrâce de ce dernier, enveloppé dans la catastrophe du prince Bayezid en 1559⁷. Ayas Pacha, qui avait obtenu son premier *beglerbegilik* (à Bagdad) en 1544, avait d'ailleurs pris soin d'autres membres de sa famille : trois autres frères, Mahmud (*sancakbegi* de Şarkî-Karahisar en 1559), Kasım (*sancakbegi* de Çemişkezek-Mazgird en 1551) et Süleyman (*defterdar* des *timar*-s de Buda, 1555) et trois fils (dont un *sancakbegi* en 1555 et un *müteferrika* en 1563) nous sont connus par les archives⁸. Comme ses frères, Koca Sinan Pacha quitta le Palais pour des postes de *sancakbegi*, ce qui était alors banal⁹, et plus précisément pour les provinces de l'Asie lointaine, sur les traces de son frère aîné. Le déroulement de carrière des gouverneurs présentait le plus souvent une cohérence géographique. Les archives le suivent comme *sancakbegi* de Tripoli (nommé en avril 1556), Gaza (nommé en avril 1560), Malatya (nommé en mars 1561), puis *beglerbegi* d'Erzurum (1564-1565)¹⁰ et d'Alep (1565-1567). Les sources narratives ajoutent à cette liste le *sancak* de Kastamonu¹¹.

SAHILLIOĞLU éd., 2004, p. 196, n° 152, et commentaire p. XVIII ; p. 65, n° 45 ; p. XXII-XXIV, rassemble toutes les allusions de Koca Sinan Pacha à sa vie, parsemées dans ses *telhis*.

⁵ FLEISCHER, 1986, p. 164-165 et n. 72.

⁶ AYDIN, 1998, discute la date de l'exécution de Ayas Pacha, p. 141-142. Biographie détaillée de ce dernier, p. 142, n. 353.

⁷ La solide inimitié entre Koca Sinan Pacha et Lala Mustafa Pacha date probablement de là. Ce dernier, produit bosniaque du *devşirme* et frère du vizir Divane Hüsrev Pacha (mort en 1545), avait été nommé en 1559 précepteur (*lala*) du prince Selim, puis *sancakbegi* de Van ; à ce titre, il avait participé à la lutte contre les partisans du prince Bayezid. Il en fut récompensé par les *beglerbegilik*-s d'Erzurum, d'Alep puis de Damas.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 142, n. 353, et p. 239.

⁹ KUNT, 1983, diagr. 3.1, p. 34, et p. 33-44.

¹⁰ Son court gouvernement d'Erzurum (juil. 1564-fév. 1565) est analysé en détail dans AYDIN, 1998, p. 152-157.

¹¹ BABINGER, DÁVID, 1997, p. 655a, d'après Osmanzade Tā'ib, *Ḥadīkatü 'l-vüzerā'*, Istanbul, 1971, p. 35.

L'avènement de Selim II (1566) ouvre pour lui quinze années de grandes espérances, qui le propulsent au vizirat, à la tête (comme *serasker*) de grandes expéditions militaires et au cœur des intrigues du Sérail : la rivalité avec Lala Mustafa Pacha (mort en 1580), protégé du sultan lui-même¹², est alors au cœur des conflits factionnels, entre lesquels arbitre l'inamovible grand vizir Sokollu Mehmed Pacha. *Beglerbegi* d'Égypte à la fin de 1567, il est chargé en août 1568 de diriger l'expédition de reconquête du Yémen, tâche dont il s'acquitte brillamment¹³ ; au retour, après avoir effectué le pèlerinage à La Mecque, il retrouve le gouvernorat d'Égypte (mai 1571-avr. 1574). Il en est démis pour prendre le commandement de l'expédition qui, durant l'été 1574, s'empare de La Goulette, puis de Tunis et fait de la Tunisie une province ottomane¹⁴. De son retour de Tunis jusqu'en 1580 il semble résider constamment à Istanbul, comme vizir, avec le déplaisir de voir son adversaire Lala Mustafa Pacha le précéder dans la hiérarchie viziriale. Un temps pressenti pour commander, conjointement avec ce dernier, la campagne contre les Safavides, il en est écarté en mars 1578 ; l'armée ne lui est confiée qu'en avril 1580 et bientôt après, en juillet, le grand vizirat, qu'il occupe d'abord au camp, puis à partir de juillet 1581 à Istanbul, jusqu'à sa destitution en décembre 1582.

Les treize dernières années de la vie de Koca Sinan Pacha voient alterner exils et retours en grâce, comme gouverneur de Damas (déc. 1586-juin 1588), puis quatre fois grand vizir : avril 1589-août 1591, janvier 1593-février 1595, juillet-novembre 1595, décembre 1595-avril 1596. Les exils se déroulent en Thrace, à Dimetoka, puis à Malkara où il semble avoir eu ses habitudes. Les grands vizirats le replongent dans le factionnalisme ; son adversaire principal est désormais Ferhad Pacha, qu'il parvient à faire exécuter en octobre 1595. Ses nominations sont toujours liées aux plus grands projets militaires : la guerre contre la Perse, qu'il conclut par un traité de paix avec Šāh 'Abbās en 1590, puis la Longue Guerre contre les Habsbourg (1593-1606), dont il est l'un des initiateurs. S'il fut en butte à des ennemis puissants, comme la sultane-mère Nur Banu (morte en 1583), il s'assura en contrepartie le soutien des janissaires et fut ainsi rappelé au grand vizirat à la suite de l'« incident du *Beglerbegi* » (2 avr. 1589), puis d'une nouvelle révolte des janissaires en janvier 1593. Un registre conservé à Topkapı contenant les *telhis* qu'il adressait au sultan durant

¹² KRAMERS, 1992.

¹³ Sur la conquête du Yémen, cf. notamment les documents publiés dans ŠĀLIHIYYA, 1986-1987 ; 'ĀMIR, 1993, et la traduction d'al-Nahrawālī dans SMITH trad., 2002.

¹⁴ Sur la conquête de Tunis, cf. notamment SEBAG éd., 1971 ; et BONO, 1979.

son second grand vizirat (1589-1591) donne une idée précise des préoccupations ordinaires de cette charge au temps de Murad III : elles étaient accaparées par les problèmes monétaires et financiers, dont la pression s'accroissait encore par la suite avec la Longue Guerre¹⁵.

À sa mort, le 3 avril 1596, Koca Sinan Pacha laisse un fils, Mehmed Pacha ; une *waqfiyya* de mars 1590 mentionne aussi trois filles, Emire Han, Hatice Han, Hüma Han, et une fille de son fils, Ayşe Han, ainsi qu'un gendre appelé lui aussi Mehmed Pacha¹⁶. Il est enterré dans le *türbe* de sa *küllîye* d'Istanbul, à Çarşıkapı. Contrairement à Sokollu Mehmed Pacha, il ne disposa pas d'une parentèle nombreuse pour le seconder. Durant ses grands vizirats il avait poussé la carrière de son fils pour disposer d'un auxiliaire sûr, le faisant *beglerbegi* de Karaman (1582)¹⁷, plus tard de Damas (1590-1591)¹⁸, puis de Rumeli (juin 1592), *serdar* avec rang de vizir (1002/1593-1594), *beglerbegi* de Budin (mars-mai 1595). Mehmed Pacha fut révoqué à la mort de son père et sa carrière reprit de manière plus terne par la suite, jusqu'au vizirat. Nommé une seconde fois au gouvernorat de Damas (sept. 1604), il en fut révoqué en février 1605, emprisonné, puis exécuté en septembre de la même année¹⁹.

UNE RÉPUTATION

Selon l'historien Mustafa 'Ālī, qui, depuis qu'il s'était placé sous la protection de Lala Mustafa Pacha professait une haine décidée à l'en-

¹⁵ Le registre TSA Revan 1943 a été publié dans SAHİLLİOĞLU éd., 2004, augmenté de textes figurant dans TSA Revan 1951 et Süleymaniye, Es'ad Efendi 2236. Il a fait l'objet de la thèse de doctorat de S. Faroqhi, intitulée *Die Vorlagen (telhise) des Grosswesirs Sinân Paşa an Sultan Murâd III*, Hambourg, Universität Hamburg, 1967 ; cf. aussi FAROQHI, 1969. Sur le contenu du registre, replacé dans le contexte d'évolution de la fonction de grand vizir, cf. FODOR, 1994, p. 75-77.

¹⁶ BAYRAM, 1999, p. 164, d'après K 80.

¹⁷ Ce gouvernorat est signalé dans REINDL-KIEL, 2009, p. 39, n. 8, d'après TSA, D. 7856/2, f. 2 r°. PEÇEVİ, 1864-1867, vol. 1, p. 88, mentionne en outre Mehmed Pacha en 993/1585 – alors que son père est en exil – comme *beglerbegi* de Sivas et de Rum.

¹⁸ Il était déjà gouverneur à Damas le 4 *muḥarram* 999/2 novembre 1590 (ANŞĀRĪ, 1991, vol. I, p. 158) et fut destitué le 3 *dū-l-qa'da* 999/23 août 1591 (ĞAZZĪ, 1982, vol. I, p. 125-129) (informations aimablement communiquées par B. Marino).

¹⁹ Le *beglerbegilik* de Budin en 1595 est mentionné dans SAHİLLİOĞLU éd., 2004, p. XXV, d'après Selaniki. Récit de son second gouvernorat de Damas, jusqu'à son exécution, dans ĞAZZĪ, 1982, vol. I, p. 125-129 (référence aimablement communiquée par B. Marino). Pour les autres dates, cf. MEHMED SÜREYYA, 1996, vol. 3, p. 1030a (= IV, 139 de l'édition originale), qui le signale *aga* des janissaires en 999/1591.

contre de Koca Sinan Pacha, à la mort de ce dernier les poètes de cour se réjouirent²⁰. Il ne les avait pas soutenus ; et comme l'autre grand historien contemporain des événements, Selaniki, suit là-dessus Mustafa 'Ālī, l'un et l'autre dressent de lui les portraits les plus négatifs. Dans la deuxième partie de sa carrière, comme *beglerbegi* et vizir, entre 1567 et 1582, il s'était pourtant occupé de patronage littéraire : de retour du Yémen, lors de son séjour à La Mecque, il commanda à un 'ālim de la ville sainte, Quṭb al-dīn Muḥammad al-Nahrawālī, déjà connu des cercles littéraires et politiques à Istanbul, un récit de sa campagne victorieuse, *Al-barq al-yamanī fī al-faṭḥ al-ʿuṭmānī*, que celui-ci compléta en 981/1573²¹ ; l'ouvrage fut deux fois traduit en turc et l'une des deux versions, antérieure à 998/1590, porte peut-être la marque du même patron. Un officier ottoman, Mustafa Rumuzi, composa aussi un *Futūḥ-i Yemen* ou *Tārīḥ-i Feth-i Yemen*, chronique versifiée en turc que Koca Sinan Pacha transmit à al-Nahrawālī²². Plus tard, en 1580, lorsque de son camp il apprit la mort de son vieux rival Lala Mustafa Pacha, il demanda à Mustafa 'Ālī, qui avait entrepris de relater les campagnes de ce dernier contre la Perse, de continuer le travail, pour sa gloire. Mustafa 'Ālī dut avaler ce serpent²³. Il n'en reste pas moins que l'œuvre achevée (en 1584), le *Nusretnāme*, somptueusement enluminé, était tout à la gloire du défunt et non du survivant²⁴. Dans la suite, Koca Sinan Pacha, sans se désintéresser des belles lettres, semble s'être tenu à l'écart de l'intense activité à la fois poétique et historiographique qui animait la cour de Murad III (*reg.* 1574-1595). Ta'likizade, nommé *ṣehnameci* en 1590, composa une relation de sa campagne hongroise de 1593, le *Ṣehnāme-i hūmāyūn*, que E. Fetvacı interprète comme une œuvre de franche propagande, exécutée par un courtisan intéressé, lui-même en concurrence avec l'autre *ṣehnameci*, Lokman²⁵. Aucune plume amie ne chercha à prendre sa défense ou à pénétrer son intimité, dont nous ne savons rien.

Est-ce à dire qu'il se souciait peu de sa gloire ? Ce serait commettre un contresens. La question est plutôt de savoir si, dans le langage commun qui, pour ses contemporains et son milieu, donnait sens à ses actions, il était une figure originale. Tous les hommes d'État ottomans du

²⁰ FLEISCHER, 1986, p. 164.

²¹ La troisième partie de l'ouvrage a été traduite en anglais dans SMITH trad., 2002.

²² BLACKBURN, 1993, p. 912a.

²³ FLEISCHER, 1986, p. 89.

²⁴ FETVACI, 2005, analyse le manuscrit (TSA H. 1365) p. 144-162.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 186-191 ; texte publié dans WOODHEAD éd., 1983.

xvi^e siècle se sont préoccupés à la fois de leur renommée posthume et de leurs mérites dans l'au-delà, selon des formes variables qui imitaient à une moindre échelle les grands gestes des sultans. Les *beglerbegi*-s de province et surtout les vizirs, dans le dernier tiers du siècle, pouvaient se réclamer du modèle de Sokollu Mehmed Pacha, dernier représentant de la série des grands vizirs magnifiques qui avaient marqué les règnes de Soliman et de Selim II, notamment İbrahim Pacha et Rüstem Pacha. Après 1579, Murad III, puis Mehmed III préférèrent régler la compétition entre vizirs, de sorte que le modèle de stabilité que représentait Sokollu, désormais hors d'atteinte, gagna encore en lustre. Son grand exemple imposait les terrains d'émulation entre rivaux ; le plus spectaculaire était la construction de prestige dans la capitale. Tous les grands vizirs qui en ont eu le temps ont érigé des monuments, commandés aux meilleurs architectes de leur époque, à savoir le célèbre Sinan, mort en 1588, et ses disciples. Sokollu Mehmed Pacha fit ainsi édifier par cet architecte une admirable mosquée à Kadirga (979/1571-1572), une autre à Azapkapı (Galata, 985/1577-1578), et une *küllîye* de plus petite taille à Eyüp (1574), qui incluait son *türbe*²⁶. Aucun de ses successeurs ne se signale par tant d'édifices majeurs. Les grands vizirs et autres grands personnages, de Murad III à Ahmed I^{er}, n'ont au mieux à leur actif qu'un monument majeur dans la capitale. Koca Sinan Pacha lui-même ne se distingua que durant ses derniers grands vizirats : son trop bref passage à Istanbul en 1581-1582 avait été accaparé, faut-il croire, par d'autres soucis. Il fit bâtir tout de même par le grand Sinan un palais près de l'Hippodrome, que celui-ci mentionne dans ses autobiographies et qui a disparu²⁷. En 999/1591 il commanda au successeur de Sinan, l'architecte en chef Davud Aga, trois kiosques en contrebas du palais de Topkapı, dont l'İncili Köşk et le Yalı Köşk, l'un et l'autre disparus²⁸ ; en outre, en 1593, une petite *küllîye* sur Divanyolu, près de Beyazid Camii²⁹, qui contient son *türbe*, édifice le plus remarquable de l'ensemble. C'est en effet

²⁶ GOODWIN, 1971, p. 281-282, p. 285-287, p. 271-276 ; NECİPOĞLU, 2005, p. 333-345 et p. 362-368.

²⁷ CRANE, AKIN éd., 2006, p. 72, p. 83, p. 110, p. 365, p. 388.

²⁸ Sur l'İncili Köşk, cf. ELDEM, 1969 ; NECİPOĞLU, 1991 ; KUBAN, 2010, p. 430-431. Il a été démoli en 1871. Somptueusement décoré, à cheval sur l'enceinte byzantine, il était visible de loin. Sur le Yalı Köşk, cf. NECİPOĞLU, 2005, p. 231b-241b.

²⁹ GOODWIN, 1971, p. 337-338 ; NECİPOĞLU, 2005, p. 509, plan, et p. 508b, signale que l'inscription mentionne comme date d'achèvement 1002/1593-1594. Les TSA conservent un livre de compte de la *küllîye* datant de 1001/1592-1593, le TSA S.P. 79 : *ibid.*, p. 556, n. 21 = ÖZ, 1946, n° 79.

surtout par la grandeur et la magnificence de leur *türbe*, élément central d'un modeste ensemble incluant une fontaine et un lieu d'enseignement (*dershane*), que rivalisèrent les grands personnages des règnes de Murad III et Mehmed III : Siyavuş Pacha et Ferhad Pacha à Eyüp, le chef des eunuques blancs Gazanfer Aga près de l'aqueduc de Valens, Bayram Pacha plus tard (1634) près de Sainte-Sophie³⁰. Cette évolution de la mosquée classique au *türbe* entouré de petits bâtiments annexes était peut-être due à une moindre fortune des Grands après Sokollu, et plus vraisemblablement à la saturation de mosquées dans les quartiers où il était prestigieux de montrer sa libéralité³¹.

Une évolution parallèle, conduisant de la reproduction des monuments impériaux à la célébration de la personne des hommes d'État, a été étudiée par E. Fetvacı dans le domaine du manuscrit enluminé. Alors que Sokollu avait promu de somptueux *Fethnâme*-s à la gloire de la dynastie ou d'un souverain, son assassinat (1579) ouvrit la vogue des *gazânâme*-s, relations de campagne richement enluminées³². Koca Sinan Pacha y participa sur le tard. Il est vrai que sa campagne de Perse de 1581 ne fut pas concluante et qu'il ne reprit le chemin des batailles qu'en 1593 : sa gloire militaire, attachée aux conquêtes du Yémen et de Tunis, relevait alors du passé. Il faut croire qu'il en était conscient, puisqu'en 1594 il fit exécuter une copie illustrée du *Tārīḥ-i Feth-i Yemen* étendue à la conquête de Tunis. Outre les scènes ordinaires de réception d'ordres sultaniens et de commandement militaire, quatre miniatures montrent sa générosité et ses mérites : dans deux il récompense des soldats victorieux, dans une troisième il distribue des aumônes aux pauvres de Médine, et la quatrième le peint donnant l'ordre de réparer les coupes qui entourent la Ka'ba, de construire un pavillon au Caire et de réparer le port d'Alexandrie³³. Voilà donc où il faut chercher sa gloire : loin de la capitale, dans les aumônes bien ciblées et les bâtiments.

Là encore, nulle innovation : son grand rival Lala Mustafa Pacha est représenté, dans deux miniatures de manuscrits différents du *Nuşretnâme*,

³⁰ GOODWIN, 1971, p. 282 et p. 350-351 ; KUBAN, 2010, p. 386-388. À noter que pendant ce temps les sultanes-mères poursuivent la tradition des grandes mosquées : la Yeni Cami, commandée par Safiye Sultan à Davud Aga, est commencée en 1006/1597 ; cf. NECİPOĞLU, 2005, p. 511-513 et KUBAN, 2010, p. 370.

³¹ Discussion dans NECİPOĞLU, 2005, p. 509b-511a.

³² FETVACI, 2005, p. 140-176. Sur les illustrations de manuscrits relatifs à la conquête de Tunis, cf. ESİN, 1979 ; et TEMİMİ, 2009.

³³ FETVACI, 2005, p. 180-184.

supervisant l'édification de la citadelle de Kars en 1579³⁴. Lui aussi avait semé ses bâtiments et fondations dans l'Empire, au moins depuis 969/1562 : nous y reviendrons³⁵. Gouverneurs et vizirs de ce temps étaient influencés par Sokollu Mehmed Pacha qui, avec sa femme İsmihan Sultan, fille de Selim II et de Nur Banu, avait multiplié les bâtiments et les *waqf*-s dans une grande partie de l'Empire³⁶. Et le couple formé à la génération précédente par Rüstem Pacha et Mihrimah Sultan, fille de Soliman, leur tenait lieu de modèle. D'ailleurs, pour les historiens Mustafa 'Ālī et İbrahim Peçevi, Sokollu fut, de tous les grands vizirs, le plus grand créateur de fondations pieuses³⁷.

Pourtant c'est bien dans ce domaine que, au moins dans deux provinces, Damas et Le Caire, Koca Sinan Pacha s'est acquis une renommée durable. Pour le biographe damascène al-Muḥibbī (1061-1111/1651-1699), « en bref, il fut le vizir de la maison d'Osman aux monuments les plus nombreux, et le plus bénéfique aux gens »³⁸. Notons en passant que les horizons de cet auteur n'étaient pas confinés à sa ville natale de Damas, puisque sa carrière l'avait conduit à Beyrouth, à Bursa, à Istanbul, à Edirne, à La Mecque et au Caire³⁹. En Égypte, 'Alī Pacha Mubārak, qui publie en 1304-1306/1886-1888 ses *Ḥiṭaṭ tawfīqiyya* sur le modèle d'al-Maqrīzī, développe à propos de la mosquée de Būlāq une biographie de Koca Sinan Pacha fondée sur deux ouvrages du xvii^e siècle, la *Nuzhat al-nāzīrīn* de Mur'ī al-Ḥanbalī (*ob.* 1033/1623) et les *Laṭā'if al-aḥbār* de 'Abd al-Bāqī al-Ishāqī (*ob.* 1066/1655) ; du second, il cite : « on lui doit de beaux monuments, des vestiges méritoires, des bienfaits inextinguibles, une foule de mosquées, de *ribāt*-s, de couvents, dans les terres

³⁴ NECİPOĞLU, 2005, p. 75-76 et ill. 49-50.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 456b-457a, liste, et p. 552, n. 125, avec la liste de ses *waqfiyya*-s : Erzurum (*rabī' I* 971/19 oct.-17 nov. 1563), Jenine, Qunayṭira, Erzurum, Ilgın, Naplouse (4 *ḡumādā II* 982/21 sept. 1574, *rabī' I* 971, 25 *dū-l-ḥiġġa* 974/3 juil. 1567, *dū-l-qa'da* 981/22 fév.-23 mars 1574), Chypre (14 *rabī' I* 987/11 mai 1579). À cette liste on ajoutera la *waqfiyya* pour Damas, publiée dans MARDAM BEY, 1925 : la première version, datée de 970 h., a fait l'objet de deux avenants (*ilhāq*-s), en 975 h. puis en 981 h. La mosquée d'Erzurum que Lala Mustafa Pacha commanda au grand Sinan fut, selon l'inscription dédicatoire, achevée en 970/1562-1563 et l'école adjacente en 969/1561-1562. Il ajouta de copieuses annexes, contenant des revenus additionnels, au *waqf* de son frère Divane Hüsrev Pacha à Alep : cf. NECİPOĞLU, 2005, p. 457a-459b et p. 472b.

³⁶ Leur patronage architectural est étudié en détail dans *ibid.*, p. 331-368. Sur les fondations et édifices de Sokollu, cf. VEINSTEIN, 1997, p. 740b.

³⁷ NECİPOĞLU, 2005, p. 345b.

³⁸ MUḤIBBĪ, 1867-1868, vol. II, p. 214 (biographie de Sinan Pacha), l. 16-17 : « *wa bi-l-ḡumla fa-huwa akṭar wuzarā' Āl 'Uṭmān ātāran wa-a'ṣamuhum naf'an li-l-nās* ».

³⁹ BROCKELMANN, 1991.

d'Égypte, du Šām et de Rūm ; nul parmi les serviteurs de la maison d'Osman n'a fondé de telles œuvres pieuses »⁴⁰. D'un gouverneur célèbre pour ses bâtiments et ses fondations, détaillées par toutes les chroniques égyptiennes du XVII^e siècle, que leurs auteurs arrangeaient par sultan et gouverneur⁴¹, on était ainsi passé, avec le recul du temps, au plus remarquable des vizirs par ses *hayrāt*, terme qui incluait les pensions et distributions diverses, parmi lesquelles on ne manquait pas de citer celles prodiguées à La Mecque, au retour de son expédition victorieuse du Yémen. Il semble donc que ce soit plutôt par la quantité que par l'originalité que Koca Sinan Pacha ait gagné cette renommée. Elle n'était d'ailleurs pas que provinciale : si les historiens contemporains Mustafa 'Ālī et Selaniki n'en ont rien dit, en revanche à la génération suivante, Hasanbeyzade (*ob.* 1046/1636-1637) – qui, attaché au *reisülküttab* Dal Mahmud Efendi en 1590-1591, avait dû approcher Koca Sinan Pacha, alors grand vizir – n'hésite pas à placer les *waqf*-s de Koca Sinan Pacha au premier rang, conjointement avec ceux de Sokollu⁴². Ces comparaisons n'étaient pas usurpées : par leur quantité et leur éparpillement dans l'Empire, ses fondations pieuses peuvent prétendre rivaliser avec celles de Rüstem Pacha et de Sokollu Mehmed Pacha et le placent au-dessus de ses rivaux des années 1579-1596.

L'étendue même des fondations de Koca Sinan Pacha ne nous est qu'imparfaitement connue. Al-Muḥibbī, par exemple, mentionne une mosquée au Yémen⁴³, dont nous ne savons rien par ailleurs. Ses *waqfiyya*-s n'ont pas été rassemblées dans un texte unique, mais réparties entre plusieurs actes confiés à des gérants (*nāẓir*) différents, puis transmis en des lieux divers, de sorte que nous ne pouvons être assurés d'en avoir une connaissance exhaustive⁴⁴. Cependant, deux études précieuses per-

⁴⁰ 'ĀLĪ PACHA MUBĀRAK, 1986, p. 50, l. 4-5 (= 1305/1887, p. 19, l. 19-20), citant al-Iṣḥāqī : « *wa-lahu ma'āṭir ḡamīla wa-āṭār ḡamīda wa-ḡayrāt lā tanqaṭī* » *wa-'iddat masāḡid wa-rubuṭ wa-takāyā fī al-diyār al-miṣriyya wa-l-šāmiyya wa-l-rūmiyya wa-lam yakun aḡḡad min ḡadamat Āl 'Uṭmān anša'a miṭlahā min al-ḡayrāt* ».

⁴¹ Exemple dans BAKRĪ, 2005, p. 113 : « *wa-kāna raḡimahu Allāh ḡayrātuḡu kaṭīra aṭābahu Allāh al-ḡanna bi-munnihi wa-karamihi* » [ses bienfaits (que Dieu l'ait en Sa miséricorde) furent nombreux, que Dieu lui accorde en récompense le paradis par Sa grâce et Sa faveur].

⁴² NECİPOĞLU, 2005, p. 506b, citant AYKUT, 1980, p. 86. Sur cet auteur et son œuvre, cf. AYKUT, 2005 [2008]. Dans sa longue carrière d'administrateur des finances, Hasanbeyzade fut en poste en Rumeli, dans le Karaman et à Alep, mais jamais à Damas ni au Caire où la réputation de fondateur de Koca Sinan Pacha était le plus fermement ancrée.

⁴³ MUḤIBBĪ, 1867-1868, vol. II, p. 214, l. 5.

⁴⁴ EYİCE, 1973, p. 333, donne une liste des *waqf*-s de Koca Sinan Pacha dans un tableau

mettent d'en reconstituer la plus grande part : T. Öz (1946) a dressé le catalogue de 250 documents conservés à Topkapı, relatifs aux *waqf*-s de Koca Sinan Pacha, y compris après sa mort ; S. Bayram (1999) a présenté les *waqfiyya*-s du même personnage conservées dans les mêmes archives. Plusieurs *waqfiyya*-s ont été publiées, celles de Damas⁴⁵, Malkara⁴⁶, Kačanik (Kosovo)⁴⁷, Uzuncaova (Bulgarie)⁴⁸ ; non celles, très importantes, du Caire, analysées dans ce dossier par Gh. Alleaume, ni celles d'Istanbul. L'exemple de la fondation, apparemment mineure, de Salonique, illustre le disparate de la documentation : Koca Sinan Pacha, comme le signale M. Kiel (1970, p. 147), fit aménager la rotonde de Saint-Georges, autrement dit le mausolée de l'empereur romain Galère, en mosquée ; la *waqfiyya* K 81/3, décrite par Bayram (1999) et datée de février 1596, attend publication ; T. Öz (1946) enregistre neuf documents de 1715 à 1733 relatifs à la fondation. Les chercheurs, généralement intéressés par des thématiques locales d'histoire ou d'histoire de l'art, se sont surtout occupés des bâtiments construits en province, tandis que ses fondations de la capitale demeurent inédites.

DES LIEUX, DES DATES

La répartition géographique des fondations de Koca Sinan Pacha s'articule-t-elle à sa carrière personnelle ou suggère-t-elle une vision plus vaste ? Sa biographie permet de répartir les lieux où il a vécu en trois cercles concentriques : (1) celui de l'exercice du pouvoir vizirial ou de l'exil, en attente d'un retour en grâce, englobe Istanbul et Malkara ; (2) les gouvernements de province comprennent des *sancak*-s et *begler-begilik*-s asiatiques, tous éloignés des vieilles terres ottomanes : Tripoli (Syrie), Gaza, Malatya, Erzurum, Alep et, après 1567, Le Caire et Damas ; (3) enfin, le commandement d'expéditions le conduisit sur presque toutes les frontières de l'Empire : au Yémen (1569-1570), à Tunis (1574), en Géorgie (1580-1581), en Hongrie (1593) et en Valachie (1595).

très utile, destiné à distinguer entre dix-huit Sinan Pacha homonymes. Liste cependant incomplète : y manquent au moins les *waqf*-s de Malkara et Mihaliç.

⁴⁵ À deux reprises : dans une édition sans lieu ni date, intitulée *Waqf Sinān Pāšā*, et dans celle d'ARNĀ'ŪT éd., 1993.

⁴⁶ HAASE, 1991.

⁴⁷ KALEŠI éd., 1972, p. 278-296.

⁴⁸ SCHWARZ, KURIO éd., 1983.

À l'exception hypothétique du Yémen, il ne fonda rien dans les territoires qu'il se contenta de parcourir comme *serasker* ; en particulier, il quitta Tunis peu de temps après la prise de la ville et ne s'attacha pas à ce nouveau *beglerbegilik*, contrairement par exemple à son rival Lala Mustafa Pacha, conquérant de Chypre en 1570-1571, qui y fonda aussitôt un *waqf* (cf. *infra*). Dans le deuxième cercle, à notre connaissance, Koca Sinan Pacha laissa des fondations dans deux des villes dont il fut le *sancakbegi*, à savoir Gaza⁴⁹ et Malatya, et surtout bâtit dans trois des quatre chefs-lieux de *beglerbegilik* qu'il occupa : Erzurum, Le Caire et Damas. On sait trop peu pour l'instant de son activité à Erzurum, ville fréquemment choisie pour l'hivernage des troupes, où Lala Mustafa Pacha, qui y fut gouverneur en 1562-1563, a laissé une empreinte majeure⁵⁰. À Alep, l'absence de bâtiment de Koca Sinan Pacha s'explique suffisamment par la date précoce de son gouvernement (1565-1567), peut-être aussi par la concurrence d'autres gouverneurs qui, depuis le début de la conquête ottomane, avaient transformé profondément le cœur commerçant de la ville ; parmi lesquels, là encore, Lala Mustafa Pacha, agissant comme gérant (*nāzır*) du *waqf* de son père Hüsrev Pacha, puis Sokollu Mehmed Pacha⁵¹. Parmi les villes de province, grandes ou moyennes, alors en pleine activité, telles Diyarbakır, Skopje ou Sarajevo, les seules où Koca Sinan Pacha laissa une marque monumentale durable sont les deux où il exerça les fonctions de gouverneur après sa campagne du Yémen, à savoir Le Caire et Damas. Cependant, comme les grands fondateurs qui l'avaient précédé, il essaima ailleurs, notamment en Rumeli qu'il ne gouverna pourtant jamais. Il y modela le cœur d'un centre modeste, Kačanik au sud du Kosovo ; à l'exception de Salonique, les autres localités où il intervint étaient aussi de petite taille : Malkara, son lieu d'exil, et Uzuncaova en Bulgarie.

Ces choix géographiques de fondation combinent plusieurs modèles, tous bien représentés avant lui : (a) la centralité urbaine ; (b) le renforce-

⁴⁹ EVLIYA ÇELEBİ, 1996-2007, vol. 3, p. 79b, signale à Gaza une petite *camı* de Koca Sinan Pacha, sans en préciser la date. Sa petite taille (*Ammâ ol kadar vâsi' değildir*) ne rend pas impossible que cette fondation remonte au temps où il était *sancakbegi* de la ville (1560-1561) ; ce serait alors la première, non autrement documentée, du personnage ; cependant elle peut aussi bien avoir fait partie de ses nombreuses fondations des années 1580 dans le Bilād al-Şām.

⁵⁰ AYDIN, 1998, p. 149-150 ; NECİPOĞLU, 2005, p. 456-459. La *waqfiyya* de la fondation de Koca Sinan Pacha à Erzurum, datée de février 1596, est décrite dans BAYRAM, 1999, K 81/4.

⁵¹ WATENPAUGH, 2004, notamment p. 60-77, « The Khusruviyya Complex », et p. 94-114, « The Complex of the Khān al-Gumruk ».

ment des routes principales ; (c) le soutien, voire la création de centres secondaires, de quartiers en essor ou d'extensions périphériques. Les deux premiers types d'implantation, en centre ville (a) ou sur de grandes routes (b), avaient pour eux le prestige d'un riche passé et, pour s'en tenir aux dynasties que les Ottomans se proposaient volontiers comme modèles, avaient été illustrés par les Seldjoukides et les Timourides. Les deux types pouvaient être géographiquement disjoints : ainsi Sokollu Mehmed Pacha se signala notamment par une énorme fondation en plein cœur d'Alep et par une remarquable série de *han-s*, ponts, *imaret-s* et *külliye-s* sur la route qui reliait les deux capitales impériales, Istanbul et Edirne⁵². De même, en matière de route, Koca Sinan Pacha se préoccupa surtout de celle du centre de la Syrie, ainsi que des ports du commerce international en Égypte (Alexandrie, Būlāq, Suez, Quṣayr) ; pour le reste, il intervint de manière plus ponctuelle dans les Balkans, le sud et l'est de l'Anatolie, mais toujours le long de routes majeures. Au total, ses fondations sont plus denses et, semble-t-il, plus ambitieuses dans les deux provinces qu'il a gouvernées après son retour du Yémen (celles du Caire et de Damas). Pour autant, la géographie de ses *waqf-s* reflète-t-elle le développement chronologique de sa carrière ?

À vrai dire, la chronologie précise de ses *waqf-s* est difficile à établir : on consultera à ce propos le tableau dressé par A. Meier dans ce dossier. Comme nous l'avons relevé plus haut, certaines de ses fondations ne nous sont pour l'instant connues que par une notice chez S. Bayram (1999) ou T. Öz (1946), ou par des mentions ultérieures. Surtout, l'examen même superficiel des sources montre que chacune de ses fondations était un *work in progress* : il profita largement de la latitude que le *fiqh* accorde au fondateur, de son vivant, pour modifier ses fondations, par retranchement, addition de revenus et de dépenses, regroupement ; de sorte que les actes que nous possédons et auxquels, par commodité, nous donnons le nom de *waqfiyya-s*, sont souvent des ensembles de textes de dates variées, du fait soit de modifications (le texte originel faisant alors l'objet d'une simple référence), soit d'avenants (*ḡayl-s* ou *'ilāwa-s*). Gh. Alleaume montre ainsi dans ce dossier que la première *waqfiyya* en faveur de la mosquée de Būlāq, en 980/1573, fut modifiée deux fois, en 984/1576-1577, puis en 989/1581 ; elle reçut ensuite deux additions, en 996/1588, puis en 999/1591 ; les deux exemplaires connus, celui du Caire

⁵² GOODWIN, 1971, p. 293-295 (pont de Büyükkçekmece) et p. 295-298 (*külliye* de Lüleburgaz, 1565-1569/1570) ; NECİPOĞLU, 2005, p. 348-355 (Lüleburgaz).

(996 h.) et celui de Topkapı (999 h.), permettent de reconstituer vingt années d'amendements et de compléments.

Le procédé était alors commun. La mosquée construite à Alep par Divane Hüsrev Pacha porte le chronogramme de 953/1546, à une date où le vizir, qui avait gouverné la ville de 1531 à 1534, était déjà décédé. La *waqfiyya* attachée à la mosquée et à son complexe, aujourd'hui conservée à Ankara, date du début 969/1561. L'historien alépin al-Ğazzī, au début du xx^e siècle, consulta quant à lui chez un descendant du fondateur trois autres *waqfiyya*-s, datées d'avril 1558, de décembre 1559 et de 1566. Les deux premières (1558 et 1559) furent établies par le frère de Divane Hüsrev Pacha, à savoir Lala Mustafa Pacha, et consistent en des additions à la *waqfiyya* originelle. Celle de 1566 est quant à elle une version plus tardive du texte de 1561, qui lui-même réaménage l'acte de fondation originel, entièrement perdu, et dont la date est inconnue⁵³. On notera que la *waqfiyya* transmettait la gérance au fils du fondateur, puis à ses descendants et, à leur extinction, aux descendants de ses affranchis ; le frère de Hüsrev Pacha, Lala Mustafa Pacha, en était donc exclu ; c'est de sa propre initiative qu'en 1558 et 1559 il fait enregistrer quelques additions à la grande fondation de son frère aîné ; à ces dates, tuteur (*lala*) du prince Selim, il n'avait pas encore eu d'occasion de séjourner à Alep – ce qu'il fera en 1563, comme gouverneur – et n'y établira d'ailleurs jamais de *waqf* en son propre nom. Ainsi, entre remaniements, ajouts, copies et traductions du turc à l'arabe et vice versa, s'accumulaient les actes fondateurs des *waqf*-s. À ce développement en aval il faut encore ajouter l'historique en amont des acquisitions et constructions préalables à la fondation ou à ses extensions : dans le cas de Koca Sinan Pacha, le catalogue des actes de Topkapı dressé par T. Öz (*ibid.*) est d'une aide précieuse, car il mentionne de nombreux documents pour ainsi dire préparatoires. Dans les *waqfiyya*-s elles-mêmes figure parfois la mention précise, date comprise, de l'acte d'acquisition de telle propriété contribuant aux revenus de la fondation. Il faudrait, là encore, des recherches minutieuses dans les registres des tribunaux pour compléter un tableau inévitablement lacunaire.

Les tout premiers documents en rapport avec les *waqf*-s de Koca Sinan Pacha datent de 980/1572-1573 et procèdent d'Égypte et de Bithynie. En

⁵³ Discussion de la date de la Hüsruwiyya dans WATENPAUGH, 2004, p. 61-63 ; sur les dates des *waqfiyya*-s citées par al-Ğazzī, cf. *ibid.*, p. 64, n. 16, et p. 72, n. 49. Elles sont résumées dans GAULMIER, 1942-1943, ouvrage à partir duquel est reconstitué l'historique des *waqfiyya*-s dans NECİPOĞLU, 2005, p. 472. Sur Divane Hüsrev Pacha, cf. BACQUÉGRAMMONT, 1979a et b. Sur les grands *waqf*-s d'Alep, cf. RAYMOND, 1979.

Égypte il est question, d'une part, d'un achat de terrains au Caire (*ibid.*, n° 171), d'autre part, de la première *waqfiyya* connue, à la fois par un exemplaire en arabe et en turc à Topkapı (*ibid.*, n° 173) et par la référence qu'en fait une autre *waqfiyya* conservée au Caire et datée de 996/1588. Dans le déroulement de sa carrière, la date de 1572-1573 peut sembler tardive. Il commence à créer des fondations dix ans après son grand rival Lala Mustafa Pacha, dont les premières *waqfiyya*-s attestées remontent à 970/1562-1563 (Damas), puis à *rabī'* I 971/octobre-novembre 1563 (Erzurum) ; Erzurum était le second poste de gouverneur (*beglerbegilik*) qu'il occupait et le premier d'une certaine durée⁵⁴. Koca Sinan Pacha, quant à lui, ne débuta sa carrière de fondateur qu'à son quatrième poste de *beglerbegi*, après Erzurum, Alep, où il ne bâtit pas, et onze mois au Caire en 1568. Au moment où est rédigée sa toute première *waqfiyya* connue, datée de février-mars 1573, il est depuis vingt mois gouverneur du Caire pour la seconde fois, après sa longue campagne au Yémen. On sait que sa fortune politique vient de là ; peut-être aussi le désir d'égaliser les autres hommes d'État ou le souci de sa gloire. Or dès le début il vise haut. Un *hüküm* de 980/1572-1573 mentionne que les revenus de sa fondation égyptienne serviront à financer la récitation du Coran à La Mecque, à Jérusalem et à Bursa (*ibid.*, n° 172), exactement les villes où s'exerçait par excellence la munificence des sultans. Son empreinte à La Mecque, qu'en l'état de la documentation nous ne pouvons dater, ne fut pas modeste : Evliya Çelebi y nomme sa *madrassa* après celles des sultans mamelouks et ottomans et celle de Sokollu Mehmed Pacha ; il y mentionne aussi un petit hammam (*bir hammam-i latîf*) et une ou des fontaines⁵⁵.

C'est néanmoins à la Bithynie que se réfère le tout premier document connu à ce jour en relation à ses *waqf*-s : en *rağab* 980/7 novembre-6 décembre 1572, il reçoit par *tamlîk* des terrains à Yenışehir, ville située à une cinquantaine de kilomètres à l'est de Bursa, afin d'y bâtir un caravansérail (*han*), une *cami* et un *imaret*⁵⁶. En 981/1573-1574, alors que

⁵⁴ AYDIN, 1998, p. 149-150 et n. 393 ; NECİPOĞLU, 2005, p. 456b-457a, p. 552, n. 125. Lala Mustafa Pacha avait auparavant été nommé *beglerbegi* de Van (nov. 1560) et révoqué peu de temps après ; cf. TURAN, 1958, p. 556-557.

⁵⁵ EVLİYA ÇELEBİ, 1996-2007, vol. IX, p. 395b, p. 397a, p. 399a. Sur ses fondations des Villes saintes, cf. aussi GÜLER, 2002, p. 99, p. 104, p. 112, d'après Vakıf Genel Müdürlüğü Arşivi, *defter* n° 72, p. 102-103.

⁵⁶ REYHANLI, 1978, p. 381, d'après ÖZ, 1946, n° 242 ; p. 395, fig. 14, fac-similé de la *hüccet*. Les bâtiments subsistants (*medrese, imaret, cami* ; cf. *ibid.*, p. 396, plan) ne portent pas de date.

Koca Sinan Pacha est encore gouverneur au Caire, ses fondés de pouvoir (*wakīl*-s) louent une maison à Bursa (*ibid.*, n° 14). Son *waqf* de Bursa, non connu par un document original, est attesté par un registre comptable de 983/1575-1576 qui détaille les dépenses liées à la construction des boutiques qui y sont attachées (*ibid.*, n° 173A). Le *waqf* de Mihaliç (auj. Karacabey), à environ 60 km à l'ouest de Bursa, relève du même ensemble (*ibid.*, n°s 164-168). Les raisons pour lesquelles il s'intéresse si tôt à Yenişehir et Bursa nous sont inconnues. À partir de la fin 1574 et jusqu'en avril 1580 il réside à Istanbul, absorbé par sa carrière viziriale ; acquisitions et fondations se concentrent autour de la capitale, mais aussi plus loin en Anatolie. Dans la capitale il intervient surtout à Kasımpaşa, le quartier en rive nord de la Corne d'Or où avait été implanté l'Arsenal, et à Üsküdar, ville satellite en pleine expansion, où les grands de ce monde multipliaient à l'envi les constructions de prestige. Comme en Égypte, l'historique de ses fondations stambouliotes s'étend jusqu'à la fin de sa vie, avec une diversification croissante des implantations. En Anatolie, il développe sa fondation de Yenişehir ; il construit en 1575 un hammam à Larende (auj. Karaman)⁵⁷. De 988/1580 date une *waqfiyya* établie par son *wakīl* à Hasankale (auj. Pasinler), à 35 km à l'est d'Erzurum, sur la route de Kars et d'Erevan (*ibid.*, n° 149)⁵⁸.

C'est curieusement de son accession au grand vizirat que semble dater son intérêt pour le Bilād al-Šām. Dès 988/1580 ou avant il dispose d'un important *waqf* à Birecik, passage stratégique sur l'Euphrate, à un peu plus de 40 km à l'est d'Ayntab (auj. Gaziantep) (*ibid.*, n° 5, addition au *waqf*)⁵⁹. En 989/1581, il fait acheter par son *wakīl* une oliveraie à Tripoli (*ibid.*, n° 211), l'année suivante deux savonneries à Alep et dans un village voisin (*ibid.*, n°s 147-148). En mai 1581, puis en novembre de la même année, deux voyageurs européens signalent la construction en cours d'un caravansérail à son nom à Sa'sa'⁶⁰. La documentation disponible suggère que cette activité de fondateur subit, avec son premier exil en décembre 1582, un net ralentissement. En 994/1586, cependant, il fonde un *waqf* important pour sa *külliye* de Kačanik, dans le sud du Kosovo, sur la route d'Üsküp (auj. Skopje) à Pristina : premier signe d'un

⁵⁷ NECİPOĞLU, 2005, p. 563a, d'après TSA, E. SP. 1 53 B.

⁵⁸ Monographie détaillée de Pasinler, avec une carte de situation, dans SINCLAIR, 1989, vol. II, p. 227-232.

⁵⁹ Sur Bir (auj. Birecik), alors étape fréquentée sur la route d'Alep à l'Iraq, cf. ABDEL NOUR, 1983, p. 188-189.

⁶⁰ PASCUAL, 1983, p. 45, n. 1.

intérêt pour la Rumeli, qui ne cessera de croître. Il semble pourtant surtout soucieux de compléter ses projets dans le Bilād al-Šām : selon l'historien Ibn Ayyūb, son contemporain, c'est pour fonder là en *waqf* une mosquée et un tombeau qu'il aurait sollicité de Murad III, et obtenu, le *beglerbegilik* de Damas⁶¹. Nommé en décembre 1586, il fait débiter dès 1587 la construction de sa grande mosquée à Damas, connue depuis sous le nom de Sināniyya ; elle sera inaugurée par son fils Mehmed Pacha en 1590⁶². En 996/1588 il fait rédiger à Damas une grande *waqfiyya* en faveur de sa mosquée et de plusieurs autres établissements (*ibid.*, n^{os} 190-192). Ce texte est contemporain d'une autre *waqfiyya* (Bayram, 1999, K 75, p. 164 et p. 169-170) qui rassemble toutes ses fondations de la capitale, de Bithynie, de Malkara et d'Acre ; il est aussi contemporain de la première addition à la fondation égyptienne. Les trois textes de 996/1588 sont d'ailleurs conservés à Topkapı ; leur concomitance témoigne de la volonté, de la part de Koca Sinan Pacha, de mettre de l'ordre dans ses affaires et exprime certainement une vision d'ensemble. Contrairement à Sokollu Mehmed Pacha, qui en 1574 avait fait regrouper en un texte unique la totalité de ses fondations en compilant quatre *waqfiyya*-s indépendantes⁶³, Koca Sinan Pacha préféra jusqu'à la fin de sa vie conserver des entités séparées ; en l'occurrence nous en dénombrons en 1588 quatre, de taille inégale : le centre, l'Égypte, Damas, Kačanik.

La dernière période de sa vie, jalonnée par quatre grands vizirats entre 1589 et 1596, voit la maturité de ce dispositif. De nouveaux compléments enrichissent les fondations du centre, de Damas et de l'Égypte ; de nouvelles *küllie*-s sont fondées à Zanbaqiyya, dans le nord du Bilād al-Šām (Öz, 1946, n^o 250), à Uzuncaova en Bulgarie (auj. Uzundzhovo), à 10 km au nord-est de Haskovo, sur la route d'Edirne à Filibe (auj. Plovdiv), et à Malkara (Bayram, 1999, K 81, p. 164 et p. 172-173 ; Öz, 1946, n^{os} 214-215). Durant les premiers mois de 1004/fin 1595-début 1596, quelques semaines avant sa mort, est opérée à Istanbul une nouvelle mise au net de la majorité des actes de fondation existants, qui sont recopiés, compilés ou modifiés. Cette récapitulation fait apparaître des

⁶¹ IBN AYYŪB AŞ-ŞĀFĪ'Ī, 1981, p. 116, l. 4-6 : « *tumma innahu [Sinān bāšā] fī awā'il sanat ḥams wa-tis'in kataba ilā ustāḍihi al-sulṭān Murād 'azza naşrahu yaṭlubu minhu niyābat Dimaşq li-yu'ammira bihā masğidan wa-madfanan lahu wa-yaştariya li-dālika ġihāt yūqifuhu (sic) 'alayhā* ».

⁶² PASCUAL, 1983, p. 33 et p. 98.

⁶³ NECİPOĞLU, 2005, p. 346a et p. 543, n. 348.

waqf-s à Salonique (Bayram, 1999, K 81/3) et à Malatya (*ibid.*, K 81/6), dont nous ignorons la chronologie effective. Au total, la chronologie des activités de Koca Sinan Pacha liées à ses fondations s'articule à sa carrière viziriale ; elle connaît un étiage marqué durant le long exil de 1582-1586. Elle n'est liée qu'en ses tout débuts à un poste en province, celui du Caire ; dès 1573 il manifeste une pluralité de centres d'intérêt qui ne cesse plus de croître. Les investissements en Syrie débutent antérieurement au gouvernorat de Damas, les fondations en Rumeli commencent avec l'exil de Malkara mais datent surtout de ses derniers grands vizirats. Elles seront d'ailleurs prolongées en Macédoine par son fils Mehmed Pacha, dont nous avons vu que la carrière, à l'ombre de son père, ne sera pas heureuse⁶⁴.

UNE FORTUNE

Tant de *waqf*-s n'auraient pu éclore sans une fortune que l'on disait fabuleuse. D'après İbrahim Peçevi, le populaire, faute d'autre explication, attribuait ses richesses aux connaissances de Koca Sinan Pacha en alchimie⁶⁵. A. Meier évoque, dans ce dossier, les lourdes accusations de malversations qui l'entouraient dans les dernières années de sa carrière et qui jetaient un doute sur la licéité de ses fondations. Sa fortune resta proverbiale : à propos du décès en 1655 de Bıyıklı Derviş Mehmed Pacha, ancien grand vizir, Evliya Çelebi note : « si je devais dresser l'inventaire de ses biens dans la mesure où j'en ai connaissance, il serait aussi long que celui de Sinan Pacha, le conquérant du Yémen »⁶⁶. Un inventaire après décès de ce dernier, dont on a conservé un fragment, fait état de richesses étourdissantes : 8 chaudrons contenant chacun 100 000 florins, dont chacun pèse 4 ducats (depuis la dévaluation de 1585, le cours officiel du ducat était de 120 aspres) ; 32 coffres de 400 000 florins chacun, 5 sacs de 60 000 florins chacun, 26 autres de 60 000 pièces d'or (*altun*), etc.⁶⁷ ; sommes astronomiques, multipliant à

⁶⁴ Mehmed Pacha fonde une *külliye* à Debar, une mosquée à Skopje (l'inscription la date de 1602), un caravansérail, un pont et une fontaine à Kačanik, d'autres bâtiments à Gostivar, à Tetovo et à Kičevo : KIEL, 1970, p. 147 et n. 90-91. Ses *waqfiyya*-s sont publiées dans KALEŠI, MEHMEDOVSKI, 1958.

⁶⁵ PEÇEVI, 1864-1867, vol. 2, p. 16, l. 25-p. 17, l. 1, cité dans FETVACI, 2005, p. 184, n. 95.

⁶⁶ DANKOFF (dir.), 1991, p. 111.

⁶⁷ DIEZ, 1812, vol. 1, p. 101-104 (référence aimablement communiquée par A. Meier).

plaisir les millions de pièces d'or, et dont aucun souverain ne disposait. À cette époque les revenus ordinaires du trésor ottoman se montaient à 300 millions d'aspres⁶⁸. On a bien du mal à croire l'inventaire vraisemblable⁶⁹. Le chroniqueur damascène contemporain, Ibn Ğum'a al-Maqqār, de son côté, fournit une liste des biens mobiliers que Koca Sinan Pacha aurait laissés à sa mort. Elle est digne des *Mille et une nuits* : 60 cadenas incrustés de diamants, chacun d'une valeur de 50 000 dinars, soit 3 millions de dinars ou 360 millions d'aspres ! Aussi prodigieux que celui cité précédemment, cet inventaire nous renseigne seulement sur les rumeurs qui sur la fin de ses jours entourèrent Koca Sinan Pacha d'une aura fantastique⁷⁰. Il fallait cependant que ces bruits aient quelque substance, puisque le gouvernement, en mauvaise posture financière depuis les années 1580, comptait au besoin sur la fortune personnelle du grand vizir, éventuellement d'autres Grands, pour combler les défaillances de la trésorerie⁷¹.

Les chiffres donnés par les chroniqueurs pour la fortune de Koca Sinan Pacha à sa mort peuvent être rapprochés d'un autre inventaire, celui que Mustafa 'Ālî fournit des biens de Rüstem Pacha, mort en 1561, l'homme le plus riche de son temps : 780 000 pièces d'or (soit 46,8 millions d'aspres), des armures précieuses estimées à 11,2 millions d'aspres, de l'argent en lingots ou en pièces pour une valeur de 100 millions d'aspres, etc.⁷² Une partie au moins de ces chiffres sont exacts, puisque la *waqfiyya* de septembre 1570 en faveur de la célèbre mosquée, que le grand Sinan édifia à la mémoire de Rüstem Pacha à Tahtakale, en dessous de la Süleymaniye, permet de calculer que la vente de l'ensemble de son armurerie rapporta 12 millions d'aspres ; en outre, furent affectés au *waqf* 100 000 ducats (soit 6 millions d'aspres) et 7,5 millions d'aspres en fonds

⁶⁸ PAMUK, 2000, p. 131-137 et p. 133, tabl. 8.1.

⁶⁹ HAMMER, 1835-1841, vol. VII, p. 315, après avoir fourni les mêmes chiffres, commente : « Quelque improbable que puisse paraître la fortune de Sinan, elle n'a rien qui doive étonner, après les listes que des historiens dignes de foi donnent des trésors laissés par Roustem et Nassouh-Pascha, prédécesseurs (*sic*) de ce grand-vizir ; si l'on considère l'avidité de Sinan et les occasions de pillage que lui fournirent ses diverses conquêtes de l'Yemen et de la Géorgie, ses guerres en Hongrie et en Valachie, il ne paraîtra pas incroyable qu'il ait pu amasser une fortune aussi considérable ».

⁷⁰ IBN ĞUM'A, 1949 p. 20-22 ; LAOUST trad., 1952, p. 191-193. Les quantités répertoriées, trente, soixante, cent soixante, deux cents, etc., dénoncent le caractère fictif de cet inventaire éblouissant.

⁷¹ FODOR, 1994, p. 76, à partir du registre des *telhis* de Koca Sinan Pacha (1589-1591).

⁷² NECİPOĞLU, 2005, p. 316b, citant Mustafa 'Ālî, *Kühn ül-aḥbār*, ms. Nürüosmaniye 3409, f. 123 r^o-v^o.

convertis en biens de rapport⁷³. On peut penser que ces énormes sommes représentaient une grande partie de la fortune rapidement mobilisable que Rüstem Pacha laissa à sa mort ; de là, on avancera pour celle-ci un ordre de grandeur de plusieurs dizaines de millions d'aspres.

Rüstem Pacha fut vraisemblablement l'homme le plus riche de son siècle. Il fut aussi le plus longtemps grand vizir : quatorze ans (1544-1551, 1553-1561) ; la protection constante de Hürrem Sultan et de son épouse Mihrimah Sultan le mit à l'abri des mauvais coups. Il ne fait pas de doute que la fortune des hommes d'État était fondée sur leurs charges, et d'abord sur le *has* auquel ils avaient droit. Tandis que les *sancakbegi*-s touchaient des *has* de quelques centaines de milliers d'aspres, les *beglerbegi*-s recevaient fréquemment 1 million d'aspres et plus : dans les années 1560, par exemple, celui d'Erzurum touchait 1,3 million d'aspres⁷⁴. C'était bien la nomination à une province (*beglerbegilik*) qui changeait l'échelle de la fortune. Les gouverneurs, dès lors, n'étaient pas loin d'égaliser les vizirs. Un registre de 968/1560-1561, portant sur les revenus de Semiz Ali Pacha, alors grand vizir, enregistre un total de 3,6 millions d'aspres, dont 2,6 millions proviennent de son *has*⁷⁵. S'y ajoutaient les revenus dissimulés de la corruption : en 1553, le *baile* de Venise, Bernardo Navagero, estime les revenus officiels de Rüstem Pacha à 24 000 ducats (soit 1,44 millions d'aspres, chiffre vraisemblable) et les dons que ce dernier reçoit à 60 000 ducats (3,6 millions d'aspres)⁷⁶, estimation au jugé, que nous ne pouvons commenter.

Les montants connus des *has* sont cohérents avec les quelques chiffres de fortune dont nous sommes sûrs. Un certain Yunus Beg, *sancakbegi* de Köstendil, laisse à sa mort, en 1572, probablement dans son âge mûr puisqu'il a alors douze enfants, 1 142 634 *akçe*-s, plus des dons en nature ou immeubles qui ne pouvaient légalement dépasser la moitié de la somme précédente ; 756 000 aspres, soit 66 % des biens évalués, étaient thésaurisés, surtout en pièces d'or⁷⁷. Zal Mahmud Pacha, mort vizir en 1577, époux de Şah Sultan, une des filles de Selim II, affecte dans son testament un tiers de ses biens à son *waqf* posthume : l'acte de fondation évalue ce tiers à 2 857 655 aspres, soit une fortune totale de 8,6 millions

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 317a-b et p. 541, n. 173.

⁷⁴ AYDIN, 1998, p. 174-177 et p. 162-163, tabl.

⁷⁵ KUNT, 1983, p. 50, d'après BA, KK 717.

⁷⁶ NECİPOĞLU, 2005, p. 315a.

⁷⁷ KUNT, 1983, p. 53-54, d'après BARKAN, 1966, p. 132-133, p. 147-151, n° 19, p. 461, tabl. 3.

d'aspres. Au terme d'une carrière de *beglerbegi* d'Alep (1564-1565) et d'Anatolie (1566), puis de vizir (1567-1577), il n'avait encore acquis que de modestes sources de revenus, à Ankara, à Plovdiv et à Prilep, qui furent versées à son *waqf*. Voilà ce que pouvait amasser un Grand, ni brillant, ni très ambitieux, ni très dépensier, à l'issue de treize années de hautes charges⁷⁸.

Cette observation conduit à se demander dans quels buts les hommes d'État cherchaient à accumuler d'énormes fortunes. Faute d'une documentation appropriée, l'économie de leur richesse ne peut être reconstituée avec précision. Cependant des informations convergentes autorisent à brosser un tableau d'ensemble, dont les nuances variaient avec les personnalités, les carrières, certains hasards peut-être. Tous les Grands entretenaient un train de vie extraordinairement dispendieux. Outre les besoins de leur palais, de leur maison privée et de leur suite, ils devaient payer quantité de secrétaires, comptables, hommes de confiance, d'autant plus que leurs biens immobiliers, en propriété, location ou concession du sultan, étaient le plus souvent très dispersés ; une correspondance que l'on devine intense les reliait à leurs agents et fondés de pouvoir sur place. La taille de leurs constructions et de leurs fondations supposait des mises de fonds très élevées, donc des liquidités et des transferts eux aussi fort coûteux. Les inventaires tels que ceux d'Edirne qu'a étudiés Ö. L. Barkan (1966), ainsi que les stipulations des *waqfiyya*-s posthumes, montrent qu'une proportion élevée de la fortune était thésaurisée sous forme de pièces d'or et d'argent, de lingots, d'armes précieuses, de bijoux de toute sorte. Ces trésors étaient destinés de toute évidence à parer aux exigences aléatoires de débours subits. H. Reindl-Kiel a ainsi étudié les dons au Trésor sultanien des grands personnages à l'occasion de la somptueuse fête pour la circoncision du prince Mehmed, en 1582 : ces dons (*pişkeş*) d'objets de grand luxe avaient un certain caractère obligatoire et Koca Sinan Pacha, alors grand vizir, y contribua naturellement plus que quiconque⁷⁹. Il ne s'agit là que de la partie visible d'une intense circulation de cadeaux et de pots-de-vin par lesquels se réglait l'âpre compétition

⁷⁸ NECİPOĞLU, 2005, p. 368b-371a. La *waqfiyya* date de fin *muḥarram* 1002/octobre 1595 : *ibid.*, p. 545, n. 485. Exemple voisin, *ibid.*, p. 418-419 : Sinan Pacha, frère cadet de Rüstem Pacha, grand amiral depuis 1548, laisse à sa mort en décembre 1554 un tiers de sa fortune en *waqf* ; une *waqfiyya* de 1562 chiffre ce tiers à 2 427 155 aspres ; auparavant, dans une première *waqfiyya* de juin 1554, il avait affecté divers biens immobiliers et 1,9 million d'aspres à sa future fondation.

⁷⁹ REINDL-KIEL, 2009, p. 43-45.

autour des postes les plus lucratifs et qui faisait par à-coups remonter vers le sommet de l'État une partie au moins des sommes que celui-ci versait à ses serviteurs. Les inventaires montrent aussi que les membres de l'élite politico-militaire pratiquaient relativement peu le crédit, de même que les opérations commerciales⁸⁰ ; ils plaçaient plutôt leur capital en immeubles ou terrains de rapport, fermes et cheptel vif ou mort, sage moyen d'accroître leur fortune ; il fait de la sorte peu de doute qu'à leurs yeux le seul moyen de faire fructifier rapidement les émoluments procurés par leur charge se trouvait dans le jeu politique.

Aussi importait-il extrêmement aux grands personnages de l'État de rester le plus longtemps possible en fonction. De ce point de vue les performances de Koca Sinan Pacha le situent au-dessus de tous ses contemporains : il fut *beglerbegi* un peu plus de huit ans, vizir un peu plus de six ans, grand vizir un peu moins de huit ans ; on peut avancer qu'il reçut durant sa carrière active au moins 20 millions d'aspres en *has* annuels cumulés, vraisemblablement autour de deux fois plus ; et un montant inconnu en cadeaux et pots-de-vin. Encore, à une époque où les charges s'achetaient très cher, dut-il entamer par cinq fois sa fortune pour accéder à la plus haute fonction. Les sommes qu'il réussit à accumuler durant sa carrière durent de ce fait être moins élevées que celles de ses grands prédécesseurs, tel Sokollu Mehmed Pacha, qui fut trois ans grand amiral, cinq ans *beglerbegi* de Rumeli, dix ans et demi vizir et un peu plus de quatorze ans sans discontinuer grand vizir.

Un autre biais permet de saisir l'ordre de grandeur de la fortune de Koca Sinan Pacha : le coût des constructions. À ce propos, un intéressant passage d'İbrahim Peçevi, cité par G. Necipoğlu, permet de se représenter la difficulté qu'éprouvaient même des gens bien informés à concevoir les très grandes fortunes du temps. L'historien (1574-*ca.* 1649/1650) se met en scène discutant avec deux anciens proches de Sokollu, dont son trésorier, sur la question de savoir si ce grand vizir touchait des pots-de-vin : non, lui répondent-ils, car son *has* de grand vizir, 16 millions d'aspres par an, et les dons occasionnels du sultan, par exemple 100 000 ducats pour son nouveau palais à l'Hippodrome, lui suffisaient. İbrahim Peçevi avance des estimations des dépenses causées par ses constructions : 100 millions d'aspres pour les deux palais

⁸⁰ Bien différents en cela des *re'aya*-s, chez lesquels les plus grandes fortunes étaient liées au crédit, comme l'observe pour Bursa à la fin du xv^e siècle İNALCIK, 1969, p. 109 ; cf. aussi p. 125-129 (Edirne, d'après BARKAN, 1966, notamment p. 460-471, tabl. 3, et p. 472, tabl. 4) ; cf. aussi p. 136-138.

d'Istanbul, 30 millions d'aspres pour la *küllîye* de Lüleburgaz⁸¹. Tout dans ces chiffres sent l'excès. L'étude de G. Necipoğlu, menée à partir de documents d'archives d'Istanbul, permet de connaître le coût total de diverses catégories d'édifices de prestige : la Süleymaniye d'Istanbul, probablement l'édifice le plus coûteux du siècle (54 millions d'aspres) ; de grandes mosquées princières (Zal Mustafa Pacha à Eyüp, 8 millions d'aspres, dont 1,25 million pour un caravansérail et des moulins à Filibe) ; un travail d'ingénierie exceptionnel, le pont de Büyükçekmece (11 millions d'aspres) ; une *küllîye* de province (Ali Pacha à Sarajevo, 433 000 aspres)⁸². En bref, il faut ôter un zéro aux évaluations de dépenses avancées par İbrahim Peçevi. Les ordres de grandeur sont de quelques dizaines à plusieurs centaines de milliers d'aspres pour un bâtiment monumental mais non exceptionnel – somme à la portée d'un *sancakbegi* heureux ou d'un *beglerbegi* – et de quelques millions d'aspres pour des édifices luxueux, réservés donc aux Grands. Ainsi, le hammam que Koca Sinan Pacha fit construire à Larende en 1575 lui coûta-t-il 220 000 aspres ; le Yalı Köşk (1591-1592), 3,7 millions d'aspres, encore n'assura-t-il qu'une partie de la dépense⁸³. À cette dernière exception près, aucun de ses bâtiments n'atteignait la magnificence des édifices quasi princiers de Rüstem Pacha ou de Sokollu : nous rendrons à ce dernier la palme du plus bâtisseur des grands vizirs et estimerons l'ordre de grandeur du coût total des édifices de Koca Sinan Pacha en millions d'aspres et non, comme ceux de Sokollu, en dizaines de millions d'aspres. Encore est-ce à la toute fin de sa vie, peut-être parce qu'il en sentait l'obligation en tant que grand vizir, que Koca Sinan Pacha se lança, à Istanbul, dans ses constructions les plus coûteuses.

LE PRIVÉ ET LE PUBLIC

À l'âge ottoman classique, les revenus des *waqf*-s des gouverneurs et des vizirs n'étaient que peu ou pas du tout destinés à leur famille. Les membres de cette dernière apparaissaient au mieux comme gérants de la

⁸¹ NECİPOĞLU, 2005, p. 345b-346a, d'après PEÇEVİ, 1864-1867, vol. 1, p. 11-12.

⁸² NECİPOĞLU, 2005, annexe 2, p. 562.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 563a ; détail des dépenses pour le Yalı Köşk dans NECİPOĞLU, 1991, p. 232b-234b.

fondation⁸⁴ ; on voit même, dans sa grande *waqfiyya* de Damas, Koca Sinan Pacha désigner comme *mutawallī* le plus capable de ses affranchis, puis les descendants mâles de ceux-ci et seulement par défaut ses propres descendants (cf. articles de B. Marino et de A. Meier dans ce dossier). Dans d'autres cas, la gérance était confiée au titulaire d'une fonction publique : à Damas, le *nāẓir* de son *waqf* est le mufti de la ville (*ibid.*). Le recours généralisé à de telles formules inversait la relation ordinaire du privé et du public, en intégrant le groupe domestique, puis les descendants du fondateur ou de ses affranchis, dans une vision plus vaste de l'intérêt public. L'étude de B. Marino dans ce dossier montre que cette intégration perdura aux siècles suivants et était donc bien constitutive des grandes fondations.

Sur cette question complexe de l'articulation du privé et du public⁸⁵ nous devons distinguer les deux sens ordinaires du mot « public » en français : ce qui se réfère à l'intérêt du plus grand nombre, concept parfaitement entendu du droit musulman et de la pensée politique qui lui était liée ; et ce qui relève de la conception moderne de l'État, comme ensemble pérenne d'institutions chargées en premier lieu des fonctions de souveraineté : conception qui, recherchée dans le langage du temps, y subit sous peine d'anachronisme de sévères modifications. L'absolutisme sultanien voyait dans ce que nous désignons par État un ensemble de personnes, serviteurs (*kul-s*) du sultan, assurant selon son bon plaisir des charges traditionnelles dans l'intérêt du plus grand nombre. Rien n'assure que cette vision ait été intimement partagée par tous. Mais il semble qu'à mesure qu'ils approchaient du centre du pouvoir, les *kul-s*, investis de plus hautes charges, pourvus de *has* plus élevés, devaient plus étroitement conformer leurs actions aux modèles et aux attentes de celui-ci. L'accumulation de richesses, les manières de les thésauriser ou de les dépenser et en particulier les bâtiments et les fondations, faisaient manifestement partie de cette sorte de noyau politique, puisque nous retrouvons les mêmes modèles au cours du demi-siècle ici étudié. Au reste, les fondateurs n'agissaient pas nécessairement seuls : les initiatives pouvaient être partagées ou déléguées. Ainsi Sokollu Mehmed Pacha fit-il des fondations majeures sur la fameuse *Via Egnatia*, la route de l'Adriatique à Istanbul par Salonique ; son lieutenant (*kahya*), Hüsrev Kethüda,

⁸⁴ KUNT, 1983, p. 55.

⁸⁵ Le caractère public des fondations des sultans et des hommes d'État a été défendu notamment dans BARKAN, AYVERDI, 1970, p. XVI.

commanda de son côté au grand Sinan un caravansérail à İpsala et fit édifier un hammam à Salonique⁸⁶. M. Hartmuth donne dans ce dossier un exemple de *waqf* délégué, repéré grâce à un passage d'Evliya Çelebi : un édifice financé par Koca Sinan Pacha et fondé en *waqf* au nom d'un tiers obscur. Öz (1946, n° 149) signale encore que le *wakıl* de Koca Sinan Pacha, Mehmed Aga, créa par un acte dressé à Erzurum un *waqf* pour la mosquée qu'il avait fondée à Hasankale. On pourra sans doute multiplier ces exemples discrets.

Les ressources affectées à l'entretien des *waqf*-s ou à l'édification des bâtiments qui les constituaient n'émanaient pas nécessairement de la fortune personnelle du fondateur. L'édification des complexes des princes et princesses ou des Grands était une affaire publique : commandes ou achats de matériel, emploi de main-d'œuvre, ordres d'acheminement abondent dans les *Mühimme Defterleri*⁸⁷. Des interventions légales pouvaient aussi être nécessaires pour autoriser la reconstruction sur un *waqf* ancien, faciliter des transferts entre *waqf*-s contigus ou solliciter du *seyhülislam* des fatwas qui permettent de trancher les litiges. Il arrivait encore que le souverain soutienne le projet par des dons de diverse nature. Si Koca Sinan Pacha ne semble pas avoir profité de telles largesses, sinon peut-être pour ses constructions de prestige des années 1589-1596, en revanche il sollicita, notamment pour ses *waqf*-s de Damas, plusieurs actes de *tamlık*, qu'il obtint et par lesquels des terres *miri* étaient transformées en propriété privée à fin de constitution en *waqf*. Le procédé, fréquent à l'âge ottoman classique, est la marque la plus évidente de l'absorption des démarches personnelles des fondateurs dans une politique plus large, puisque l'objet du *waqf* projeté devait certainement être exposé et défendu avant que le sultan ne consente à des aliénations définitives des revenus publics.

L'exemple le plus remarquable de politique de fondations pieuses est offert par Chypre, récemment étudiée par N. Yıldız. La conquête de l'île, grande affaire du règne de Selim II qui l'avait confiée à son ancien mentor Lala Mustafa Pacha, portait sur un territoire exclusivement chrétien. Le prestige sultanien commandait d'y dresser avec célérité les signes manifestes de l'inclusion de l'île dans le Dār al-islām. Après le débarquement ottoman en juillet 1570, la plus grande partie de Chypre était

⁸⁶ DEMETRIADES, 1996, p. 93 et n. 62.

⁸⁷ Exemple des *hükm*-s accompagnant la construction de la *külliye* de Sokollu Mehmed Pacha à Lüleburgaz en 1565-1570 dans NECİPOĞLU, 2005, p. 348.

conquise dès la mi-septembre et les opérations se concentrèrent sur le siège de Famagouste, jusqu'à la capitulation de cette place, le 1^{er} août 1571. Lala Mustafa Pacha, *serdar* durant toute cette période, fut chargé d'organiser l'ensemble de l'administration de l'île, ainsi que d'établir, au nom de Selim II, l'énorme *waqf* sultanien, dont le cœur était constitué par la cathédrale de Nicosie, convertie dès le 15 septembre 1570 en mosquée (Ayasofya ou Selimiye Camii), sur le modèle évident de la conquête de Constantinople. Les propriétés, très étendues, des églises et des Francs furent confisquées, celles estimées de meilleur revenu versées au *waqf* sultanien ou distribuées aux officiers qui, à leur tour, les fondèrent en *waqf*; à commencer par Lala Mustafa Pacha dont la fondation propre, appelée Ömeriye, était la seconde en taille de l'île, incluant tous les bâtiments requis pour l'ottomanisation de Nicosie comme de Famagouste : *han*-s, hammams, mosquées, *medrese*-s, adductions d'eau, etc. Ses fondations avaient obtenu l'autorisation du sultan, ce qui manifeste dans une mesure importante un plan d'ensemble, aussi bien symbolique que pratique ; les autres fondateurs, en majorité des officiers, contribuèrent de même à accroître les revenus des principaux bénéficiaires établis par le sultan et son *serdar*, à savoir les Lieux saints et les mosquées Ayasofya et Ömeriye à Nicosie⁸⁸. Chypre sans doute représente un cas exceptionnel que l'on ne saurait transposer tel quel aux situations qu'a connues Koca Sinan Pacha, puisque les conquêtes de celui-ci ont porté sur des territoires déjà musulmans, le Yémen et la Tunisie ; mais pour les dirigeants de l'État ottoman Chypre réalisait parfaitement un modèle d'action centralisée, dans laquelle les *waqf*-s du sultan et de ses principaux serviteurs composaient un ensemble coordonné et hiérarchisé.

Les discussions que suscitaient les projets de *waqf*, soit dans l'entourage du fondateur, soit dans les cercles du pouvoir, devaient porter sur le site choisi, la destination, l'emplacement et la magnificence des constructions. Les fondations les plus prestigieuses prenaient la forme de *küllîye* qui rassemblaient sur une même emprise édifices de rente et édifices bénéficiaires : les plus complets, tel celui de Lüleburgaz construit par le grand Sinan pour Sokollu, comprenaient une mosquée, une *medrese* ou une école primaire (*mekteb*), un caravansérail, une galerie marchande couverte (*arasta*), un hammam, un *imaret*, une fontaine ; l'association minimale se contentait, quant à elle, d'un oratoire (*mescid*) et de boutiques. Koca Sinan Pacha n'innova en rien dans ce domaine. Les aspects

⁸⁸ YILDIZ, 2009, p. 121-126, p. 129-131, p. 143-145.

les mieux étudiés de ses fondations s'insèrent dans des séries historiquement bien documentées, sorte de langage commun aux grands fondateurs. L'*imaret* aujourd'hui disparu de Kačanik, connu par la *waqfiyya* de 1586, présente une taille intermédiaire entre les *imaret*-s princiers et les petites fondations qui se multipliaient alors ; on y servait aussi une nourriture moins variée que dans les premiers, mais plus variée que dans les seconds⁸⁹. L'imposante *külliye* d'al-Quṭayfa, près de Damas, est centrée sur un énorme *ḥān* fortifié, dans la tradition des caravansérails d'étape ; les autres bâtiments du complexe, qui comprennent une mosquée de taille modeste, un *arasta* et un hammam, sont physiquement séparés du *ḥān* et paraissent bien juxtaposer à celui-ci l'intention de développer un centre permanent⁹⁰. Toutes les composantes des fondations représentaient en effet des signes urbains, indispensables pour distinguer les agglomérations choisies de simples villages ou de bourgades quelconques ; les fondateurs jouaient ainsi un rôle décisif dans le développement d'un maillage urbain, dont S. Faroqhi a montré qu'il était en plein essor en Anatolie au xvi^e siècle⁹¹. Leur action participe d'une géographie impériale conçue de manière consciente comme un réseau de routes majeures et de villes.

WAQF-S, ROUTES ET GRAND COMMERCE

Tout en reproduisant un modèle vizirial éprouvé, Koca Sinan Pacha s'en distingue peut-être par son insistance sur les routes du grand commerce. On peut y voir une simple raison économique : des fondations religieuses et charitables de grande importance, qui faisaient vivre quelques dizaines de personnes, voire plus, trouvaient plus aisément des revenus lucratifs dans des places de commerce fréquentées que dans des lieux reculés. Cependant les fondations de Koca Sinan Pacha présentent des caractéristiques plus précises. Elles sont toutes situées sur des routes majeures. À la fin du xvi^e siècle fonctionnait régulièrement un réseau de grandes routes (*kol*-s). Un registre de 1003/1594-1595, le BA KK 2555, conserve ainsi un « routier » indiquant les stations (*iskele*-s, *menzilhane*-s)

⁸⁹ KIEL, 2007, p. 109-114.

⁹⁰ CEZAR, 1983, p. 153-155 et p. 153, plan 103 ; ARNĀ'ŪT, 1994.

⁹¹ FAROQHI, 1984, p. 12-15, p. 11, carte 1, p. 13, carte 2, sur le réseau urbain anatolien ; chap. 1, « Commerce and Construction : Development of the Urban Business Centre », p. 23-48, sur le rôle essentiel des fondations d'édifices commerciaux dans le processus d'urbanisation.

et les temps estimés de chevauchée de l'une à l'autre, sur ces routes principales et leurs branches secondaires : il permet de se faire une idée précise de cette géographie impériale⁹². Or, en fondant des centres urbains (Kačanik) ou en les renforçant (Birecik, Hasankale), Koca Sinan Pacha, comme d'autres grands personnages avant lui, ne se contentait pas d'exploiter le mouvement du commerce, il contribuait de la manière la plus consciente à le développer et à le diriger. Malkara, à environ 190 km d'Istanbul, était la première étape après Rodosto (auj. Tekirdağ) sur la « route de gauche » (*sol kol*), la grande route de Rumeli par Salonique, qui reprenait le tracé de l'antique *Via Egnatia*⁹³. Kačanik occupait un point stratégique sur la route nord-sud reliant celle-ci à Üsküp et de là à Belgrade ou à Sarajevo. Uzuncaova était une étape sur l'*orta kol*, la voie médiane par Edirne, Filibe, Sofia et Belgrade. Birecik, un lieu de passage stratégique sur la route de Konya à Mossoul et l'Iraq. À ces interventions ponctuelles et dispersées s'ajoutent, chez Koca Sinan Pacha, des fondations géographiquement regroupées, sur lesquelles il faut s'attarder.

Comparons ses *waqf*-s syriens et égyptiens avec le grand ensemble établi par Sokollu Mehmed Pacha à Alep et à Payas, pérennisé par une *waqfiyya* de 1574. À Alep, Sokollu est le troisième des quatre grands personnages du XVI^e siècle – et le seul des quatre qui n'intervient pas comme *beglerbegi*, mais comme grand vizir – à marquer puissamment de son empreinte le remodelage du cœur de la ville. Tandis que les revenus de son *waqf* tentaculaire de 1574 sont répartis entre quatre mosquées alépine, le complexe de Payas, les Villes saintes et d'autres établissements, l'une des principales sources de revenus est assurée par un énorme *hân* en plein cœur de la vieille ville d'Alep, dont il est devenu une pièce essentielle sous le nom de *Hân al-ğumruk*⁹⁴. Le choix de construire parallèlement un grand complexe à Payas, au fond du golfe d'Alexandrette, s'explique par des raisons stratégiques : le château croisé de Payas avait été rebâti à partir de 1567 sur fonds publics et un arsenal installé à ses pieds, en vue de contribuer à la conquête projetée de Chypre. La transformation de Payas en port secondaire d'Alep dut être décidée dans la foulée, puisque dès 1568 débuta la construction du complexe ; Sokollu le commanda au célèbre Sinan et en fit l'un des principaux bénéficiaires du *waqf* de 1574. L'ensemble aggloméré de bâtiments, sis au pied même de

⁹² HEYWOOD, 1996, p. 131.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ WATENPAUGH, 2004, p. 94-114.

la citadelle de Payas, comprend un vaste *ḥān* articulé à un majestueux *arasta* sur lequel donnent les autres éléments : mosquée et *hankah/zaviye*, *imaret*, auberges (*tabhane-s*), hammam, *mekteb*. Sur le rivage, Sokollu acquit par donation royale un accostage dont les revenus furent intégrés à la fondation⁹⁵. H. Z. Watenpaugh a remarqué que dans l'ensemble de ses fondations, le complexe Alep-Payas tranche avec ses autres créations, « qui mettent en valeur des monuments prestigieux dans des sites bien en vue »⁹⁶. Or ce qui faisait figure d'exception devient, presque simultanément, un modèle avec Koca Sinan Pacha.

En effet celui-ci, tant en Égypte à partir au moins de 1573, qu'en Syrie à partir de 1581, conçoit – sans doute progressivement – deux programmes mettant en réseau des établissements liés au négoce et situés en des points différents des routes commerciales. Bien plus, contrairement à l'intervention de Sokollu à Alep, la localisation de ses bâtiments commerciaux commande celle des édifices religieux qu'il érige, avec une préférence marquée pour les entrées de ville ou de ports : la coupole de grande mosquée « à l'ottomane » de Būlāq⁹⁷ dominait le rivage jusqu'au début du XIX^e siècle ; la Sināniyya de Damas et son marché couvert étaient bien visibles pour ceux qui s'apprêtaient à entrer dans la ville intra-muros par la route du Sud ; le môle massif de la *wikāla* Sināniyya accueillait les regards des navires entrant dans la baie d'Alexandrie. En Égypte, ses fondations sont liées aux ports (Damiette, Suez, Quşayr) et participent du remodelage urbanistique du Caire et d'Alexandrie. Comme l'a établi N. Hanna, l'ensemble compact des bâtiments qu'il érige concourt à stabiliser le front du Nil de Būlāq, faubourg du Caire devenu au XV^e siècle le port septentrional de la ville, assurant le transit des marchandises en provenance et à destination de la Méditerranée⁹⁸. Gh. Alleaume montre dans ce dossier la part décisive qu'il joue dans l'urbanisation de la presqu'île d'Alexandrie, qui deviendra bientôt ce que l'on a coutume d'appeler « l'Alexandrie ottomane ».

⁹⁵ NECİPOĞLU, 2005, p. 355b-360b et p. 357, plan n° 344. Les études de référence du complexe de Payas sont dues à MÜDERRİSOĞLU, 1993 et 1995.

⁹⁶ WATENPAUGH, 2004, p. 111.

⁹⁷ Sur cette mosquée, cf. notamment SWELIM, 1993.

⁹⁸ HANNA, 1983, p. 7 et p. 14-17 sur les transformations de Būlāq au XV^e siècle ; p. 47-56 sur les constructions à Būlāq au XVI^e siècle ; p. 90-101 sur la Wikālat al-ḥarnūb, principal *ḥān* construit par Koca Sinan Pacha sous le nom de *al-ḥān al-kabīr* ; p. 93, fig. 14, plan de l'ensemble formé par la mosquée et les trois *ḥān-s* qu'il a édifiés. Il compléta ultérieurement cet ensemble en achevant la construction, avant de l'incorporer à son *waqf*, de l'énorme *ḥān*, le plus vaste de Būlāq, commencé par Hasan Pacha, gouverneur d'Égypte en 1580-1582 : *ibid.*, p. 36-37 et p. 37, n. 1 ; cf. BAYRAM, 1999, p. 167, K 16.

On rattachera à ce même esprit une fondation cette fois-ci syrienne de Koca Sinan Pacha. Son petit complexe d'Acre ('Akkā) daterait de 1586⁹⁹ ; il comprenait un *ḥān*, une *madrasa*, une petite mosquée parfaitement en évidence sur le rivage même du port, emplacement décidément en faveur auprès de Koca Sinan Pacha. Acre, systématiquement ruinée après la conquête de 1291, encore dominée par les imposants vestiges de l'époque franque, n'était à la fin du XVI^e siècle qu'un village (*qarya*), chef-lieu de *nāḥiya*, cependant siège d'un *qāḍī* et port mineur¹⁰⁰, à une époque où le littoral palestinien ne comptait qu'une seule ville, Gaza. La fondation de Koca Sinan Pacha serait la première du genre à Acre. Elle traduit incontestablement la volonté d'y développer, à une échelle encore modeste, des activités portuaires suivies, vraisemblablement comme simple débouché régional de la Galilée, puisqu'Acre n'était pas un débouché de route caravanière. On la rapprochera du très grand *ḥān*, appelé depuis *ḥān al-Frang*, qu'à une date inconnue Sokollu Mehmed Pacha fit bâtir à Saïda et qui fut intégré en 982/1574 à son *waqf* d'Alep. Cette énorme construction, la première du genre à Saïda, était conçue pour renforcer le rôle commercial de la ville comme principal port de Damas et du sud du Bilād al-Šām. Les Ottomans abandonnaient peu à peu la vieille politique mamelouke qui avait traité le littoral syrien comme une ligne de front et fait prévaloir les aménagements défensifs sur les intérêts commerciaux¹⁰¹. Au reste, le temps n'était pas encore venu d'une multiplicité d'échelles au Levant ; si Saïda prospéra au siècle suivant, la tentative de Koca Sinan Pacha à Acre, quant à elle, n'eut pas de succès et au début du XVIII^e siècle sa mosquée était encore la seule de la bourgade¹⁰².

En Syrie les principales fondations de Koca Sinan Pacha, les édifices damascènes de même que les *ḥān*-s majeurs de Sa'sa', 'Uyūn al-tuġġār, al-Quṭayfa et plus tard Zanbaqiyya, que M. Boqvist étudie dans ce dossier, participent du renforcement de la grande route nord-sud passant par Damas¹⁰³. Les actes de *tamlīk* très étendus que lui octroie Murad III montrent que ses desseins étaient partagés. Bien plus, ils semblent

⁹⁹ PETERSEN, 2001, p. 79b-81b et p. 80, fig. 7, plan de la mosquée, d'après STEPHAN, 1937, p. 93-94, et BAKHIT, 1982, p. 118. La mosquée d'Acre est mentionnée dans la *waqfiyya* datée de 996/1588 et un nouveau *ḥān*, un hammam, un four à pain, dans la *waqfiyya* de 1004/1596 (cf. respectivement BAYRAM, 1999, K 75, p. 170, et K 81/1, p. 171).

¹⁰⁰ PETERSEN, 2001, p. 71a, d'après HEYD éd., 1960, p. 81-82, p. 111, p. 129.

¹⁰¹ WEBER, 2010, p. 184, p. 187-188, p. 191-201.

¹⁰² PHILIPP, 2001, p. 25.

¹⁰³ Les routes de la Syrie ottomane ont été étudiées dans ABDEL NOUR, 1983, notamment p. 181-184. Carte de la grande route Damas-Le Caire dans HEYD, 1960, en regard de la page de titre.

s'inscrire dans une continuité où son rival Lala Mustafa Pacha aurait joué un rôle moteur. A. Meier a établi en effet que les étapes de la grande route d'Alep au Caire par Damas ont fait l'objet de fondations, successivement de la part de ce dernier à Qunayṭira (*waqfiyya*-s de 970/1562 et 984/1577), de son épouse Fatma Hatun à Jénine (984/1577), de Murad Çelebi Efendi, alors *defterdar* d'Alep, à Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān (date d'achèvement de son *hān* en 973/1566-1567, d'après inscription), enfin de Koca Sinan Pacha à Sa'sa', 'Uyūn al-Tuğğār (commencés en 1581) et al-Quṭayfa¹⁰⁴. La sollicitude princière pour Jérusalem et Damas s'était manifestée un peu plus tôt par deux énormes fondations, celle de Hürrem Sultan dans la première ville (documentée dès 1549) et celle du sultan Soliman dans la seconde (construite de 962/1554-1555 à 966/1558-1559)¹⁰⁵. Elles élargissaient le cadre plus général d'une rénovation des fondations souveraines dans les Villes saintes du Hedjaz, attestée depuis 1549¹⁰⁶; elles étaient centrées sur des *imaret*-s monumentaux et manifestaient un intérêt prioritaire pour le passage ou le séjour des pèlerins. Le renforcement de la route du *hağğ*, à l'est du Jourdain, fut décidé en 976/1559 avec l'édification de quatre forteresses. Puis dans la décennie suivante, à la demande de *sancakbegi*-s et parfois de *qādī*-s locaux, on procéda de même au renforcement d'étapes sur la route médiane Damas-Le Caire par l'intérieur de la Palestine, dont une branche secondaire permettait de visiter Jérusalem et Hébron: ainsi fortifia-t-on Jénine en 972/1564, Rās al-'Ayn en 987/1579 et 'Uyūn al-Tuğğār en 989/1581¹⁰⁷. Cette route médiane, plus facile à contrôler que la route littorale, offrait de multiples possibilités au commerce interrégional. L'État intervenait directement pour construire des citadelles ou fortifier des *hān*-s préexistants, tandis que les constructions de nouveaux caravansérails ou d'autres facilités aux pèlerins et marchands étaient apparemment laissées à l'initiative privée. C'est dans cette perspective que l'on peut situer les interventions de Lala Mustafa Pacha et de Murad Çelebi Efendi, l'un et l'autre alors personnages de second rang, mais certes fort ambitieux – le second fut nommé *başdefterdar* après son poste à Alep.

¹⁰⁴ MEIER, 2007, p. 135-138.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 129 et p. 138. La *takiyya* de Jérusalem a été étudiée par SINGER, 2002. Le projet de *waqf* de Hürrem Sultan à Jérusalem remonte au moins à novembre 1549 (premiers paiements) et à mai 1550 (premières donations foncières du sultan à son épouse dans la région); cf. *ibid.*, p. 44-46, p. 68, p. 107.

¹⁰⁶ NECİPOĞLU, 2005, p. 276b et p. 278a.

¹⁰⁷ BAKHIT, 1982, p. 97-98. Sur les forteresses de la route du *hağğ* au sud de Damas, cf. en dernier lieu PETERSEN, 2008.

Koca Sinan Pacha reprit l'idée presque tout de suite après la mort de Lala Mustafa Pacha (1580), auquel il succédait à plus d'un titre. Les documents traduits par U. Heyd (1960) et analysés dans ce dossier par M. Boqvist évoquent des requêtes remontant des autorités locales, qui alertaient sur le danger bédouin dans les localités considérées et que le sultan traduisit en ordres adressés au nouveau grand vizir, Koca Sinan Pacha. Le caractère public de la commande était souligné par les avances que ce dernier trouverait auprès du trésor de Damas, à charge pour lui de le rembourser ultérieurement. Les trois *hān*-s fortifiés qu'il fit bâtir très rapidement participent d'un programme systématique que ne manifestaient pas les interventions ponctuelles de ses prédécesseurs ; surtout, comme en Égypte, ils s'insèrent dans un vaste ensemble qui articule édifices de prestige, de bienfaisance et de commerce, tant aux étapes de la route majeure de Syrie-Palestine que dans le chef-lieu de la province, Damas, où, là encore, il privilégie explicitement la route des caravanes. Ainsi, d'une conception princière statique et très urbaine, liée aux *haram šarīf*-s de Palestine et aux centres de rassemblement du *hağğ*, est-on passé à une vision linéaire d'une route dont la vocation commerciale est comprise de la manière la plus concrète. De même, plus tard (*waqfiyya* de 998/1589-1590, Öz, 1946, n° 250) Koca Sinan Pacha établit-il un caravansérail et un *imaret*, aujourd'hui disparus, à Zanbaqiyya, première étape sur la route de Ġisr al-Šuğūr à Antioche. Au XVI^e siècle la route principale, à la fois des caravanes et du *hağğ*, qui reliait l'Anatolie à Damas, passait par Payas, Alexandrette, Alep et Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān ; l'initiative de Koca Sinan Pacha portait sur un itinéraire alternatif, évitant Alep, qui connut un plein succès au XVII^e siècle¹⁰⁸.

Koca Sinan Pacha comprenait parfaitement la nécessité pour l'État de renforcer le négoce : bien plus, comme le souligne M. Boqvist dans ce dossier, il y prenait une part active. On sait que le commerce des épices par la mer Rouge, d'abord sévèrement réduit par le blocus des Portugais, avait repris avec vigueur depuis le milieu du XVI^e siècle¹⁰⁹. Il n'y a guère de doute que Koca Sinan Pacha y prit part : il possédait des bateaux sur la mer Rouge¹¹⁰. Or, dans les années 1570, le gouvernement de Sokollu Mehmed Pacha considérait ce genre d'activités, dans lesquelles il lui revenait que beaucoup de fonctionnaires étaient engagés, comme une

¹⁰⁸ ABDEL NOUR, 1983, p. 183-184.

¹⁰⁹ Article fondateur de LANE, 1939-1940 ; cf. aussi STEENSGARD, 1974.

¹¹⁰ HANNA, 1998, p. 107 et p. 186, n. 7, d'après Le Caire, Archives nationales, Bāb al-‘ālī, vol. 31, p. 57, n° 298 (en 976/1568) et vol. 59, p. 268, n° 1027-1028 (en 1001/1592).

concurrence déloyale envers les négociants privés¹¹¹. G. Casale a montré récemment que durant cette décennie, les Ottomans cherchaient à resserrer leur contrôle sur le commerce des épices : à la désignation de ports de transit obligatoires pour les négociants privés (Mokha, Jeddah, Suez) s'ajouta l'envoi de galères publiques qui, à Mokha, chargeaient des cargaisons d'épices convoyées directement à Istanbul libres de droits. Cette politique prit fin lorsqu'en 1582 le gouverneur d'Égypte reçut licence de vendre ces cargaisons publiques aux négociants francs à Alexandrie¹¹². Il est tentant de lier l'expansion résultante du port d'Alexandrie, qui profitait à fond de la renaissance du commerce des épices par la mer Rouge, avec le programme urbanistique de Koca Sinan Pacha dans cette ville. De même fit-il construire à Suez une *wikāla* que le voyageur F. Pigafetta, de passage dans la région en 1577, décrit comme « sûrement l'ornement de Suez »¹¹³.

Plusieurs des constructions de Koca Sinan Pacha sont bâties au fil de l'eau et placées de manière à être vues de loin : la grande mosquée et les *hān-s* de Būlāq, le grand *hān* d'Alexandrie, le petit complexe du port d'Acre, les deux somptueux kiosques au pied de la colline du palais de Topkapı. Ces deux derniers témoignent d'un goût alors partagé, dont, sur le rivage d'Üsküdar, dans les mêmes années, le grand architecte Sinan laissa un autre merveilleux témoignage avec la *küllîye* de Şemsi Ahmed Pacha, achevée en 988/1580-1581. Peut-être le rapprochement entre tous ces édifices est-il le fruit du hasard. Il témoigne en tout cas d'un sentiment partagé de sécurité, sans lequel on n'aurait pas songé à bâtir richement dans les lieux les plus exposés. Et de fait Koca Sinan Pacha n'édifia que dans les provinces les mieux protégées, fort loin du théâtre des guerres dans lesquelles il avait eu une grande part. Ses édifices au bord de l'eau s'inscrivent dans une attention plus générale portée aux abords des agglomérations, que l'on retrouve au premier chef à Damas : dans une esthétique faisant de la ville un décor non pas statique mais dynamique, s'adressant de ce fait plutôt aux familiers de la mobilité, marchands, transporteurs, pèlerins, militaires, administrateurs, qu'aux résidents permanents. Sans chercher à imposer ici un prototype restrictif, il faut reconnaître l'homogénéité globale des choix de Koca Sinan Pacha. Ses préfé-

¹¹¹ CASALE, 2010, p. 182, citant BA, *Mühimme Defteri* 27, p. 164, n° 263.

¹¹² CASALE, 2009, p. 68-70 et p. 80-81 ; CASALE, 2010, p. 139-147, p. 156-157, p. 182-183.

¹¹³ PIGAFETTA, 1910, p. 304, cité dans CASALE, 2010, p. 156.

rences allaient nettement à des emplacements visibles, sur les routes commerciales majeures les mieux gardées. Ses fondations prennent généralement l'aspect de complexes dans lesquels les édifices commerciaux occupent la première place ; parmi eux, le caravansérail à cour fermée (*hān*) plutôt que la galerie couverte (*arasta*). De tels choix supposent un savoir géographique, politique et économique étendu. Koca Sinan Pacha fut un grand fondateur, mû par une conscience impériale.

Le spectacle d'un homme attaché à dilater son action à l'échelle d'un empire a quelque chose de fascinant. Cependant toute tentative de dégager une cohérence dans l'énorme ensemble de fondations accumulées et retouchées pendant près de vingt-cinq ans, achoppe sur plusieurs points. En dépit des jugements de ses contemporains, la personnalité propre de Koca Sinan Pacha se distingue malaisément d'un milieu d'hommes d'État travaillé alors par la plus forte émulation ; des enquêtes plus poussées sur les fondations de ses rivaux s'imposent ici. Il est par ailleurs impossible d'extraire son individualité du cercle compact de conseillers, hommes de confiance, secrétaires, comptables et autres qui l'assistaient, dont nous ne savons pour l'instant que peu de choses. Surtout, les *waqf*-s étaient intrinsèquement destinés à durer : c'est cet aspect qui est le plus susceptible de découvertes nouvelles. Conçues comme de complexes entreprises économiques, les fondations supposaient une réflexion approfondie sur les conditions propices à des ressources stables, voire en expansion. Or beaucoup des *waqf*-s de Koca Sinan Pacha réussirent. Il avait su profiter à fond des moyens immenses d'un empire dans sa plénitude et mourut juste avant que des crises graves ne déchirent celui-ci ; sa mort, en dénouant l'unité des « *waqf*-s de Koca Sinan Pacha », libérait chacun de ceux-ci comme une entité singulière, dont, pour la société locale et sous la supervision des plus hautes autorités, l'enjeu essentiel était désormais la reproduction.

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Nicolas MICHEL, *Les waqf-s d'un homme d'État ottoman dans la seconde moitié du XVI^e siècle : essai de synthèse*

Cet essai de synthèse se propose d'évaluer l'originalité des fondations de Koca Sinan Pacha, en les comparant à celles de ses prédécesseurs et de ses concurrents aux plus hautes fonctions de l'Empire ottoman, du milieu à la fin du XVI^e siècle. Koca Sinan Pacha ne s'est pas distingué de ses rivaux par les moyens qu'il a mobilisés pour promouvoir sa gloire ; sa réputation *post mortem* s'attacha surtout à son immense fortune et à ses très nombreux *waqf-s*. L'article montre la prégnance du modèle illustré par Rüstem Pacha et Sokollu Mehmed Pacha dans la constitution progressive d'un ensemble de *waqf-s* enrichis et modifiés avec le temps. Il explore les liens entre la carrière de Koca Sinan Pacha, la chronologie et la géographie de ses fondations ; il souligne le rôle majeur tenu, dans ses choix d'implantation, par les grandes routes commerciales et leur fort impact attendu au niveau local ; l'originalité de ses établissements égyptiens et syriens, conçus en réseau. Il discute l'insertion de ces *waqf-s*, au caractère manifestement public comme ceux des autres hommes d'État de son temps, dans une politique pensée à l'échelle de l'Empire.

Nicolas MICHEL, *The waqfs of an Ottoman Statesman in the Second Half of the 16th Century : a Tentative Synthesis*

This paper aims at assessing the original character of Koca Sinan Pasha's foundations, by comparing them to those of his predecessors in and competitors for the highest offices of the Ottoman Empire, during the second half of the 16th century. Koca Sinan Pasha did not seek to promote his glory more than his rivals did ; he owes his *post mortem* reputation to his enormous fortune, and to his numerous *waqfs*. This article demonstrates the influence of the pattern applied by Rüstem Pasha and Sokollu Mehmed Pasha in the progressive establishment of a number of *waqfs* which later on grew richer or changed in other ways. It explores the links between Koca Sinan Pasha's professional path and his foundations' chronology and geographical distribution. It highlights the major weight of great trade routes and their locally expected great impact to his location decision-making procedure. It also focuses on the original character of the *waqfs* he established in Egypt and Syria, which had been conceived to operate as a network. It discusses the insertion of these foundations – which, as the ones established by the other statesmen of his time, showed a public character – into an Empire-scale conceived policy.

THE CHARITIES OF A GRAND VIZIER:
TOWARDS A COMPARATIVE APPROACH
TO KOCA SINÂN PASHA'S
ENDOWMENT DEEDS
(989-1004/1581-1596)

"He was a strange person (bir ġarib şahş idi)"

Muṣṭafâ 'Âlî on Koca Sinân Pasha (1599)¹

Koca Sinân Pasha died on 5 *sha'bân* 1004 (3 Apr. 1596) when acting for the fifth time as grand vizier of the Ottoman Empire.² He was one of the most illustrious and colourful public characters of the Ottoman world in the second half of the 16th century, for some historians even "one of the most villainous figures in Ottoman history".³ Muṣṭafâ 'Âlî, who was certainly not a friend of Koca Sinân Pasha, described him as "a strange person, opinionated, selfish, unsociable, and pronouncedly stubborn".⁴

Born in Albania, he – like several of his brothers, most prominently Ayâs Pasha (d. 967/1559-1560) – made a career in the sultan's service.⁵

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¹ TIETZE ed., 1975, p. 72/162.

² FLEISCHER, 1986, p. 164, n. 69.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

⁴ TIETZE ed., 1975, p. 72; for Muṣṭafâ 'Âlî, cf. FLEISCHER, 1986 and SCHMIDT, 1994.

⁵ For biographies and the stations of his career, cf. BABINGER, DÁVID, 1997; for other references, cf. the extensive biography by N. Michel in this volume.

His career spanned the reign of three sultans: Selim II (d. 1574), Murâd III (d. 1595) and Mehmed III's first months (d. 1603). As grand vizier, he played an important role in the intrigues of the Palace in the capital and had to spend several periods in exile in Dimetoka (today Dydimoticho) and Malkara, Thrace.⁶ It seems that he was also connected to the ruling dynasty by his marriage to a granddaughter of Sultan Selim I that gave him the position of a distant *damad*.⁷

Known as the conqueror (*fâtih*) of both Yemen (976-977/1569-1570) and Tunis (981/1574), his military and administrative career led him to places throughout the Ottoman Empire, from his native Albania to Istanbul, Egypt, Yemen, the Hejaz, Syria, North Africa, Anatolia and the Balkans, and even beyond, to Georgia, Hungary, Baghdad and the regions bordering Safavid Iran (Tabriz, Urumiye, Van). In many – yet not all – of these places, Koca Sinân Pasha left material traces that have kept his name alive till today. The list of buildings associated with this notorious statesman is long and impressive.⁸ The image of a builder was a central feature of his public persona. A Damascene biographer of 10th/16th-century prominent men, Najm al-Dîn al-Ghazzî (d. 1651), begins his entry on Sinân Pasha in the following way: “Yûsuf b. ‘Abd Allâh, Sinân Pasha the grand vizier, a man of so many good deeds and pious works that it is said: ‘He built forty Friday mosques (...) throughout the Ottoman realms other than [a considerable number of] bridges and caravanserais’.”⁹ The Damascene biographer Muḥammad al-Muḥibbî (d. 1699) spoke even of nearly 100 buildings attributed to the grand vizier and praised him not only as “the greatest builder among Ottoman viziers, but also the most beneficial for the people (*akthar wuzarâ’ âl ‘uthmân âthâr^{an} wa-a’zamu-hum naf^{an} li-l-nâs*)”.¹⁰

The contradictory images surrounding this “strange person”, described as “selfish and unsociable” on the one hand and as one of the greatest

⁶ For the factions and their intrigues, cf. among many others PEIRCE, 1993; NECİPOĞLU, 2005, p. 281; BÖREKÇİ, 2010; CASALE, 2010; TEZCAN, 2010.

⁷ ALDERSON, 1956, table XXIX, “Selim and his family”; PEIRCE, 1993, p. 246-247. Mehmed Süreyya, however, describes Sinân's widow in the entry of her second husband Güzelce Mahmud Pasha as a granddaughter of Bâyezîd II through his son Şehzâde Ahmed; cf. MEHMED SÜREYYA, 1996, vol. 3, p. 926.

⁸ The existing listings are incomplete; cf. ÖZ, 1946; EYİCE, 1973, p. 333, and BAYRAM, 1999, p. 164-167.

⁹ GHAZZÎ, 1981, vol. 2, p. 714-716; quoted by PASCUAL, 1983, p. 35; for the Egyptian context, cf. also “Sinân Pasha şâhib al-khayrât wa-l-‘imârât” in SHARQÂWÎ, 1996, p. 116.

¹⁰ MUḤIBBÎ, n. d., vol. 2, p. 214.

benefactors, maybe even a philanthropist on the other, warrant further investigation. The aim of this article is to explore the ways in which a more comprehensive approach to Koca Sinân Pasha's Empire-wide endowment making may profit from a close reading of the various kinds of documents related to it. A comparative perspective has already been used by Muḥammad al-Arnâ'ût in his study of the *waqf* deeds for Syria and the Balkans.¹¹ He concentrated on the role of Koca Sinân Pasha's constructions in the urban development of these different geographical and historical settings.

The focus of this article are the personal networks that come to light by investigating Koca Sinân Pasha's endowing activities in order to come to a better understanding of factors which influenced the Empire-wide reach of these undertakings. I'll start with a short chronological overview and then discuss how one should situate the available documentation. In the following paragraphs, three topics are to be examined in more detail: first, the financing of the building activities and how it impacted on Koca Sinân Pasha's career and vice versa; second, the self-presentation of the founder as projected in the endowment deeds, in order to outline the aspects of the public persona he wanted to present by his good deeds; and third, three specific points of comparison which are the registration process, the stipulations in view of the future administration of his foundations and some general remarks about the groups who were to benefit from his endowments.

CHRONOLOGY AND DOCUMENTATION

A comprehensive history of Koca Sinân Pasha's endowments during his lifetime and beyond remains to be written.¹² This history seems to be as chequered as that of the founder himself, and it was impacted by the ups and downs of his political career. The details of the initial phase of the *waqf*-making path are also difficult to trace because Koca Sinân

¹¹ ARNÂ'ÛT, 1994.

¹² There are a number of studies dedicated to single endowments or to various aspects of their history; for Egypt, cf. HANNA, 1983; SWELIM, 1993; BEHRENS-ABOUSEIF, 1994; for the Syrian lands, cf. SAUVAGET, 1937; HEYD, 1960; ABDEL NOUR, 1983; PASCUAL, 1983; ARNÂ'ÛT ed., 1993; ARNÂ'ÛT, 1994; KAFESCİOĞLU, 1999; cf. KIEL, 2001; MEIER, 2007; for the Balkans; cf. KIEL, 1990, 2001, 2007; for Istanbul, cf. NECİPOĞLU, 2005; for Bursa-Yenişehir, cf. REYHANLI, 1978.

Pasha evidently saw endowing as an ongoing process and his endowments appear therefore as a genuine “work in progress”, as aptly put by N. Michel (cf. his article in this volume). According to the documentation known at this stage of research (cf. Table I), Koca Sinân Pasha established his first endowment in Egypt during his second turn as governor, after his return from Yemen and Hejaz, in 980/1573. This foundation was to be modified in several steps, by additions and alterations in the years 984/1576-1577, 989/1581, 996/1588 and 999/1591.¹³ Shortly before his death in 1004/1596, Koca Sinân Pasha had nearly all of his foundations – exceptions are the clusters of Egypt and Istanbul – reconfirmed in a series of registration acts that bring together earlier drafts in a more definite form. This is explicitly stated in the document relating to the Syrian endowments in the following way: “a full and comprehensive deed that abrogates stipulations registered before in earlier documents so that one should proceed according to [this deed] and to what it prescribes from this moment on.”¹⁴

In this registration process, the foundations were geographically grouped in seven clusters listed by S. Bayram as “Syria (Shâm)”, “Bursa-Yenişehir”, “Selânik” (today Thessaloniki), “Erzurum”, “Uzuncaova-Filiba”, “Malatya” and “Malkara”.¹⁵ In the following, I will refer to this clustering with the addition of “Egypt”, “Kačanik-Prishtina” and “Istanbul-Üsküdar” when looking at the different stages of Koca Sinân Pasha’s endowment activities.

It is important to note that, like most of the literature pertaining to Sinân Pasha’s foundations, this article is not based on the original endowment deeds, *waqfiyyas* in the strict sense of the term. Most of the documents listed in Table 1 are “copies” (*şûra*) from the qadi’s registers of earlier deeds or additions of different kinds (*ilhâq*, *ziyâda*; *dhayl*, *idâfa*, ‘*ilâwa/ilâve*)¹⁶ to the original endowments. All these categories of jurid-

¹³ For a detailed history of the Egyptian endowment, cf. the article by Gh. Alleaume in this volume.

¹⁴ [...] *kitâb kâmil shâmil yansakh mâ taqaddama min al-shurûṭ al-muḥarrara fî l-kutub al-awâ’il wa-yu’mal ba’d hâdhâ bi-mûjibihi wa-bi-muqtaḍâhu* (ARNÂ’ÛṬ ed., 1993, p. 127).

¹⁵ BAYRAM, 1999, p. 170.

¹⁶ In strict juristic parlance, in respect to the rights of an endower to modify his/her foundation, often called the “ten conditions (*al-shurûṭ al-‘ashara*)”, *ilhâq* refers to an addition of assets, *ziyâda* to an addition of beneficiaries or the modification of salaries, whereas *dhayl*, *idâfa* and ‘*ilâwa/ilâve* (apparently used by the Ottomans as a rare equivalent of the Arabic *dhayl*), seem to be rather unspecific; cf. ABÛ ZAHRA, 1972, p. 158-168.

Table 1 : Documents relating to Koca Sinân Pasha's endowments (from 980/1572 to 1012/1603-1604)

KOCA SINÂN PASHA'S CAREER STEP Registration date (Hijri/CE)	Locations	Registration/ Confirmation	<i>Tughra</i>	Reference
GOVERNOR, EGYPT				
980/1573	Bûlâq, Qur'ân readings in Mekka, Quds, Bursa (?), Damietta, Quşayr	(Egypt?)		Öz, 1946, n° 172
6TH VIZIER, SERDÂR TUNIS				
981/1573, 1D <i>rajab</i> /Oct.-Nov.	Yenişehir : beginning of <i>imâret</i> construction	Qadi, Yenişehir		Öz, 1946, n° 242 ; Reyhanlı, 1978, p. 395
VIZIER				
983/1575	Bûlâq : reparation of shops			Öz, 1946, n° 173A
984/1576-1577, <i>shawwâl</i> /Dec.-Jan.	Bûlâq : <i>dhayl</i>			Egypt, Wizârat al-awqâf, n° 2869
987/1579	Document relating to Bûlâq		Murâd III	Öz, 1946, n° 174
GRAND VIZIER I				
988/1580	Istanbul (mostly Kasımpaşa), Üsküdar, Bursa-Yenişehir	<i>Kadıasker</i> R.	Murâd III	Öz, 1946, n°s 64-65 ; Bayram, 1999, K.72
	Hasankale : <i>cami</i>	<i>Taşlıq qâdı</i> , Erzurum	Murâd III	Öz, 1946, n° 149
988-989/1580-1581	Birecik : <i>ilhâq</i>	?	?	<i>Ibid.</i> , n°s 5-11
989/1581, 3D <i>shawwâl</i> /Nov.	Bûlâq	<i>Kadıasker</i> A.+R.	Murâd III	Egypt, Wizârat al-awqâf, n° 2869 ; Bayram, 1999, K.16/1
OUT OF OFFICE				
994/1586, 6 <i>rajab</i> /23 June	Kaçanık, Prishtina	Qadi, Üskülb		Kaleşi ed., 1972 ; Bayram, 1999, K.61

KOCA SINÂN PASHA'S CAREER STEP Registration date (Hijri/CE)		Locations	Registration/ Confirmation	<i>Tughra</i>	Reference
GOVERNOR, SHÂM					
996/1587-1588	995-996/1586-1587	Shâm : <i>şîra</i> , parts	<i>Tasdiq waqf</i> inspector, Shâm		Öz, 1946, n° 193
	20 <i>rabî' II</i> /18 Feb.	Bûlâq, Quşayr, Alexandria : <i>dhayl</i>	<i>Tasdiq qâdî</i> , Shâm		Bayram, 1999, K.16/2 ; Behrens-Abouseif, 1994, p. 201
	1D <i>rabî' II</i> /Feb.	Istanbul, Üsküdar, Bursa-Yenişehir, Mihaliççık, Malkara, Shâm, 'Akkâ	<i>Tasdiq qâdî</i> , Shâm		Bayram, 1999, K.75
	n. d.	Shâm	<i>Tasdiq qâdî</i> , Shâm + <i>muftî</i>		Öz, 1946, n°s 190-192
(997, <i>rabî' II</i> /March 1589-998, <i>sha'bán</i> /June 1590) *		Malkara	<i>Kadıasker R.</i>		Haase, 1991, p. 134
GRAND VIZIER II					
998/1589-1590	-	Tabriz, Van, Urumiye : <i>maîşûlât</i>		Murâd III	Öz, 1946, n° 210
	3D <i>rabî' II</i> /Feb.-March	Istanbul, Üsküdar, Bursa-Yenişehir, Mihaliççık		Murâd III	Bayram, 1999, K.77
	1D <i>jumâdâ II</i> /Apr.	Zanbaqiyya : <i>waqfiyya</i>	<i>Kadıasker R.</i>	Murâd III	Öz, 1946, n° 250 ; Bayram, 1999, K.80
999/1590-1591	n. d.	Istanbul (Kasımpaşa) : <i>mubâdala</i>		Murâd III	Öz, 1946, n° 74
	1D <i>rabî' II</i> /Jan.-Feb.	Bûlâq, Alexandria etc. : <i>dhayl</i>	<i>Kadıasker R.</i>		Bayram, 1999, K.16/3
EXILE (11 SHAWWÂL 999/2 AUG. 1591)					
999/1591, <i>dhîl l-qa'dar</i> /Aug.-Sep.		" <i>Emr-i zabt-i evkaf-i Şam ve Safed ve Üsküb ve Dukakin ve Anadolu ve Erzurum</i> "			<i>Mihimme Defteri</i> 68, p. 7, after Uzunçarşılı, 1954, p. 341-342, n. 2

KOCA SINÂN PASHA'S CAREER STEP Registration date (Hijrî/CE)	Locations	Registration/ Confirmation	<i>Tughra</i>	Reference
(999, <i>jumâdâ II</i> /Apr. 1591-1000, <i>sha'bán</i> /June 1592*)	Malkara	<i>Kadıasker R.</i>		Haase, 1991, p. 134
GRAND VIZIER V				
1004/1595-1596	n. d.	Istanbul, Üsküdar : <i>şûra</i>	Mehmed III	Bayram, 1999, K.73
	n. d.	Malatya	Mehmed III	<i>Ibid.</i> , K.81/6
1D <i>jumâdâ II</i> /Jan.	Uzuncaova, Filibe : <i>şûra</i>	(<i>Kadıasker R.</i>) <i>muqâbala qassâm</i> 'askarî Filibe + Gelibolu	Mehmed III	Schwarz, Kurio ed., 1983 ; Öz, 1946, n ^{es} 214-215 ; Bay- ram, 1999, K.81/5
1D <i>jumâdâ II</i> /Feb.	Shâm	(<i>Kadıasker R.</i>)	Mehmed III	Arnâ'ût ed., 1993 ; Bayram, 1999, K.81/1
<i>jumâdâ II</i> /Feb.	Bursa-Yenişehir, Mihaliççik	(<i>Kadıasker R.</i>)	Mehmed III	Bayram, 1999, K.81/2
1D <i>jumâdâ II</i> /Feb.	Selânik	(<i>Kadıasker R.</i>)		<i>Ibid.</i> , K.81/3
1D <i>jumâdâ II</i> /Feb.	Erzurum	(<i>Kadıasker R.</i>)	Mehmed III	<i>Ibid.</i> , K.81/4
1D <i>rajab</i> /March	Malkara : <i>ilhâq</i>	<i>Kadıasker R.</i>	Mehmed III	Haase, 1991, p. 135 ; Bayram, 1999, K.81/7
POSTHUMOUSLY				
1005/1596, 4 <i>rabî' I</i> /26 Oct.	<i>Tasîl waqfiyya</i> of 1004	<i>Kadıasker R.</i>	Mehmed III	Bayram, 1999, K.70
1006/1597-1598	Istanbul (Galata), Üsküdar	<i>Kadıasker R.</i>		Öz, 1946, n ^o 84
1012/1603-1604	Lifting of confiscation mea- sures			Heyd, 1960, p. 188-189 ; Uzunçarşılı, 1954, p. 341, n. 2

* Probable dates of the original Malkara *waqf* according to the terms in office of the signing *kadıasker* of Rumelia, Zekeriyâ Efendi ; cf. also Atıl, 2009, p. 505.

D = first, second or third decade of a month

A. = *Anadolı*

R. = *Rumeli*

ical acts are often abbreviated in form and contents, leaving out details that would be of utmost importance for an investigation of the texts. This article can therefore be only a first step and does not pretend to be conclusive and comprehensive.

Unfortunately, it was not even possible to consult all the listed documents as most are available in manuscript form only. Four edited *waqf* documents serve as a basis for this tentative approach towards a comprehensive vision of Koca Sinân Pasha's endowment deeds. They are, in chronological order, the deed of 994/1586 for Kačanik and Prishtina, edited by H. Kaleši (ed., 1972); and three documents stemming from the 1004/1596 registration process: first a copy of the Uzuncaova deed, edited by Kl. Schwarz and H. Kurio (ed., 1983); second a summary one by the Shâm cluster, which is available in two editions, a defective one by an anonymous editor (*Waqf Sinân Pasha*), and the more reliable one by M. al-Arnâ'ût (ed., 1993); it is based on two copies made from the court registers in 1312/1895, preserved today in the Asad Library in Damascus (ms. n^{os} 11213 and 11253); third a document relating to an addition (*ilhâq*) to the Malkara cluster, edited by Cl.-P. Haase (1991). The Egyptian deeds have not yet been edited, but much of their content is evident from the early summary given by the Egyptian historian 'Alî Pacha Mubârak (d. 1893) and the scholarly literature that made use of the manuscript preserved in the Awqâf Ministry (*hujjat waqf Sinân Pasha*, Wizârat al-awqâf, n^o 2869).¹⁷ Because it is my own field of specialisation, Damascus and the Shâm cluster will serve as a kind of red line in the analysis of these five geographically defined endowment clusters of Koca Sinân Pasha, ignoring the important clusters of Istanbul, Edirne, Bursa-Yenişehir and probably more marginal endowments like those in Tabriz, Van and Urumiyya.

THE FINANCING OF KOCA SINÂN PASHA'S ENDOWMENTS

Koca Sinân Pasha's "enthusiasm for building" (after S. Faruqi's "Baulust")¹⁸ was deemed bordering on the excessive even in his own time and was the cause of several interventions of the sultan himself. In

¹⁷ MUBÂRAK, 1886-1888, part 5, p. 19-20; part 6, p. 69; BEHRENS-ABOUSEIF, 1994, p. 200-202; HANNA, 1983, p. 36-38. For a detailed presentation of the document, cf. the article by Gh. Alleaume in this volume.

¹⁸ FARUQI, 1967, p. 136.

a number of his writs to his sovereign (*telhis*), Sinân Pasha had to clarify the sources of his fabulous wealth, to account for his use of state funds and justify the background of his endowments.¹⁹

To our knowledge, Koca Sinân Pasha started endowing in Egypt, during his second turn as governor. By that time, he was a successful military leader and servant of the state and thus had a considerable income by the control of state revenues, at least as long as he was in office. Koca Sinân Pasha, however, also seems to have made a substantial fortune by investing in the Red Sea and Indian Ocean spice trade.²⁰ He was recently labelled a “new breed of government official” by G. Casale because he combined the roles of private investor and servant of the state in ways that were unheard-of before.²¹ The governor took advantage of his political position and connections and did not respect the privileges of the spice merchants.²² In this way, he is said to have helped undermine the system of “soft empire” established by his patron Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, but on the short term he seems to have profited enormously from his investments in ships and trade facilities.²³

Even in this still early stage of his political ascendancy, Koca Sinân Pasha seems not to have respected boundaries. Whatever lines separated the private from the public in his time, in his entrepreneurship they became more blurred. He repeatedly trespassed on the rights of others, individuals, groups or institutions, which induced his enemies to agitate against him. It is therefore not surprising that his public figure repeatedly provoked rumours, speculations and accusations that reached even the sultan’s ear.²⁴ They also spread in the provinces, as illustrated by an example from Damascus during Koca Sinân Pasha’s second turn as grand vizier. In *sha‘bân* 999/June 1591, Ibn Ayyûb al-Anşârî (d. after 1002/1594) reports the arrival of a letter for Sinân’s son Mehmed Pasha, governor of Damascus at the time. This letter detailed accusations like

¹⁹ SAHİLLİOĞLU ed., 2004, p. 2, p. 6, p. 8-16; FAROQHI, 1967, p. 125-126 and p. 136.

²⁰ HANNA, 1983, p. 107; CASALE, 2010, p. 156 and p. 182.

²¹ CASALE, 2006, p. 195: “And at the same time, high-ranking Ottoman provincial officials began to deepen their involvement as private investors, becoming in the process more unscrupulous about keeping these activities separate from their role as civil servants. One such example of this new breed of government official is Koca Sinan Pasha.”

²² CASALE, 2006, p. 195; CASALE, 2007, p. 282-287; CASALE, 2010, p. 182.

²³ CASALE, 2006; CASALE, 2010, p. 149-151, p. 158-163, p. 180-188.

²⁴ In SAHİLLİOĞLU ed., 2004, p. 2, p. 6, p. 8-16, for instance, about the nomination of Sharîf Muḥammad Pasha as governor of Egypt in 1004/1596 it is reported that “[e]veryone said: For this mischief Sinân Pasha is to blame.” For other vicious remarks in the form of a poem, cf. Muşţafâ ‘Âlî in TIETZE ed., 1975, p. 75.

corruption, the selling of offices, nepotism and favouritism amongst other things that the chronicler deemed too heinous to mention.²⁵ This time, Sinân Pasha was able to counter his enemies in the capital, who were deposed and sent to exile.

Some months later, however, on 11 *shawwâl* 999/2 August 1591, it was his own turn to be exiled, again to Malkara, Thrace. The Damascene people learned about what was going on in the capital some weeks later. There, too, the repercussions of this deposition were felt now that the protection of the grand vizier fell away.²⁶ Sinân's son, Mehmed Pasha, immediately lost his post as governor, and a close associate of Sinân Pasha's, Emir Muḥammad b. Manjak (d. 1032/1623), who had served as his trustee during the establishment of his foundation in Damascus, was called to account for his administration of the Takiyya al-Sulaymâniyya, the imperial endowment of Sultan Süleyman I (d. 1566) in Damascus.²⁷ Ibn Manjak was requested to hand over a large sum of money to the messenger who had brought the news. Though part of it was paid, Ibn Manjak was incarcerated and had to accompany the official to Istanbul for his trial.

Rumours and accusations had repercussions for Koca Sinân Pasha himself and his political standing. Though mostly successful in his military undertakings, Koca Sinân Pasha had to suffer setbacks time and again, but always was able to recover from them. It is often assumed that his sound financial background helped him to overcome these periods of disfavour.²⁸ It is however interesting to note that the ways Koca Sinân Pasha financed some of his undertakings lent weight to the accusations that were damaging to his reputation: when he started to build his complex in 'Uyûn al-Tujjâr, southern Syria, for instance, this construction site was deemed "most important" by the central authorities,²⁹ and the former grand vizier was officially allowed to draw on the funds of the provincial treasury of Damascus to finance not only the state-

²⁵ ANŞÂRÎ, 1991, vol. 2, p. 198. In a letter to the Sultan, the *kadiasker* and the governors of Anatolia and Rumelia complained about the doings of Koca Sinân Pasha: "*irtashâ min fulân wa-akhadha 'alâ l-manşab al-fulânî, wa-annahû yu'î ahlahu wa-aqâribahu al-manâşib al-jalîla wa-yuḥarrim ahl al-istiḥqâq... wa-ramûhu bi-ashyâ' qabîḥa.*"

²⁶ News reached Damascus on 7 *dhû l-qa'da* 999/27 August 1591 in ANŞÂRÎ, 1991, vol. 2, p. 208.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 208-211. For biographies, cf. MUḤIBBÎ, n. d., vol. 4, p. 229; Ibn Ayyûb al-Anşârî in GÜNEŞ, 1981, p. 103 (fol. 301/300).

²⁸ Cf. e.g. CASALE, 2006, p. 195.

²⁹ HEYD, 1960, p. 113.

sponsored construction of several military towers, but also for the neighbouring ensemble of a mosque, a caravanserai and an *'imâret* (public kitchen) that eventually would become a prominent part of his Syrian foundation. A sultanic order (*hukm sultânî*) of 989/1591 briefly stated: "Sinân Pasha will reimburse the Central Treasury."³⁰ Another sultanic order was also given to Sinân Pasha to found a new town (*qaşaba*) in the plain of Uzuncaova where he then built his new complex consisting of a mosque, an *'imâret*, two caravanserais (*khân*) and two bathhouses (*hammâm*). One is left to wonder whether these activities were financed in a similar mode.³¹

Such financial joint ventures and the complex credit operations related to them were probably one of the reasons for the suspicions towards the numerous building projects of the grand vizier.³² After his second deposition, they led to the confiscation of at least part of the endowed properties in various provinces.³³ In *dhû l-qa'da* 999/1591-1592, a sultanic order instructed the responsible official (*nişancı*) to take back "the villages which My former grand vizier Sinân Pasha [...] obtained from My imperial domains and from holders of *zi'âmet*s and *tîmârs* 'in the provinces (A/N: *vilâyetler* in the original) of Damascus, Safad, Üsküb (today: Skopje), Dukakin (A/N: in Albania), Anadolu and Erzurum' by way of exchange of endowed property (A/N: *istibdâl tarîki* in the original) or other ways and then dedicated as a new *waqf*".³⁴ Though these measures seem to have been revoked soon afterwards, at least some parts of his endowments were seized again after his death.

Another reason for the suspicions surrounding the grand vizier is evident in some of the more dubious ways that Sinân Pasha used to acquire property. In the early deeds, particularly relating to his Egyptian assets, other endowments are mentioned, that of the Mamluk Sultan Qânşûh al-Ghawrî, for instance, or the imperial foundation for Mecca and Medina

³⁰ *Firmân* for the governor and *defterdar* of Damascus, dated 11 *shawwâl* 989/ 8 Nov. 1581; *idem*.

³¹ SCHWARZ, KURIO ed., 1983, p. 10 and p. 42 (fol. 5a); cf. also the remarks of the historian Na'imâ, according to whom Sinân is said to have advanced 30,000 *kuruş* (ar. *qirsh*) of his own fortune in order to comply to the demands of the population; quoted *ibid.*, p. 3-4.

³² For rumours and accusations, cf. SAHİLLIOĞLU ed., 2004, p. 2, p. 6, p. 8-16; FAROQHI, 1967, p. 125-126 and p. 136; FAROQHI, 1969, p. 103.

³³ HEYD, 1960, p. 188, n. 5, a reference to UZUNÇARŞILI, 1954, p. 341-342, n. 2.

³⁴ HEYD, 1960, p. 188, n. 5; the passage in inverted commas is translated directly from UZUNÇARŞILI, 1954, p. 341-342, n. 2.

(*al-Ḥaramayn al-sharīfayn*). These endowments are to receive payments the nature of which is not made clear in the references, but which probably have the form of long-term ground rents (*hikr*). Such operations aim at having access to land already endowed and were very common. However, Koca Sinân Pasha went further than that. In Bûlâq we know of the case of a commercial building (*wikâla*) the construction of which had been started by Ḥasan Pasha, governor of Egypt during the years 988-990/1580-1582. It was included in the latter's *waqf* deed, but the building had been left unfinished. As grand vizier, "Sinân found a way to lay his hands on it," as N. Hanna puts it delicately, and had his architects finish the construction of the upper floors.³⁵ This appropriation was disputed as illegal after his death and in 1017/1608-1609 the property was given back to the foundation of Ḥasan Pasha.³⁶

Another point of friction may have been the sheer number of endowments made in Koca Sinân Pasha's name. The field of Ottoman elite endowing seems to have become more competitive towards the end of the 16th century. In his last years, Koca Sinân Pasha even had to promise his sovereign that he would stop making endowments.³⁷ This probably also has to be seen in relation to his main centre of activities in this period. After a lifetime of building primarily in various locations in the provinces, at this time his most important projects were located in the capital where space probably had already become scarce. Still he was able to realize his plans so that in 1002/1593-1594 he saw the completion

³⁵ HANNA, 1983, p. 36-37; the new addition to the Egyptian *waqf* is registered in a document dated from the beginning of *rabî' II* 999/Jan.-Feb. 1591; cf. BAYRAM, 1999, p. 166-167.

³⁶ HANNA, 1983, p. 37, n. 1. It is interesting to note that the same process touched Sinân Pasha's own foundation, however many years later and in a new context, when around 1186/1772 the rents of his commercial building came to be included in the *waqf* of Muḥammad Bey Abu Dhahab; the original *waqf* still received the *hikr* payments for the ground rent; cf. CRECELIUS, 1991, p. 59-60. Cf. also the negative judgement of 'Alî Pacha Mubârak in respect to Ottoman endowment activities in Egypt, in which he singled out Sinân Pasha as a typical example: "Sinan Pasha also constructed a mosque and other noble buildings in Bulaq and elsewhere and endowed all these structures with *waqfs* to support them so that they would continue to be provided for, but their custom was that anyone who wanted to endow something took from the *waqf* of someone else and put it in his own name, or stole the property of the people and made it into *waqf*, and thus it did not continue long after them, but these *waqfs* fell into ruin and disrepair, until portions of the original property were left, income fell off, and some of the endowed properties were affected." MUBÂRAK, 1886-1888, part 1, p. 56; trans. in REIMER, 2011, p. 156. For an analysis of how such processes affected Sinân Pasha's endowments in Egypt, cf. the article by Gh. Alleaume in this volume.

³⁷ FAROQHI, 1967, p. 125 and p. 136.

of the ensemble in the Divanyolu district, which also contained the tomb where he was to be buried.³⁸

To carry an undertaking of such dimensions to its end was at that time probably no longer just a given. Shortly after Sinân Pasha's death, Queen Mother Safiye Sultan, though supported by her son Sultan Mehmed III, ran into a number of problems when she started to build her "New Mosque (Yeni Cami)" in Eminönü. In 1603, the construction had to be suspended for more than half a century. The mosque complex was only finished in 1661-1663 when Turhan Hatice Sultan, the mother of Mehmed IV (d. 1687), took over the execution of the project.³⁹

THE FOUNDER'S PUBLIC PERSONA ACCORDING TO THE ENDOWMENT DEEDS

The opening sections of an endowment deed were an occasion for founders to present themselves according to the codes of religious and moral behaviour that constituted the eminently political field of endowing in the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, a close reading of these sections can supplement the public image created by chroniclers and biographers with a more autonomous, albeit altogether one-sided presentation of the moral and political self of the endower.

The composition of Koca Sinân Pasha's deeds follows the conventions. They begin with a praise of God and His prophet and the evocation of life in this world being ephemeral, as the Shâm deed puts it: "the world is merely a bridge for those who pass and a temporary hostel for those who travel through it (*al-dunyâ qanţarat al-‘âbirîn wa-ribât al-musâfirîn*)."⁴⁰ Even in this life, though, one should prepare for a secure abode in the other world, as expressed by the Qur'anic verse 28:77, quoted verbatim in the Uzuncaova deed: "But seek, through that which God has given you, the home of the Hereafter; [yet] do not forget your share of the world. And do good as God has done good to you (*wa-btaghi fî-mâ atâka llâhu l-dâra al-âkhira wa-lâ tansa naşîbaka min al-dunyâ*

³⁸ Date according to the foundation inscription of the water dispenser; cf. NECİPOĞLU, 2005, p. 508; MÜLLER-WIENER, 1977, p. 361; for the complex, cf. NECİPOĞLU, 2005, p. 508-509. An earlier plan had foreseen a tomb in Damascus; cf. IBN JUM'Â, 1949, p. 40.

³⁹ PEIRCE, 2000; NECİPOĞLU, 2005, p. 511-513.

⁴⁰ ARNÂ'ÛT ed., 1993, p. 125, gives "*qanţarat al-‘âbidîn*"; cf. in the Malkara deed: "*anna al-dunyâ al-daniyya ma'wâ al-baliyya wa-mathwâ al-maniyya mâ hiya dâr al-iqâma wa-baqâ'!*" in HAASE, 1991, p. 148 (fol. 1b).

wa-aḥsin kamâ aḥsana llâh ilayka).⁴¹ Endowing (*waqf*) is one of the ways to do good and to earn a recompense in the afterlife, as expressed in the often mentioned *ḥadîth* of the only three things that endure beyond the death of a person that is also quoted in Sinân's Shâm deed.⁴² At the same time, it is however, and this is explicitly stated also in the Shâm deed, a means to keep the memory of the founders alive and to give them a kind of second life in this world (*fa-yuḥayyâ dhikr wâqifihi 'inda şarf ray'ihî ilâ maşârifihî wa-yakûn dhâlika 'umr^{an} thâniy^{an}*).⁴³

Then the founder is introduced at length, in the later deeds in the form of "an extensive vizirial *elqab*" that spans about a dozen lines.⁴⁴ The most elaborate and also the most self-assertive introduction can be found in the Shâm deed. It is not so much the personal piety of the founder that is highlighted in this document but rather his military and political role for the glory of the Empire. Some lines of it read in excerpts as follows:

"[...] the conqueror of the countries of the apostates, the refuge of the people of faith, [...] he who brings order to the Ottoman laws and circulates the orders of his Sultanic Excellency, he who follows a pattern of justice and good works, [...] the most courageous of the ministers [...] and the most mighty [...], the most perfect and the most noble, [...] the grandest vizier [...], spearhead (*sinân*) of the mundane and the divine orders, protector of the lands, defender from tribulations, conqueror of Khalq al-Wâdî [today: Goletta, Tunis] and the province of Yemen, *mujâhid* in the way of God and for His sake, the *ghâzî*, the father of conquests and expeditions, his Excellency Sinân Pasha son of 'Alî."⁴⁵

These lines celebrate the political and military achievements of the grand vizier rather than his contribution to the religious or social life of the Empire. It is by looking more closely at his plans for endowments in

⁴¹ SCHWARZ, KURIO ed., 1983, p. 14 and p. 40.

⁴² "When a person dies his works end except for three: a pious child that prays for him, knowledge which is useful to people and ongoing alms (*Idhâ mâta ibn âdam inqata'a 'amaluhu illâ 'an thalâth: walad şâlih yad'û lahu wa-'ilm 'alimahu al-nâs yantafi'ûna bihi wa-şadaqa jâriya*).⁴³ ARNÂ'ÛṬ ed., 1993, p. 125.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 125-126.

⁴⁴ SCHWARZ, KURIO ed., 1983, p. 14 and p. 40-41; in similar form also in the Kačanik deed: cf. KALEŞI ed., 1972, p. 280.

⁴⁵ "*fâtih bilâd al-murtaddîn, mu'âdh ahl al-îmân ... ashja'u l-wuzarâ'..., a'azzuhum anşâr^{an} wa-a'wân^{an} wa-ashmaluhum lutf^{an} wa-iḥsân^{an}, akramuhum şaraf^{an} wa-'unwân^{an},... illâ wa-huwa al-wazîr al-a'zam... sinân al-dunyâ wa-l-dîn, dâfi' al-arḍ wa-l-miḥan, fâtih Khalq al-Wâdî wa-wilâyat al-Yaman, al-mujâhid fî sabîl Allâh ta'âlâ wa-li-wajhi llâh, al-ghâzî abû l-futûḥ wa-l-maghâzî, ḥaḍrat Sinân Pasha b. 'Alî...*" ARNÂ'ÛṬ ed., 1993, p. 126.

terms of administrators and beneficiaries that the social and philanthropic aspects of his endowing activities become more evident.

The sheer number of stipulations that provided for readings of the Qur'ân and the performance of prayers makes it however also manifest that Koca Sinân Pasha was very much concerned with the afterlife, in particular with the salvation of his and his parents' souls, but in the Egyptian case also the souls of Sultan Murâd III and all Muslims.⁴⁶ Yet, even in these ritual performances of Muslim religiosity, one can detect another imperial dimension of Koca Sinân Pasha's undertakings: in addition to the endower's own buildings in the different parts of the Empire, the most prestigious religious locations were selected, as his foundations provided for readings in Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem, the three holiest places of Islam. The spiritual dimension of his endowing is therefore not to be dismissed even if the social and functional aspects also appear prominently.

POINTS OF COMPARISON:
REGISTRATION, ADMINISTRATION, BENEFICIARIES

In the following, I will take a closer look at the five *waqf* deeds presented above in a comparative perspective. I shall concentrate on three points: the registration process, the stipulations for the future administration of the foundations and last some brief remarks on the different types of beneficiaries evoked in the deeds.

Registration

As pointed out in many studies, the registration of Koca Sinân Pasha's endowments did not consist of one single legal act, but spanned more than two decades and seemingly continued even after his death. Based on Abdülkâdir Kadirî's *Vekaye-i tarihiye*, Röhrborn speaks about testamentary stipulations for endowments that had to be sanctioned by the sultan after Sinân's death.⁴⁷ In the available documentation, there are no

⁴⁶ Such readings are very prominent in the early endowments, particularly those made in Egypt: cf. article by Gh. Alleaume in this volume, tabl. 2 in particular; and SWELIM, 1993, p. 105, who interprets the ongoing performance of these rituals inside the Bûlâq mosque as a "vocal message" instead of a scriptural one in the usual form of inscriptions; for more extensive remarks, cf. also section "Beneficiaries" of the present article.

⁴⁷ RÖHRBORN, 1978, p. 348.

traces of such testamentary provisions as all endowments took immediate effect after the actual endowment act. Yet, it is possible that this remark refers to a fairly routine procedure as it seems to have taken place in a similar way after the death of grand vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha (d. 1579): “[...] his royal widow and their son Ibrahim Khan applied to the imperial council for the authorisation of an inspection to consolidate all his *waqfs*. [...] It is explained that the pious foundations were recorded as the ‘lawful last will’ of the grand vizier [...].”⁴⁸

During the long constitution period of his endowments, Koca Sinân Pasha had reserved himself a large margin of manoeuvre, by invoking the legal principle of the “ten stipulations (*al-shurûṭ al-‘ashara*)” which gave a founder the right to add and to detract assets from his endowment, to add or exclude beneficiaries, to raise or diminish payments or to make other changes in respect to assets, beneficiaries and administrators.⁴⁹ According to this privilege, Koca Sinân Pasha transformed some of his more important endowments by a constant stream of additions, supplements and changes which are referred to as *ilhâq*, *ziyâda*, *dhayl* or *‘ilâvet*, but also by exchanging some assets.⁵⁰

It is interesting to note that, in the course of the years, the registration of the endowments became more centralised. The early acts and some of the later ones concerning smaller foundations were registered by local judges, for instance those of Yenişehir (981/1573), Erzurum (988/1580), or Üsküb (994/1586). During his first term as grand vizier, Koca Sinân Pasha seems to have had recourse to the services of both the *kadiaskers* of Rumelia and Anatolia who resided in the capital (cf. Table 1). After his exile in Dimetoka and Malkara, however, Koca Sinân Pasha became governor of Damascus and then proceeded there to re-register most of his older endowments and added some new ones in the years 995-996/1587-1588.

The series of the Damascus registrations begins in 995 or early 996/1587-1588, with a partial copy of the Shâm foundations.⁵¹ It is approved (*taşdiq*) by a judge called Aḥmad Efendi who acted as an imperial *waqf* inspector (*mufattish al-awqâf*) in Damascus at the time.⁵² On

⁴⁸ NECİPOĞLU, 2005, p. 346.

⁴⁹ ABÛ ZAHRA, 1972, p. 158-168.

⁵⁰ Cf. Table 1, e.g. ÖZ, 1946, n° 74 (year 999/1590).

⁵¹ ÖZ, 1946, n° 193.

⁵² A qadi of Damascus named Aḥmad Efendi b. Ḥasan Bek is mentioned for 994-995/1586-1588 in ANŞÂRÎ, 1991, vol. 2, p. 181-182, and in IBN JUM‘A, 1949, p. 19; he is said to have died in Damascus that year.

20 *rabî' I* 996/February 1555, Koca Sinân Pasha registered changes to his Egyptian *waqf*.⁵³ He then proceeded in the first ten days of *rabî' II* 996/end of February-beginning of March 1588 to reconfirm several of his earlier foundations, grouping together those in Istanbul, Üsküdar, Yenişehir, Mihaliççık, Malkara and Acre.

Both proceedings were done in the court of Muştafâ Efendi b. Muştafâ Efendi b. Muḥammad Efendi Ibn Bustân who was at that moment judge of Damascus for the third time.⁵⁴ Member of the prominent Bostânzâde 'ulamâ' family from Istanbul, this judge was probably not an unknown to Koca Sinân Pasha. The last registration act, formally an addition (*dhayl*, 'ilâve) to the original Bûlâq foundation, was written on the paper used in Istanbul in the last ten days of *shawwâl* 989/November 1581 and confirmed by both *kadiaskers*, one of whom was the brother of Muştafâ Efendi, Bostânzâde Mehmed Efendi, *kadiasker* of Rumelia.⁵⁵ The same document was used again for another registration at the beginning of *rabî' II* 999/January-February 1591 when another *kadiasker* of Rumelia (Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad) confirmed the addition

⁵³ For details, cf. the article by Gh. Alleaume in this volume.

⁵⁴ BAYRAM, 1999, p. 169 (the qadi's name is given as Muştafâ b. Muştafâ b. Mehmed). He was nominated qadi of Damascus for the third time on 13 *dhû l-qa'da* 995/15 October 1587, arrived in Damascus on 10 *muḥarram* 996/11 December 1587 during Koca Sinân Pasha's turn as governor and held the qadiship till 21 *dhû l-ḥijja* 998/19 November 1590. Shortly afterwards he was nominated to the qadiship of Edirne, then Mecca and Istanbul. He became *kadiasker* of Anatolia on 14 *dhû l-qa'da* 1003, then of Rumelia from *dhû l-ḥijja* 1003 to 25 *jumâdâ I* 1004/August 1595 to the end of January 1596, which means he was deposed shortly before the registration of Sinân's endowments in *jumâdâ II* and *shawwâl* 1004/February and March 1596. From 1006-1008/1598-1600, he was qadi of Mecca and then served for a second time as *kadiasker* of Rumelia in 1009-1010/1601. He died in *sha'bân* 1014/December 1605-January 1606. Cf. ANŞÂRÎ, 1991, vol. 1, p. 153 and p. 182-183; MUḤIBBÎ, n. d., vol. 4, p. 393; IBN JUM'Â, 1949, p. 18-19; MEHMED SÜREYYA, 1996, vol. 4, p. 1161-1162. Muştafâ Efendi is said to have accepted bribes (*rashwa*); cf. ANŞÂRÎ, 1991, vol. 1, p. 180; MUḤIBBÎ, n. d., vol. 4, p. 393.

⁵⁵ Muştafâ Efendi's brother, Muḥammad (Bostânzâde Mehmed Efendi), was a collaborator of *şeyhülislâm* Ebû s-Su'ûd (d. 1574), held the qadiship of Damascus in 982/1574-1575, then Egypt, Edirne in 984/1576, Istanbul in 985/1575-1576 and became *kadiasker* of Anatolia in *sha'bân* 985/October-November 1577 and of Rumelia in *rabî' II* 986/June-July 1578, then again qadi of Egypt in 990/1582. He was nominated for a second turn as *kadiasker* of Rumelia in 995/1587, before becoming *şeyhülislâm* from *jumâdâ I* 997 to *rajab* 1000/1589-1592 and from *shawwâl* 1001 till his death on 24 *sha'bân* 1006/1593-1598. He was the first to be nominated twice to this function; cf. ANŞÂRÎ, 1991, vol. 2, p. 153 and p. 179; GHAZZÎ, 1981, vol. 1, p. 102-106; MUḤIBBÎ, n. d., vol. 4, p. 223-224; IBN JUM'Â, 1949, p. 17; ATCIL, 2009, p. 505 and p. 510; REPP, 1986, p. 291-292; MEHMED SÜREYYA, 1996, vol. 3, p. 988. For the registration with the two *kadiaskers*, cf. VESELY, 2011, p. 254 and p. 256-259.

of the *wikâla* in Bûlâq begun by Hâsan Pasha and added to Sinân Pasha's endowment.⁵⁶

In 996/1588, Bostânzâde Muṣṭafa Efendi also sanctioned the Shâm endowment cluster, in cooperation with the Ottoman mufti of Damascus, Shaykh 'Abd al-Karîm al-Wârdârî (d. 1003/1594-1595). This man held also *ex officio* the professorship of the Takiyya Sulaymâniyya, the imperial foundation of Sultan Süleyman I in Damascus.⁵⁷ He is said to have come to Damascus in the train of Koca Sinân Pasha as his "teacher" or "spiritual advisor" (*hoca*). His career was advanced by the help of his protector till he gained the muftiship of Damascus, a post usually held by a local 'âlim.⁵⁸ Muḥibbî reports that the mufti left his post some years later, when he was nominated to the professorship of Koca Sinân Pasha's new madrasa, near his mausoleum in Istanbul.⁵⁹ We already know that another Sinân's associate, Emir Ibn Manjak, served as administrator of the Sulaymâniyya endowments in Damascus, so that this important institution was completely under the control of people very close to Koca Sinân Pasha. This constellation probably added more fuel to the accusations of corruption and nepotism that were raised repeatedly against the grand vizier.

Back in Istanbul in 998-999/1590-1591, during his second grand vizierate, Koca Sinân Pasha again used the Rumelia *kadiasker* court to have his endowments in Istanbul, Bursa-Yenişehir and Mihaliççık reconfirmed, to register the new *küllîye* in Zanbaqiyya, northern Syria, to exchange some properties in Kasımpaşa, Istanbul, and to make another addition (*dhayl*) to his Egyptian endowments. Yet, after his deposition in *shawwâl* 999/August 1591, the state ordered the confiscation, in several parts of the Empire, of endowed properties that had been listed in earlier tax registers as *waqf* or state land (*miri*), as mentioned above.⁶⁰ It would be interesting to know whether Bostânzâde Mehmed Efendi, *ṣeyhülislâm* at the time, was involved in these proceedings.

⁵⁶ BAYRAM, 1999, p. 166-167.

⁵⁷ GHAZZÎ, 1981, vol. 2, p. 531-532; MUḤIBBÎ, n. d., vol. 3, p. 13-14.

⁵⁸ "*wa-kâna khûjât li-Sinân Pasha al-wazîr kamâ kâna al-Shaykh Adham b. 'Abd al-Ṣamad qabla dhâlika 'indahu*" (GHAZZÎ, 1981, vol. 2, p. 532). Ghazzî reports that Shaykh Adham had accompanied Koca Sinân Pasha to Egypt. His son, Jalâl b. Adham, seems to have been one of the trustees (*wakîl*) of Koca Sinân Pasha when he began to buy up property in the environs of Damascus and supervisor for his foundation in the city (*ibid.*, p. 351-352).

⁵⁹ MUḤIBBÎ, n. d., vol. 3, p. 14.

⁶⁰ HEYD, 1960, p. 188.

Probably during his exile in Malkara, Koca Sinân Pasha proceeded to found there another endowment. It is impossible to date, because the later addition only mentions the name of the confirming *kadiasker* of Rumelia but not the actual date.⁶¹

The last round of registrations came about some weeks before Koca Sinân Pasha's death in an orchestrated procedure, when nearly all known endowments were recorded once more in Istanbul, probably also by the *kadiasker* of Rumelia. A copy (*şûra*) of the addition to the Uzuncaova foundation was then registered and confirmed as authentic by the *qassâm* 'askarî of Filibe and Gelibolu.⁶² Some of these acts were reconfirmed after Sinân Pasha's death at least once, on 4 *rabî' I* 1005/26 October 1596. By that time, the central administration had again initiated steps to seize at least parts of Koca Sinân Pasha's endowments. The properties situated in the south of Damascus and in the *sancak* of Safad were confiscated, and it would take several years and a number of petitions from officials in Damascus to re-open the endowed institutions.⁶³

The central administration's measures against Koca Sinân Pasha's endowments are the more astounding as during his lifetime he took great care to obtain authorisation from the sultan for many of his steps. This authorisation appears mainly in two modes, the presence of a sultanic cipher (*tughra*) on endowment documents and the certification of legal appropriation (*temlîkname/mülkname*).

According to Öz's and Bayram's listings and editions, a considerable number of acts related to Sinân Pasha's endowments bear a *tughra* (cf. Table 1): chronologically they start in 987/1579, with the signature of Murâd III affixed to a document regarding Bûlâq. This authentication was then regularly sought as long as Koca Sinân Pasha was in office or in Istanbul. This becomes evident in the long gap from 989/1581 to 998/1589 – which includes the intensive endowment making of the Damascus governorate –, during which there is so far no trace of this additional measure. Back in Istanbul, in his second term as grand vizier,

⁶¹ Zakariyyâ Efendi b. Bayram (Bayramoğlu Zekeriyâ Efendi) acted as such from *rabî' I* 997/March 1589 to *rajab* 998/June 1590 and from *jumâdâ II* 999/April 1591 to *rajab* 1000/June 1592. Just after this period, in *ramadân* 1000/June 1592, Sinân Pasha's only son, Mehmed Pasha, was nominated as *beglerbegi* of Rumelia, an office he held about one year before he went as governor to Damascus. Cf. HAASE, 1991, p. 134-135; MEHMED SÜREYYA, 1996, vol. 3, p. 1030.

⁶² SCHWARZ, KURIO ed., 1983, p. 10-13.

⁶³ A draft for the revocation of the confiscation measures is dated 11 *rabî' II* 1012/18 September 1603; cf. HEYD, 1960, p. 188; RÖHRBORN, 1978, p. 348.

the signature of Murâd III does not appear as systematically as before, but this could also be related to the composition of the available documentation. In the registration process of 1004/1596, the *tuğhra* of Mehmed III appears even on the copy of the Uzuncaova act registered in Filibe and Gelibolu; the only exception seems to be the document concerning the Selânik endowment.

Later juridical discussions highlight the importance of the sultanic cipher as a means of authentication. For instance, for Hâmid al-‘Imâdî, an 18th-century mufti of Damascus, the sultanic signature meant that one should act according to the contents of the document, without any further investigations concerning its authenticity (*mithl al-barâ’a al-sultâniyya al-daftar al-khaqânî al-mu’anwan bi-l-tura* [sic] *al-sultâniyya yu’mal bihi*).⁶⁴ In the case of *waqf* documents, it is not very common to seek an authorisation by the sultan because the simple registration by a qadi made an endowment legally binding according to Ottoman legal norms.⁶⁵ Yet, a sultanic order of the year 944/1537 decreed that “trustees having the rank of district governor should, in accordance with the Noble *shari’a*, personally submit to the Porte (i.e. the sultan) dismissals and appointments as they occur.”⁶⁶ Sultanic authorisation had also become mandatory for all cases of exchange of *waqf* properties (*istibdâl*) since 951/1544.⁶⁷ In this way, the central authorities started to interfere more decisively in *waqf* affairs with the aim of better controlling this societal field of utmost political importance.

Endowments of high-level officials like Koca Sinân Pasha were probably the first targeted because they often also comprised income from large tracts of agricultural land and entire villages. Such revenues were reserved for the state or state officials and their appropriation for other purposes had to be authorised by the central administration. Authorisation was given in a certificate that confirmed the legal appropriation of this property (*hujjat tamlik, temlikname/mülkname*).⁶⁸ Only some documents on Shâm and Kačanik-Prishtina mention such authorisations; this

⁶⁴ IBN ÂBIDÎN, 1882-1883, vol. 2, p. 20; cf. GERBER, 1999, p. 109.

⁶⁵ For the tenet that registration made a *waqf* irrevocable, cf. IMBER, 1997, p. 148-150; for a *tuğhra* over a *waqf* inscription over the entrance of the Nişancı Mehmed Pasha mosque, cf. NECİPOĞLU, 2005, p. 411; it is interesting to note that this endowment was registered posthumously. For a discussion of the problematics, cf. VESELY, 1971a, 1971b, 1972; 1987, p. 66.

⁶⁶ IMBER, 1997, p. 159.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 158.

⁶⁸ For two examples of sultanic authorisations, cf. BABINGER, 1927.

is probably due to the abbreviated form of most of these documents.⁶⁹ In the case of the villages around Damascus, the authorisation gives also some details about how Sinân Pasha acquired their tithe income (*'ushr*), i.e. by exchanging properties with the treasury (*bi-ṭarîq al-istibdâl min jâ nib bayt al-mâl*).⁷⁰ Again, these measures were not enough to keep critics silent after the death of the grand vizier.

Acting for Sinân (*tawkîl* and *shuhûd*)

In spite of all the ups and downs, there is one constant in the history of Koca Sinân's endowments: the people he entrusted with the task to act in his stead. As early as 994/1586, in the deed for Kaçanik and Prishtina, emerges the core group that would appear time and again in court, in the name of Koca Sinân Pasha. The actual act of registration was delegated by trusteeship (*wikâla*) to Mawlânâ 'Abd al-Raḥmân Efendi b. Sulaymân Efendi (d. 1017/1609).⁷¹ In 994/1586 he held the professorship at Koca Sinân Pasha's own madrasa in Yenişehir. He also registered *waqf* deeds in Istanbul in the middle of 1004/January-February 1596. Meanwhile he had held posts in Edirne and Istanbul. He was finally appointed to the professorship at the madrasa of Şehzâde Mehmed in Istanbul, where he taught during the period *sha'bân* 1003-*jumâdâ II* 1004/April 1595-February 1596; in the registered acts, we can witness another promotion as he received a professorship in the Süleymaniyye complex where he remained from *jumâda II* 1004 to *dhû l-qa'da* 1008/February 1596 to May 1600.⁷²

This longstanding trusteeship was corroborated in court by the same two witnesses time and again: Mawlânâ Muṣṭafâ Efendi b. 'Alî Efendi, who held a professorship at one of the Süleymaniyye colleges, and Mawlânâ Shaykh Muḥammad Efendi b. Sulaymân Efendi, professor at the madrasa

⁶⁹ For Damascus, cf. Öz, 1946, p. 190, n° 194; ARNÂ'ÛT ed., 1993, p. 139-151: there are two such documents called *kitâb al-tamlîk al-khaqânî* or *al-sultânî*, one dated from the middle of *dhû l-qa'da* 1003/middle of July 1595 (ARNÂ'ÛT ed., 1993, p. 149), the other from the middle of *jumâda I* 1004/middle of January 1596 (*ibid.*, p. 140), which means only some weeks before the coordinated registration process started and only some months before the death of the endower; for details, cf. the article by B. Marino in this volume. For Kaçanik-Prishtina, cf. KALEŞI ed., 1972, p. 283 ("*al-hujja al-milkiyya*").

⁷⁰ ARNÂ'ÛT ed., 1993, p. 141.

⁷¹ HAASE, 1991, p. 140; ARNÂ'ÛT ed., 1993, p. 127; SCHWARZ, KURIO ed., 1983, p. 60; for partial biographies, cf. MEHMED SÜREYYA, 1996, vol. 1, p. 87; SCHWARZ, KURIO ed., 1983, p. 15.

⁷² ARNÂ'ÛT ed., 1993, p. 127; SCHWARZ, KURIO ed., 1983, p. 60.

of Ismîhân Sultân (d. 993/1585) in Istanbul. The latter was the daughter of Sultan Selim II, sister of Murâd III, wife of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha and a close ally of Koca Sinân Pasha's – a "good friend" (*khalîla*) she is called in the Malkara deed.⁷³ All these three men, who were entrusted with the act of registering, moved in the highest circles of the learned establishment, as confirmed by their postings at the most prestigious colleges of the Empire.

The documents mention also Sinân Pasha's general administrator (*mutawallî kabîr*) unknown by any other sources.⁷⁴ He was a member of the Bâb al-Âlî *müteferrika* corps (mounted bodyguards of the Sublime Porte) and his name was Yûsuf Agha b. 'Abd al-Rahmân, probably another freed slave of the Pasha.⁷⁵

The list of witnesses differed from case to case. In the case of Uzuncaova, most of the listed witnesses bore military titles and belonged to the *müteferrika* corps.⁷⁶ In the Shâm document, witnesses were mostly professors from various high-ranking colleges in Istanbul and Edirne, among them the professor of Sinân Pasha's own college, Mawlâna Muştafâ Efendi b. Sulaymân Efendi.

Enduring relationships are manifest in this group of people who were charged with the complex legal procedures that accompanied the establishment of endowments of such imperial dimensions. It is the more striking that in the actual management of the foundations they were not at all involved. They seem to have been legal experts who held the trust of the grand vizier, but he wanted others to profit from his charitable acts.

Administration

As long as he controlled his foundations himself, Koca Sinân Pasha reserved himself a large margin of manoeuvre.⁷⁷ However, this did not

⁷³ HAASE, 1991, p. 150; for the Ismîhân Sultân-Sokollu Mehmed Pasha couple and their constructions, cf. NECİPOĞLU, 2005, p. 331-368.

⁷⁴ The name "Yûsuf Agha" also appears in the biographic entry of his successor Qâsim b. 'Abd al-Mannân al-Kurdî, the latter a freedman of Sinân Pasha (MUHİBBÎ, n. d., vol. 2, p. 292-293); the stipulation of the *waqf* deed that designated the freed slaves and their descendants as administrators is explicitly mentioned in the entry of the latter's son named Muştafâ who was the first Damascene to become member of *mutafarriqat al-Bâb al-Âlî*. Cf. *ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 386; PASCUAL, 1983, p. 43.

⁷⁵ ARNÂ'ÛT ed., 1993, p. 127. In the Kačanik deed, the father's name is given as 'Abd al-Mannân, in the Uzuncaova deed, as 'Abd al-Âlim. Cf. KALEŞİ ed., 1972, p. 291; SCHWARZ, KURIO ed., 1983, p. 15, fol. 15a, and p. 62; for a mention of his name in a petition for the restitution of *waqf* property after the confiscation, cf. HEYD, 1960, p. 188.

⁷⁶ SCHWARZ, KURIO ed., 1983, p. 67-68 and p. 17-18.

⁷⁷ For explicit stipulations in the Shâm deed, cf. ARNÂ'ÛT ed., 1993, p. 161.

apply to all of them in the same way: the large endowment clusters in Egypt and Syria remained under his control, whereas at least some of the smaller foundations in the Balkans were handed over to their appointed administrators at the moment of endowing. The Malkara foundation, for instance, was already in the hands of a man named Aḥmad Pasha, son of a former *emirülümëra* of Kaffa, when Koca Sinân Pasha added to it a new property in 1004/1595.

Koca Sinân Pasha's stipulations regarding the future administration of his endowments are out of the common order. His choices did not conform to the usual pattern of highly placed officials that reserved at least the management (and, with it, also a considerable portion of the income) for their direct descendants or other close kin. This was for instance the case for the endowment deeds of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha and his wife İsmîhân Sultân as well as for that of Lala Muştafâ Pasha and his wife Fâtîma Khâtûn, granddaughter of the last Mamluk Sultan Qanşûh al-Ghawrî.⁷⁸ Yet, unlike others, Koca Sinân Pasha had children and descendants, as they are mentioned by name in a *waqf* document of 998/1590 for Zanzaqıyya, Northern Syria: his son Mehmed Pasha, his daughters Emine Han, Hadice Han and Hüma Han, his granddaughter 'A'îşe Han and his son-in-law, another Mehmed Pasha.⁷⁹ Only the Şâm deed mentions them in general terms as concerned by the *waqf*-making of their father, grand-father or father-in-law: his own descendants are nominated only as a tertiary lineage of managers (after the founder himself, his freed slaves and their descendants).

The control of Koca Sinân Pasha's Egyptian foundations would become, after his death, the sole responsibility of the *şeyhülislâm*. For the actual administration on the spot, the latter was to name a deputy (*wakîl*). It is unclear whether this was supposed to be the governor of Egypt, as 'Alî Pacha Mubârak understood the stipulation; in practice it was first rather the head (*âghâ*) of the local janissaries.⁸⁰ For the Balkans,

⁷⁸ NECİPOĞLU, 2005, p. 333-334.

⁷⁹ For biographies of the males, cf. MEHMED SÜREYYA, 1996, vol. 3, p. 1029-1030 (son-in-law); p. 1030 (son).

⁸⁰ In the entry concerning the bath in Bûlâq which was added to the Egyptian foundations by the supplement of 996/1588, Mubârak mentions a change in the designation of the *naẓar* which was now entrusted to the governor (*wâlî*) (MUBÂRAK, 1886-1888, part 6, p. 69; cf. part 5, p. 19-20); the stipulation of the deed says "*al-naẓar wa-l-wikâla wa-l-tawliya li-man yakûn ba'dahu wa-li-man* (A/N: to be read *wâliyy^{am}*?) *yaḥull maḥallahu*". For details on how they were applied and on the role of the Janissaries in the administration, cf. the article by Gh. Alleaume in this volume, n. 58 in particular.

stipulations remain vague, but it is obvious that the control was to be transferred to one or several of the founder's freed slaves ('*utaqâ*'; sing. '*atîq*') and then to their descendants. The registration act of 994/1586 for Kačanik lists the functions of an administrator (*mutawallî*), a supervisor (*nâẓir*), a scribe (*kâtib*) and two rent collectors (*jâbî*), and gives long yet general task descriptions for each one, but as to the persons who were to fill these functions there is only a short point on their having to be freedmen of the founder (*mashrûṭan kulluhâ li-'utaqâ' al-wâqif*).⁸¹ This extraordinary vagueness has already been noted in the Malkara deed by Cl.-P. Haase. The document mentions as acting administrator Aḥmad Pasha, son of a former *emirülümera* of the province of Kaffa, without explaining his relationship with the founder. Yet he is the only functionary mentioned by name, which is all the more noteworthy, as according to the deed all functionaries are reconfirmed in their positions. Their functions would pass after them to the most apt of their descendants (*al-arshad fa-l-arshad*).

The stipulations for the administration of the Shâm foundation are much more elaborate. They also listed a higher number of functionaries. The power, however, was concentrated in the hand of the administrator: after the founder himself, this function was to be filled by the most apt of his freed slaves (*al-arshad fa-l-arshad min 'utaqâ' al-wâqif*), then by the most suitable of their children and children's children, however, only the male ones (*dhukûr dûna l-inâth*). Only when these lineages became extinct, the control of the foundation would go to the most suitable of the male descendants of the founder. After the extinction of all lineages related to the founder, the last administrator would be the Muslim ruler of the time (*wâlî l-zamân*).

For the time after his death, the founder also foresaw a closer supervision. Control over the assets was in the hands of his freedmen, who in turn were supervised (*naẓar*) by the official Ottoman mufti of Damascus. This seems to have been a nominal function, judging from the symbolic remuneration of 1 *akçe* daily accorded to it. The management also comprised two rent collectors (*jâbî*), two secretaries, one of them acting as chief secretary (*kâtib kabîr*) and his aid, and a supervisor (*mushârif*) whose function is difficult to discern from that of the inspector, as he was supposed to supervise the affairs of the endowment; his pay was set at 2.5 *akçe*/day.

⁸¹ KALEŠI ed., 1972, p. 284.

Table II: Remuneration of *waqf* functionaries in Koca Sinân Pasha's foundations

Region	<i>Mutawallî</i>	<i>Nâzir/mushârif</i>	<i>Kâtib</i>	<i>Jâbî</i>
Egypt	M 22.5 dinar ¹	M 22.5 dinar	M 1.5 dinar	M 1.5 dinar (<i>shâdd</i>)
Kaçanik ²	D 30 dirham	D 10 dirham	D 10 dirham	2 x D 10 dirham
Malkara ³	D 30 dirham	D 6 dirham	D [6 ?] dirham	2 x D 10 dirham
Shâm	D 50 <i>q. f.</i> <i>qâ'immaqâm</i> 'Uyûn al-Tujjâr D 25 <i>q. f.</i>	D 1 <i>q. f.</i> (muftî Shâm !) D 2.5 <i>q. f.</i>	D 25 <i>q. f.</i> D 10 <i>q. f.</i> D 4 <i>q. f.</i>	2 x D 3 <i>q. f.</i>
Uzuncaova	D 15 dirham	D 5 dirham	D 5 dirham	D 5 dirham

M = monthly

D = daily

dirham = *dirham* 'uthmânî = *akçe*

q. f. = *qit'a fîḍa* = *para* = *mişriyya* = 2 *akçe*

dînâr sulṭânî = about 80 *para* = 160 *akçe*

¹ Conversion according to Anşârî, 1991, vol. 1, p. 224: [*dînâr*] *sulṭânî dhahab* = 2 *sulṭânîs mu'âmalat Dimashq*; the latter is equivalent to 40 *qit'a jadîdî*; 1 *qirsh* is 48 *qit'a*.

² Kaleşi ed., 1972, p. 285.

³ Haase, 1991, p. 143.

It is interesting to note that the remuneration of the different offices varied from one case to the other, not only in what concerns the amount paid for the services, but also the mode of calculation (cf. Table II). After a rough conversion of the stipulated amounts, the *mutawallî* of the Shâm endowments emerges as the best paid functionary of Sinân's endowments, followed by those serving in Egypt, where both the main administrators (*nâzir* and *mutawallî*) are given the same high amount. This is not the case in the other foundations, and not surprisingly, those responsible of the smaller endowments on the Balkans receive also smaller sums. Part of their income is given to many of these functionaries in kind: bread, other foodstuffs and cooked meals. In this way, the administration also benefited directly from the institutions under its responsibility.

Beneficiaries

As Gh. Alleaume points out in her conclusion, in a long-term perspective the most enduring parts of Koca Sinân Pasha's foundations were the buildings, other landed property and the financial interests connected to them. Yet, at the time of endowing, the grand vizier had envisaged the future of his

endowments in a more encompassing way. His vision was not only concerned with the management, but also with how the endowed institutions were to function, who was to benefit from them and in what ways; all this was written down in stipulations which often addressed the most minute details.

In respect to the beneficiaries, it is worth repeating that the founder's immediate family and his direct descendants did not play an important role in his plans. Only the Shâm document mentions his children and their families, but merely as fall back for the administration of the foundation, once the lineages of the freed slaves of the endower had vanished. Generally speaking, the group of persons who profited most from Koca Sinân Pasha's endowment making were his former slaves: in most of the deeds, not only were they granted the administration of the foundations, but also many of the functions foreseen by the founder were exclusively reserved for them and their descendants. The Malkara deed named them moreover as sole recipients of the income in case the *waqf* institutions were no longer able to function.⁸²

People in general could also profit, and this to an uncommonly high degree. This is highlighted in Muḥibbî's saying that Koca Sinân Pasha was the "Ottoman vizier who built the most and who was the most beneficial for the people (*akthar wuzarâ' âl 'uthmân âthâr^{an} wa-a'zamu-hum naf^{an} li-l-nâs*)".⁸³ People were to profit from the large range of institutions that catered to the poor by giving them shelter and food, and in some cases even education. At the same time many of the institutions also served the needs of people on the move, such as the grand vizier who also must have spent much of his life on the road. His foundations took care of travellers, pilgrims, and merchants and thus facilitated connections between the various parts of the Empire and beyond.

A detailed comparative analysis of all the institutions and persons connected to them seems a promising project for further research.⁸⁴ We shall point here to two of the most striking results of a preliminary overview which both have already been mentioned in passing. The first point concerns the prominent place of readings of the Qur'ân and prayers in Koca Sinân Pasha's vision. The second point relates to the importance of food distribution in his provisions.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 136 and p. 156 (fol. 11b).

⁸³ MUḤIBBÎ, n. d., vol. 2, p. 214.

⁸⁴ A starting point is provided by the lists of institutions and functions established for specific endowments in the editions and former publications; for references, cf. n. 13 and the article by Gh. Alleaume in this volume.

All of the foundation deeds compared in this article mention a large number of people who were to recite parts of the Qur'ân and perform prayers and religious rituals, some of them according to local customs, on various occasions, with a particular emphasis on Fridays.⁸⁵ They usually are described in groups of sixty, thirty, ten, six or three, according to the needs of the recitation. Readings appear nowhere so prominent as in the Egyptian deed, where they were not only instituted for the Azhar and the Bûlâq mosques in Cairo and the Ghurabâ' mosque in Alexandria, but also for Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem, the most important religious centres of the Islamic world. These readings were thought to contribute to the salvation of the soul of the endower and other designated persons in the afterlife, in a way similar to the perpetual accumulation of good works that a *waqf* generated for its endowers in the hereafter. In Koca Sinân Pasha's case, the soul to be salvaged was in the first place his own: in the later deeds he was the only beneficiary of the ceaseless recitations.⁸⁶ Earlier stipulations also mention his parents.⁸⁷ In the Egyptian documents, the list of persons to benefit was much longer: it comprised, besides the endower and his parents, the Prophet, other religious figures and last but not least Sultan Murâd III and the Muslims in general.⁸⁸

The readers had to follow a rigorous schedule in order to fulfil their duties, but they received more than a daily stipend of 1-2 *akçe*, a usual salary at the time. Koca Sinân Pasha provided additionally food for all of his employees. All endowment deeds except that of Shâm mention this distribution of food. In the Egyptian documents, this concerns only loaves of bread.⁸⁹ In the locations where the founder included the distinctly Ottoman institution of an '*imâret* (in Arabic often *takiyya*), different rice and wheat soups with or without meat and sweet dishes were given out

⁸⁵ References to local customs are frequent, as in the deed of Damascus in respect to certain rituals (*mâ huwa al-mu'tâd fî jawâmi' al-bilâd*) or to local and foreign foods. In his Damascus mosque, for instance, 25 men had to congregate daily after the noon prayer to perform a ritual called *tahlîla*, which consisted in this case in pronouncing 70 times the confession of the unity of God (*lâ ilâha illâ llâh*) (ARNÂ'ÛT ed., 1993, p. 153-154). On other occasions, the recitations went on for up to 70,000 times and were performed over several days or nights; cf. IBN KANNÂN, 1994, p. 240-241, p. 450-452, p. 466, p. 486.

⁸⁶ ARNÂ'ÛT ed., 1993, p. 153.

⁸⁷ HAASE, 1991, p. 144 and p. 155.

⁸⁸ Cf. the article by Gh. Alleaume in this volume, Annexe 1, l. 245-249.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, l. 255-274; the distribution of food to people working in mosques and colleges was much older than Ottoman times; for Cairo, cf. SABRA, 2000, p. 85-94; LEV, 2005, p. 132-134; for Damascus, MEIER, 2007, p. 132-135. I thank B. Marino for having pointed out this interesting difference.

beside the bread.⁹⁰ As far as we know, the Ottomans did not start to build public kitchens in Egypt, as they did for example soon after the conquest in Damascus and Jerusalem and, like in Koca Sinân Pasha's case particularly, along the caravan routes of the Empire.⁹¹ The building mentioned as "*imâra*" in the Bûlâq deed for (996/1588) consisted of a mill and a baking oven.⁹² Lacking are the stipulations assuring the provisioning of a kitchen with food and regulating the modalities of food distribution in the way they figure prominently in the other deeds. Here as in other features of his complexes, the imperially minded grand vizier seems to have adapted his foundations to local contexts.

CONCLUSION

The distribution of Koca Sinân Pasha's foundations over many parts of the Ottoman Empire directs the study of his endowment deeds and the related documentation towards a comparative perspective. This approach has proven worthwhile in this preliminary enquiry based on a limited number of edited documents. In these foundations, the local and the imperial appear intertwined in ways that are not always easy to discern if one works only on one location. What factors shaped the notable differences between the endowments is a line of questioning that can be adopted not only for the architecture of the buildings, as it is the case for some time now. It also concerns what was to happen in and with these buildings according to the vision of the endower.

Further research is needed to explore both the common features of Koca Sinân Pasha's foundations and their notable differences. Only two subjects could be addressed here, which seem to be promising venues for a more comprehensive project: food distribution and the role of religious rituals. Both can only be understood by taking into account imperial policies and local constraints. Otherwise, how can one understand the stipulation that the preacher in his Damascus mosque had to be a Hanafi

⁹⁰ KALEŞI ed., 1972, p. 289-290; HAASE, 1991, p. 145, and p. 155 (fol. 11a/b); SCHWARZ, KURIO ed., 1983, p. 25-28 (fol. 12a-13b); ARNÂ'ÛT ed., 1993, p. 159-161.

⁹¹ For '*imârets*', cf. ERGİN, NEUMANN, SINGER eds., 2007; KIEL, 2001; for caravanserais in Syria in Mamluk and Ottoman times, cf. SAUVAGET, 1937, 1939, 1940; and ABDEL NOUR, 1983.

⁹² Cf. in this volume the article by Gh. Alleaume, annexe 1, I. 367-403; there is also a "grand building" ('*imâra jalîla*) in MUBÂRAK, 1886-1888, part 1, p. 56, which probably refers to his *khân*; cf. HANNA, 1983, p. 36-38; BEHRENS-ABOUSEIF, 1994, p. 200-202.

originating from the core regions of the Empire (*wâ'iz... rûmî al-mawlid ḥanafî al-madhhab*), whereas the scores of readers to be employed in the same mosque seem to be recruited locally?⁹³

The close examination of five endowment deeds has shed some light also on the personal networks that enabled the grand vizier to build and to administer his Empire-wide endowments. A veritable work in progress, his activities in this domain cannot be fully understood if research is focussed only on the published or even the extant endowment deeds. For further steps towards a more comprehensive understanding of this vast oeuvre, it would be useful to take into account all the known acts that document the different stages of his foundations. We would learn probably a lot more about the shifts and drifts of the career of this “strange person”, the grand vizier.

⁹³ ARNÂ'ÛT ed., 1993, p. 153.

- ABDEL NOUR Antoine, 1983, "Le réseau routier de la Syrie ottomane (xvi^e-xviii^e siècles)," *Arabica* 30/2, p. 169-189.
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Astrid MEIER, *Les œuvres de bienfaisance d'un grand vizir: pour une approche comparative des actes de waqf de Koca Sinân Pacha (989-1004/1581-1596)*

Koca Sinân Pacha (ob. 1004/1596), qui fut cinq fois grand vizir, fut probablement l'un des plus actifs fondateurs ottomans de fondations pieuses (*waqf*) au XVI^e siècle. Il en implanta dans de nombreuses régions de l'Empire. Si nous disposons d'études détaillées sur différents aspects des complexes de *waqf* qu'on lui doit, nous n'avons pas en revanche une vision d'ensemble des premiers temps de ses fondations. Le présent article, fondé sur une lecture attentive de quatre actes de *waqf*, traite de questions liées à la chronologie, à la documentation, au financement et à la manière dont est présenté le fondateur; il approfondit ensuite trois points de comparaison: le processus d'enregistrement, les stipulations relatives à l'administration, et des remarques plus générales sur les bénéficiaires. Les résultats encore provisoires de cette enquête préliminaire montrent que pour comprendre les points communs et les différences entre les fondations de Koca Sinân Pacha, les niveaux local et impérial doivent, l'un comme l'autre, être pris en considération, indépendamment d'autres facteurs liés à la forte personnalité du fondateur.

Astrid MEIER, *The Charities of a Grand Vizier: Towards a Comparative Approach to Koca Sinân Pasha's Endowment Deeds (989-1004/1581-1596)*

Koca Sinân Pasha (d. 1004/1596), five times grand vizier, was probably one of the most prolific founders of religious endowments (*waqf*) in the 16th-century Ottoman world. The locations of his foundations span many parts of the Empire. Though various aspects of his *waqf* complexes have been studied, we lack a more comprehensive understanding of the early history of his endowments. This preliminary article is based on a close reading of four of the extant endowment deeds and addresses questions of chronology, documentation and financing and the presentation of the founder in the deeds as a background for a more in-depth analysis of three points of comparison: the registration process, the provisions for the future administration and some more general remarks about the beneficiaries of the foundations. The tentative results of this enquiry show that for understanding the commonalities and differences of Koca Sinân's endowment making both the local and imperial levels have to be taken into account beside other factors that relate to the strong personality of the endower.

LE PATRONAGE ARCHITECTURAL DE KOCA SINÂN PACHA DANS LES BALKANS : UN ENSEMBLE DE BÂTIMENTS INCONNUS DE LA FIN DU XVI^e SIÈCLE À ŠTIP (MACÉDOINE)

L'objectif de cette contribution est d'établir l'implication de Sinân Pacha dans la construction d'un ensemble de bâtiments dans la ville macédonienne de Štip (İştib en ottoman). Pour diverses raisons, ces bâtiments ont été ignorés dans les recherches menées sur le riche patronage architectural de cet homme d'État ottoman, d'origine albanaise, de la seconde moitié du XVI^e siècle¹. La raison principale est que, bien que financés (au moins en partie) par Sinân Pacha, ils furent construits sous le nom de l'éminent prédicateur cheikh Abdülkerîm Efendi, né à Štip. En outre, la participation du pacha à ce projet n'est, autant que je sache, mentionnée que dans une seule source, le *Seyâhatnâme* d'Evliyâ Çelebi, et uniquement dans sa version autographe². Ce passage ne figure pas dans l'édition

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¹ Cf. par exemple ÖZ, 1946 ; BAYRAM, 1999. Je tiens à remercier Thomas Lorain, Grigor Boykov et Machiel Kiel pour leurs commentaires sur une version antérieure de cet article.

² Dans cette section, Evliyâ Çelebi énumère les bâtiments associés à Abdülkerîm Efendi et mentionne la participation de Sinân Pacha. L'utilisation du pluriel (*etmişlerdir*)

de son carnet de route imprimée à la fin du XIX^e siècle qui, dans une traduction en serbo-croate de Hazim Sabanović (Evljā Čelebī, 1979), a servi de base à de nombreuses études sur l'histoire des monuments des Balkans occidentaux. Les chercheurs yougoslaves qui les ont menées ont écrit sur Sinân Pacha et Štip mais n'avaient pas connaissance de ce lien³. De plus, les appellations diverses par lesquelles notre cheikh est mentionné dans les sources semblent avoir masqué le fait qu'il s'agissait bien d'une seule et même personne. Son nom était Abdülkerîm, mais nous le trouvons plus souvent désigné par diverses combinaisons de termes honorifiques ou professionnels tels qu'*emîr* (ou, probablement à tort, *emîn*), *vâ'iz*, *sultân*, *çelebi*, *seyyid* ou simplement par le qualificatif *İştibî* (originaire de Štip). Cet article se propose donc de s'interroger sur la relation entre Sinân Pacha et Abdülkerîm Efendi qui a conduit à leur parrainage conjoint de bâtiments à Štip. Il essaiera également d'expliquer pourquoi cette démarche fut entreprise et quels étaient les effets attendus, à cet endroit précis et dans le contexte du développement de cette ville au cours de la seconde moitié du XVI^e siècle.

* * *

Štip, située à 70 km au sud-est de Skopje (fig. 1), principalement sur la rive droite de la rivière Bregalnica, fut une ville assez importante au Moyen Âge ; elle devint partie de l'Empire ottoman d'une manière apparemment graduelle, au cours des trois dernières décennies du XIV^e siècle. En 1371, le résultat de la bataille de la Maritsa conduisit la famille slave Dragaš, à la tête d'une principauté ayant comme chef-lieu Velbužd (Kjustendil), à accepter la vassalité ottomane. Les chroniqueurs rapportent une conquête ottomane de Štip en 1382-1383. C'est à cette époque que

permet d'établir leur collaboration. Y. Dağlı et S. A. Kahraman (*EVLIYÂ ÇELEBİ*, 2002, p. 64) transcrivent ainsi l'extrait qui nous intéresse : « *Netice-i merâm bu şehir içre ta'rîf u tavsîf etdiğimiz hân ve câmi' ve çârsû-yı bâzâr ve havz u şazrevân ve bezzâzistân ve cûsûrlar cümle bu büyük Şeyh Emîr Sultân'ın hayrât [u] hasenâtıdır kim bu şehri ol azîz ism-i "Yâ Azîz" e mazhar düşüp amâr etmişdir. İşte devlet-i Âl-i Osmân'da bu pîşvâ-yı tarîk şeyh-i azîz ve bir de Fâtih-i Yemen Sinân Paşa kîmyâya mâlik olup bu kadar hayrât [u] hasenât etmişlerdir. Hakka ki bir şeyh künc-i uzletde neye mâlik olup bu kadar hayrât ede. Elbette kîmyâ-yı iksîr-i a'zam berekâtıyla bu kadar âsâr-ı binâlar etmiş kim bir pâdişâh malik değildir. Ve imâret-i dârü'z-ziyâfe dahi Emîr Efendi'nindir kim ni'meti [bay u gedaya mebzûldur] ».*

³ Cf. EVLIYÂ ÇELEBİ, 1979, p. 339-344 pour Štip. Une biographie de Sinân Pacha est fournie dans KALEŞI éd., 1972, p. 257-277.



Fig. 1. Carte des Balkans avec l'emplacement de Štip et de quelques autres villes principales de la région (DAO : Maximilian Hartmuth).

l'église située sous la forteresse devint le premier lieu de culte musulman⁴. Il fallut cependant, semble-t-il, attendre 1395, année où Konstantin Dejanović, dernier souverain de la famille Dragaš, tomba en combattant pour son seigneur Yıldırım Bâyezîd à la bataille de Rovine, pour que Štip devînt un territoire complètement ottoman⁵. Une mosquée à coupole, vraisemblablement le principal monument de Štip jusqu'au milieu du xvi^e siècle, fut parrainée par le sultan Murâd II⁶. Un pont sur la Bregalnica fut construit sur l'ordre du sultan Bâyezîd (II ?)⁷. En 1530, la ville avait déjà acquis un certain nombre d'infrastructures proprement islamiques. On y

⁴ Ce fut apparemment au début un *mescid* plutôt qu'une mosquée, puisque dans le registre fiscal de 1530 une seule mosquée est mentionnée. Cf. SOKOLOSKI, 1970, p. 98.

⁵ Pour l'histoire ottomane de Štip, cf. KIEL, 1990, art. VIII, p. 155-160.

⁶ On estime que ce monument, aujourd'hui disparu, a été construit par Murâd I^{er}, mais il semble peu probable que ce sultan ait construit une mosquée à coupole dans les Balkans dans les années 1380, alors que c'est tout à fait plausible pour Murâd II.

⁷ Ce dernier exempta les habitants non musulmans d'un village nouvellement fondé, nommé Köprü (en turc : pont), de certaines taxes en échange de la garantie qu'ils en assureraient l'entretien et la sécurité des passagers. Cette information est donnée dans la section des *evkâf* du registre fiscal de 1570 (cf. *TdM* V/5, p. 73). Le pont était probablement en bois (cf. *infra*).

trouvait une mosquée (*câmi*), une *medrese*, sept *mescid*, un hammam, une *zâviye* et un *mekteb*. Les musulmans représentaient alors environ un tiers de la population. De même qu'un groupe de 38 juifs séfarades de Thessalonique, le cheikh *halvetî* Muhyiddîn Efendi, âgé et retiré du monde, venait d'arriver⁸. Il décéda à Štip autour de 1533-1534 et fut enterré dans un mausolée construit sur une colline de la rive gauche de la Bregalnica⁹. C'est dans cette même ville et à la même époque que naquit Abdülkerîm Efendi, vraisemblablement dans une famille de savants¹⁰.

Štip connut une crise dans les années 1520. Les registres fiscaux ottomans de 1519 et 1530 montrent une chute démographique significative entre les deux dates (reflétant, apparemment, une tendance générale en Macédoine au cours de cette décennie)¹¹. La ville semble s'être relevée vers le milieu du siècle. En fait, le développement qu'a connu Štip dans la seconde moitié du siècle (et peut-être au-delà) est assez spectaculaire : entre 1530 et 1570 sa population a presque doublé, passant d'environ 2 200 individus (plus précisément 417 foyers et 128 célibataires et veufs) à peut-être un peu moins de 4 000 habitants (746 foyers, 181 célibataires et veufs). Štip est alors devenue le plus grand centre urbain du *sancak* de Kjustendil, dépassant même sa capitale administrative¹². En outre, les musulmans sont pour la première fois majoritaires, alors que le nombre des non-musulmans stagne. On peut constater une émigration limitée

⁸ SOKOLOSKI, 1970, p. 98.

⁹ TAŞKÖPRÜZÂDE, 1927, p. 333.

¹⁰ Dans le registre fiscal de 1570 (*TdiM* V/2, p. 115) figure un certain « Seyyid Abdülkerîm Efendi, fils de Mehmed Çelebi ». Cet homme est certainement notre Abdülkerîm Efendi, dont on sait qu'il est retourné à Štip à cette époque (cf. CLAYER, 1994, p. 95). Son patronyme indique clairement que ce n'était pas un converti. Le titre du père, Çelebi, suggère que, déjà, le grand-père d'Abdülkerîm était un homme savant. Seyyid Mustafâ Efendi et Cenân Efendi, deux de ses fils connus (cf. *infra*), semblent avoir suivi une carrière similaire.

¹¹ Cf. SOKOLOSKI, 1970, p. 98 et *passim*. La population de Štip est passée de 534 foyers et 82 célibataires ou veufs en 1519, à 417 foyers et 128 célibataires ou veufs en 1530. Ce pourrait être une conséquence de la guerre dans le nord de la péninsule. Mais il est plus probable que cette régression est due à des épidémies de peste survenues en Rumeli dans les années 1520, à la suite d'une augmentation de la mobilité transrégionale, après les conquêtes ottomanes de l'Égypte, de Belgrade, de Rhodes et d'autres territoires, qui avaient eu lieu à cette époque. Štip, située près de la route des caravanes entre Istanbul et Raguse qui reliait les Balkans à Venise et d'autres *emporia* italiens, pourrait bien avoir été touchée par la peste dans cette décennie. Cf. VARLIK, 2008, p. 62, p. 71-77, p. 104, pour les épidémies de peste dans les Balkans centraux en 1536 et 1541.

¹² Pour ces chiffres, cf. SOKOLOSKI, 1970, p. 97-105 ; pour Kjustendil, cf. aussi l'étude détaillée dans KIEL, 1993. Pour la date du *defter* de 1570 (au lieu de 1573), cf. KIEL, 1993, p. 146 ; *TdiM* V/2 ; *TdiM* V/5.

mais certaine des chrétiens et une croissance de la population musulmane si rapide qu'elle ne peut qu'être liée à l'immigration. Le nombre des musulmans recensés passe de 143 foyers et 14 célibataires ou veufs (soit environ 700 personnes) en 1530, à 455 foyers et 42 célibataires ou veufs (soit près de 2 300 personnes) en 1570¹³. Les conversions ne peuvent avoir été l'unique raison de cette croissance : dans les années 1530 et 1570, seulement un musulman sur cinq environ était enregistré comme « fils d'Abdüllâh », c'est-à-dire converti¹⁴. Est-il possible que cette croissance soit le résultat d'une urbanisation des Yörük de la région d'Ovçe Pole (entourant Štip), dont le nombre des foyers a considérablement diminué entre 1566 et 1575, passant de 97 à 18¹⁵ ? Quoi qu'il en soit, la croissance démographique de Štip fut accompagnée d'une expansion des infrastructures islamiques de la ville. Outre le principal monument, la gracieuse mosquée à coupole de Hüsâmeddîn Pacha (qui, contrairement à la Murâdiye, a survécu jusqu'à nos jours)¹⁶, une importante *medrese* fut construite par un certain « Mevlânâ Mehmed Çelebi b. Mevlânâ Nûreddîn, connu comme İştib-zâde »¹⁷. Le dernier registre fiscal ottoman connu, datant de 1570, recense trois ou quatre mosquées, deux *medrese*, dix-huit *mescid*, trois *zâviye*, deux hammams, deux *hân*/caravansérails et quatre *mekteb*¹⁸. Selon Evliyâ Çelebi, qui fournit le nom de plusieurs

¹³ Comme *supra*, les nombres de 700 et 2 300 individus ont été calculés sur la base de cinq personnes par foyer.

¹⁴ Pour ces données, cf. SOKOŁOSKI, 1970, p. 97-99.

¹⁵ Pour ces données, cf. İNBAŞI, 2005, p. 179-180.

¹⁶ Pour ce bâtiment, cf. *TdiM* V/5, p. 65 et p. 74-75 ; *TdiM* V/2, p. 120. Pour l'architecture de la mosquée, cf. KIEL, 1990, art. VIII, p. 156-160 et tableaux. Il s'agit d'une mosquée à coupole assez typique, avec un portique à trois baies. Ce qui est le plus atypique chez elle, ce sont la projection semi-décagonale du *mihrâb* et une colonne de marbre vert dans le portique.

¹⁷ Ce Mevlânâ Mehmed Çelebi ne semble pas être le père d'Abdülkerîm Efendi, également nommé Mehmed Çelebi. Le registre de 1570 identifie de manière cohérente les parents de Mehmed Çelebi b. Mevlânâ Nûreddîn, de même que ses fils Mahmud Çelebi et Alî, comme appartenant à la famille İştib-zâde. On ne possède pas de telle identification dans le cas de « Seyyid Abdülkerîm Efendi ». Pour le *vakf* mentionné et les mentions de la famille İştib-zâde en général, cf. *TdiM* V/5, p. 60-61 et p. 68 ; *TdiM* V/2, p. 127. Le *vakf* considérable de cette institution était financé par ses propriétés à Štip et ses environs, y compris un hammam et des appartements loués à des Juifs de Štip, dont le produit était affecté à des postes tels que le salaire du *müderris* et les bourses des étudiants, considérablement plus élevées que celles de l'ancienne *medrese* de Štip, bâtie au xv^e ou au début du xvi^e siècle par un certain Çeribaşı Pîr Alî. Dans cette *medrese* le maître recevait 12 *akçe* et les élèves 2 *akçe* par jour, à comparer aux 18 et 6 *akçe* versés respectivement au maître et aux élèves de la *medrese* des İştib-zâde (*TdiM* V/5, p. 60-61 et p. 66).

¹⁸ *TdiM* V/5, p. 56-76 ; *TdiM* V/2, p. 115-128.

d'entre eux, le nombre de mosquées, *zâviye*, *mekteb* et *hân* a doublé entre 1570 et le moment de sa visite en 1662¹⁹.

En somme, Abdülkerîm Efendi et Sinân Pacha ont choisi de s'engager dans la construction de bâtiments dans une ville en plein essor entre le milieu du xvi^e et le milieu du xvii^e siècle. C'est également une ville dont la région est marquée, au début de cette période, par l'influence de l'ordre des derviches *halvetî*. La construction a débuté dans les années 1520 avec Muhyiddîn Efendi, qui peut être considéré comme un éminent pionnier à cet égard. Cette tendance s'est accélérée grâce à l'activité de Sofyalı Bâlî Efendi, né dans un village près de Strumica, non loin de Štip. Ses disciples, comme Kurd Efendi ou Nûreddîn-zâde Muslihiddîn Efendi, ont non seulement contribué à répandre ses enseignements en Rumeli, mais également réussi à former une nouvelle génération de cheikhs qui comprend Abdülkerîm Efendi et Hasan Adlî Efendi, autre cheikh éminent de Štip, et à renforcer le pouvoir et l'influence de la Halvetiye sur les élites de la capitale²⁰. Le poste de cheikh de l'importante *zâviye* de Sokollu Mehmed Pacha à Istanbul, par exemple, est occupé à cette période (de 1574 au moins jusqu'en 1635-1636) par des cheikhs *halvetî*, tous de la lignée spirituelle de Bâlî Efendi et tous ayant des racines dans la région de la Rumeli sud-centrale, entre Plovdiv et Štip²¹. Alors que la Halvetiye avait été constamment en butte à la suspicion et même à des allégations d'hérésie dans la première moitié du xvi^e siècle, quelques décennies plus tard, sous le règne de Murâd III, au cours duquel semblent avoir été établis les bâtiments décrits dans cet article, elle reçoit l'appui du sultan lui-même²².

Abdülkerîm Efendi avait laissé derrière lui des penchants plus hétérodoxes exprimés au début de sa carrière. De retour à Istanbul, il occupa la position prestigieuse de cheikh de la *zâviye* Sokollu à la mort de son mentor Kurd Efendi en 1587-1588²³. On ne sait pas ce qui motiva sa « conversion » au soufisme orthodoxe *halvetî*, geste qui le rendit acceptable et apprécié parmi les couches supérieures de la société stambouliote et qui lui permit de revenir à la capitale après un séjour à Štip. Peut-être voulait-il simplement mettre sa carrière à un autre niveau, ce en quoi il réussit certainement : la plupart des chroniqueurs, tels Na'îmâ ou İbrahim

¹⁹ EVLIYÂ ÇELEBİ, 2002, p. 62-65.

²⁰ Cf. CLAYER, 1994, p. 70-73, p. 95-96, p. 157-159, p. 166.

²¹ HAFİZ HÜSEYİN AYVANSARAYI, 1999, p. 214-215.

²² YÜREKLİ, 2003, p. 162-163 et p. 172.

²³ CLAYER, 1994, p. 95-96.

Peçevî, se souviennent de lui comme d'un prédicateur (*vâ'iz*) engagé, érudit et extrêmement populaire depuis longtemps à la prestigieuse mosquée Süleymâniye d'Istanbul. Ce poste, qu'il occupa sans doute parallèlement à celui de cheikh de la *zâviye* Sokollu, lui permit aussi de diffuser ses convictions — à la fois spirituelles et politiques — auprès d'un public très large. Apparemment peu disposé à restreindre ses prédications aux questions purement religieuses, il fut chassé de la capitale à deux reprises. Néanmoins, sa popularité auprès du peuple et des janissaires ne cessa pas et son retour ne tarda pas²⁴.

* * *

Avant d'aborder les raisons du patronage architectural conjoint du cheikh et du pacha, il est nécessaire d'établir le but de leur projet. La réponse à cette question est rendue compliquée par le fait qu'un seul de ces bâtiments est encore debout, tandis que le reste paraît avoir été détruit entre le XVII^e et le XX^e siècle. Beaucoup de dégâts ont été certainement causés par l'invasion en 1689-1690 des Habsbourg, qui a laissé de nombreuses villes dévastées entre la Pannonie et la Macédoine, dont Štip. C'est pour cette raison que la description de la ville par Evliyâ Çelebi, qui la visita en 1662 (puis à nouveau en 1670, sans laisser de description), est une source essentielle pour la connaissance de ces bâtiments. Néanmoins, il convient de souligner que le décompte qu'Evliyâ Çelebi en a effectué n'est pas sans ambiguïté. Si certains bâtiments sont mis en évidence, d'autres ne sont mentionnés qu'en passant. Il est par ailleurs possible que certains soient mentionnés sous plusieurs noms différents, comme nous le verrons plus loin. Evliyâ Çelebi se réfère également au cheikh-patron non pas par le nom d'Abdülkerîm Efendi ou de Vâ'iz Emîr, appellations qui semblent être les plus courantes, mais presque exclusivement en le désignant comme « Küçük Emîr Sultan »²⁵. Les bâtiments qu'Evliyâ Çelebi attribue à ce patron sont les suivants²⁶:

1) un grand caravansérail, décrit comme un bâtiment à deux étages, avec une couverture en plomb et ressemblant à une forteresse (*kal'a-misâl*),

²⁴ PEÇEVÎ, 1969, p. 451 ; NA'İMÂ, 1832, p. 46-47 et p. 254-255 ; TEZCAN, 2010, p. 124.

²⁵ L'appellation était sans doute destinée à lui rendre hommage et à le distinguer de l'autre *emîr sultân*, Emîr Buhârî, actif à Bursa entre la fin du XIV^e siècle et sa mort en 1429, si influent durant cette période qu'il est désigné par un commentateur byzantin en 1422 comme « le patriarche des Turcs ». Cf. MORDTMANN, TAESCHNER, 1991.

²⁶ EVLIYÂ ÇELEBÎ, 2002, p. 62-65.

avec « cent » cellules (*hücre*) où les hôtes (*mihmân*) séjournent gratuitement. Cette structure massive jouxte une vaste cour, assez grande pour « un millier de chameaux, de chevaux ou de mules », au centre de laquelle se trouve un grand bassin (*havz-ı azîm*) et un noble *mescid*. C'était certainement le plus remarquable des bâtiments en question, ne serait-ce qu'en raison de sa taille. Aussi Evliyâ Çelebi l'a-t-il décrit en détail. Si on le compare avec les exemples de caravansérail qui nous sont parvenus, ce plan avec un *mescid* au centre de la cour était certainement plus proche des modèles syriens et anatoliens que de ceux des Balkans. Dans ces conditions, il est difficile d'établir dans quelle mesure les deux patrons ont influencé le choix de ce type de structure. Il convient de souligner qu'un tiers des bâtiments connus des *vakf* de Sinân Pacha sont des caravansérails ou des *hân*²⁷. La littérature scientifique ne donne aucune indication quant au moment où le caravansérail de Štip fut détruit, événement qui peut avoir eu lieu dès 1689-1690. Un spacieux bâtiment « ressemblant à une forteresse » constituait certainement un lieu stratégique majeur dans une ville qui avait laissé sa forteresse à l'abandon au moment de la visite d'Evliyâ Çelebi (et probablement beaucoup plus tôt). Il est donc probable que ce caravansérail fut détruit pendant la guerre ou lors des destructions délibérées perpétrées par les forces des Habsbourg au moment de leur départ.

2) un *bezzâzistân* (fig. 2), qui se distingue par des dômes couverts en plomb — généralement indice d'un patronage de haut niveau. Ce bâtiment existe encore et sert actuellement d'espace à des expositions. Au moment de la visite d'Evliyâ Çelebi il s'ouvrait par deux portes de fer. Il avait pour fonction, comme le suggère le terme *bezzâzistân*, le stockage et la vente de textiles précieux « des sept climats » (*ekâlîm-i seb'a*). Il s'agit d'une structure massive composée de trois espaces à coupoles. Ici encore, ce plan n'est pas tout à fait habituel pour un *bezzâzistân* : ce type de bâtiment, dans les Balkans des ^{xv}^e et ^{xvi}^e siècles — comme nous pouvons le déduire des exemples monumentaux qui ont survécu dans des villes comme Sarajevo, Larissa ou Serrès — était généralement constitué d'une structure en pierre composée de six baies à coupole et entourée de boutiques²⁸. Il est intéressant de noter que les deux monuments qui

²⁷ Cf. les listes fournies dans BAYRAM, 1999, p. 164-166.

²⁸ Dans la partie de son travail consacrée à Istanbul, Evliyâ Çelebi (1996, p. 178) parle d'un *bezzâzistân* construit par le cheikh à Skopje, mais cela pourrait bien être une erreur. La documentation disponible ne connaît pas de tel bâtiment. Parmi les bâtiments mentionnés, aucun *bezzâzistân* n'est mentionné comme ayant été construit à Štip. Cette dernière peut

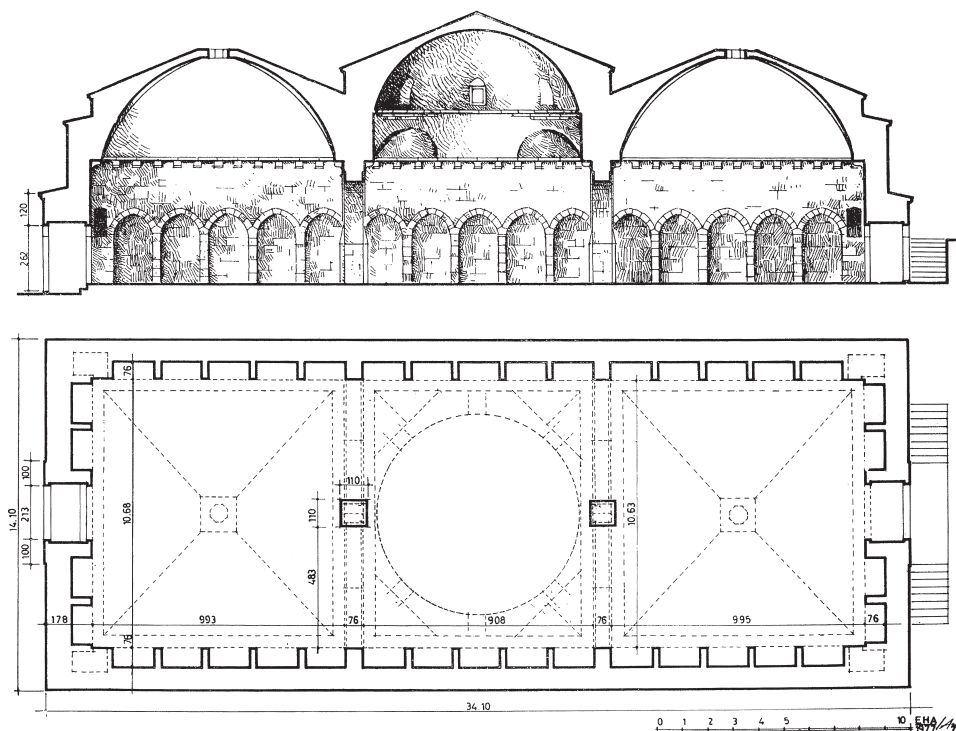


Fig. 2. Plan et section du *bezzâzistân* à Štip, d'après Ayverdi, 2000, p. 68.

semblent avoir été les plus remarquables dans cet ensemble étaient destinés à promouvoir le commerce plutôt que des convictions religieuses. Nous n'avons aucune preuve attestant qu'Abdülkerîm Efendi était un homme d'affaires, aussi devons-nous supposer que le caravansérail et le *bezzâzistân* ont été construits pour fournir une base solide à d'autres institutions économiques dans le *vakf*.

3) un pont, très probablement la structure que l'auteur décrit ailleurs comme « un pont à cinq yeux » sur la Bregalnica, à proximité du caravansérail. Comme Evliyâ Çelebi mentionne dans la même phrase un autre pont, qu'il décrit comme étant en bois, en dessous de la forteresse, nous

simplement avoir été confondue avec Skopje — que ce soit à cause de leur proximité relative ou de la similitude phonétique entre « Üsküb » et « İştib ». Notons aussi que dans EVLIYÂ ÇELEBI 1846 (cf. p. 17), tous ces bâtiments sont situés à Štip et aucun à Skopje.

devons présumer que le *Küçük Emîr Sultân cisri* était en pierre. Son emplacement à proximité de son caravansérail n'est pas surprenant, puisque les deux structures étaient destinées à améliorer les communications. Le pont de pierre ottoman survivant à Štip a plus de cinq arches, mais il peut s'agir de la même structure ou d'une reconstruction postérieure à 1690.

4) plusieurs cafés (*kahvehâne*); probablement construits dans l'unique but de financer le *vakf*, ils reflètent peut-être aussi la prédilection des cheikhs *halvetî* pour le café, qu'ils avaient à défendre contre les théologiens plus orthodoxes de cette époque.

5) un bassin circulaire (*havz-ı müdevver*) pour les hommes et les animaux, sur une grande place pavée (*meydân*), entre le bazar et le caravansérail. Curieusement, il est décrit comme ayant des robinets en forme de tête de dragon²⁹ et comme étant « dans l'esprit *şâfi'î* », mais ce que l'auteur entend par là n'est pas tout à fait clair. Fait intéressant, Evliyâ Çelebi a également trouvé dans le complexe syrien de Koca Sinân Pacha à Sa'sa' une structure qu'il qualifie de *şâfi'î havzu* (bien qu'ici une connexion *şâfi'î* ne soit pas aussi exotique qu'elle peut l'être à Štip)³⁰. Les robinets en forme de dragon sont certainement une curiosité et suggèrent que ce bassin n'avait pas été conçu comme une structure purement utilitaire, mais obéissait aussi à un souci esthétique — contrairement à la plupart des autres bâtiments de ce groupe, qui semblent se distinguer, le cas échéant, uniquement par leur taille et leur utilité.

6) vraisemblablement un autre pont, qu'Evliyâ Çelebi désigne comme « Küçük Emîr Efendi » en tant que patron des « ponts » au pluriel, en fait un double pluriel (*cüsûrlar*). Deux ponts en bois — l'un à cinq et l'autre à six arches — sont mentionnés en sus de celui en pierre. Ces deux ponts en bois se situaient quelque part en dessous de la forteresse. L'un d'eux pourrait être le pont en bois construit sous le règne de Bâyezîd (II ?) (cf. *supra*), l'autre celui construit par Abdülkerîm Efendi et Sinân Pacha.

7) un couvent de derviches rapidement désigné par Evliyâ Çelebi comme *Emîr Çelebi Sultân tekyesi*. Étrangement, il n'est pas mentionné quand Evliyâ Çelebi traite des *hayrât* d'Abdülkerîm Efendi dans son décompte des institutions musulmanes à Štip. En outre, c'est le seul moment où il insère un *çelebi* entre *emîr* et *sultân*, mais il est peu probable qu'il parle d'une autre personne. Dans le premier volume du

²⁹ EVLIYÂ ÇELEBİ, 2002, p. 64, écrit : « ejder ağızlarından âb-ı nâb havza cereyân edüp... ».

³⁰ EVLIYÂ ÇELEBİ, 2005, p. 265.

Seyâhatnâme d'Evliyâ Çelebi, qui porte sur Istanbul et où notre cheikh est également mentionné (même si c'est sous le nom d'Abdülkerîm plutôt que sous celui de « Küçük Emîr Sultan »), il est dit qu'un *zâviye imâreti* a été construit à Štip : c'est probablement le même bâtiment³¹.

8) le hammam d'« Emîr Efendi », l'un des deux bains de la ville selon Evliyâ Çelebi. Štip comptait déjà au moins deux hammams vers 1570³², ce qui peut signifier que l'auteur a attribué par erreur ce hammam ou, plus probablement, tout simplement négligé de comptabiliser un ou plusieurs des hammams de la ville, tout comme il n'a pas pu ne voir qu'une seule *medrese*³³.

9) un bâtiment (ou institution) qu'il identifie comme un *imâret-i dârü'z-ziyâfe* (« lieu d'alimentation », réfectoire ou cuisine ?), mais il est difficile de déterminer si cela se rapporte à un édifice en particulier, comme on le suppose généralement. Dans le volume sur Istanbul, comme cela a été mentionné *supra*, il indique qu'un *zâviye imâreti* a été construit à Štip par le cheikh³⁴, mais cette formulation est tout aussi ambiguë. Il est probable que la distribution de repas était une des fonctions d'un autre bâtiment qu'Evliyâ Çelebi nomme *tekye*.

10) un *hân*, qu'Evliyâ Çelebi localise à l'extérieur du bazar. Il est probable que ce bâtiment est identique au caravansérail, les deux termes étant souvent utilisés de façon interchangeable. Lorsqu'Evliyâ Çelebi décrit les bâtiments d'Emîr Sultân, il ne mentionne qu'un *hân*, pas un caravansérail. Cependant, dans le volume sur Istanbul, il déclare que le cheikh a construit à Štip des *hân*, au pluriel³⁵. Il convient également de mentionner que Sinân Pacha a construit plus d'un *hân* à d'autres endroits tels que Kaçanik, Malkara, Uzundžovo et Bulaq³⁶, mais il n'est bien sûr pas aisé de déterminer dans quelle mesure les bâtiments de Štip reflètent vraiment le programme de Sinân plutôt que celui d'Abdülkerîm.

11) une mosquée (*câmi*), mentionnée en passant, figure aussi dans le volume sur Istanbul³⁷. Evliyâ Çelebi donne le nom de huit des mosquées de Štip, en en omettant une, attribuée à Abdülkerîm. Cela peut signifier

³¹ EVLIYÂ ÇELEBİ, 1996, p. 178.

³² Le seul hammam de la ville est mentionné dans le registre de 1530 (cf. *supra*). La section *Evkâf* du registre de 1570 (cf. *TdiM* V/5, p. 60-61) mentionne un « nouveau hammam ».

³³ EVLIYÂ ÇELEBİ, 1996, p. 178.

³⁴ Cf. *TdiM* V/5, p. 60-61 et p. 66.

³⁵ EVLIYÂ ÇELEBİ, 1996, p. 178.

³⁶ Cf. BAYRAM, 1990, p. 166.

³⁷ EVLIYÂ ÇELEBİ, 1996, p. 178.

qu'elle n'était pas très importante ou qu'il a confondu le type de bâtiment, peut-être en présentant un *mescid* comme une *câmi*. Dans les sections sur les *mescid* est mentionné un *hâniçi mescidi* qui pourrait bien être la structure mentionnée plus tard comme le noble (*âlî*) oratoire dans la cour du caravansérail du cheikh. Peut-être s'agit-il là de la « mosquée » enregistrée par Evliyâ Çelebi ?

En conclusion, certains doutes subsistent quant au nombre et aux fonctions des bâtiments de Štip attribués à Abdülkerîm Efendi et à Sinân Pacha, mais le grand caravansérail et la place adjacente avec son bassin raffiné, le pont de pierre près du caravansérail, le *bezzâzistân*, la *tekye* (probablement servant également comme *imâret-i dârü'z-ziyâfe*) et le hammam en font très certainement partie. En l'absence de la *vakfiye*, nous pouvons seulement supposer que le produit des recettes des cafés, des boutiques, du hammam et du *bezzâzistân* était utilisé pour la rémunération du personnel du caravansérail, de la *tekye*, du *mescid* ou de la mosquée et bien sûr pour le salaire du *mütevelli*. Evliyâ Çelebi mentionne le tombeau de « Küçük Emîr-zâde Cenân Efendi » comme l'un des *ziyâretgâh* de Štip, ce qui pourrait bien signifier qu'Abdülkerîm Efendi a installé un de ses fils comme *mütevelli* de son *vakf* à Štip, pratique alors courante³⁸.

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Il reste à comprendre comment Abdülkerîm Efendi réussit à intéresser Sinân Pacha au parrainage de ces bâtiments sous son nom et à quel moment cela eut lieu. Les sources présentées ne fournissent pas d'indication quant à la nature de la relation entre ces deux individus, qui malgré tout avaient beaucoup en commun. Tous deux étaient originaires de Rumeli. Ils étaient tous deux présents en Égypte, en Syrie, ainsi qu'au Yémen dans les années 1560³⁹ — séjours qui semblent avoir eu un impact important sur la formation spirituelle d'Abdülkerîm — mais je ne peux présenter aucune preuve concrète qu'ils se connaissaient à cette époque. Tous deux également connurent l'exil et ne purent revenir à Istanbul qu'avec le soutien très ferme des janissaires⁴⁰. On peut déduire que Sinân Pacha était

³⁸ Un autre de ses fils, Seyyid Mustafâ Efendi, fut nommé cheikh de la *zâviye* Sokollu Mehmed Pacha à Istanbul-Kadîrga en 1630-1631. Cf. HAFİZ HÜSEYİN AYYANSARAYI, 1999, p. 215.

³⁹ BABINGER, [DÁVID], 1991, p. 631 ; CLAYER, 1994, p. 95.

⁴⁰ TEZCAN, 2010, p. 124 ; BABINGER, [DÁVID], 1991, p. 631.

favorable à la Halvetiye du fait qu'il installa des représentants de cet ordre comme enseignants dans les *medrese* qu'il fit construire à Yenişehir et à Malkara⁴¹. Alors que l'enquête pourrait s'arrêter là, on doit pouvoir trouver une raison plus concrète au patronage conjoint de cet ensemble de bâtiments.

Pour pouvoir répondre à cette question, il serait utile de connaître la date de construction des bâtiments de Štip. Malheureusement, le *bezzâ-zistân*, la structure principale de l'ensemble des bâtiments conjointement patronnés avec Sinân Pacha qui nous sont parvenus à Štip, ne contient pas d'inscription. De même, aucune date de fondation ne nous est fournie par Evliyâ Çelebi ou par les autres sources présentées ici, tant pour ce bâtiment que pour les autres. Toutefois, il est clair que si elles ont été coparrainées par Sinân Pacha — comme le postule cet article — cela doit avoir eu lieu avant la mort de ce dernier survenue en 1596. Par ailleurs, puisque le registre fiscal de 1570 ne mentionne aucun de ces bâtiments ni d'*evkâf* que l'on pourrait identifier à ceux-ci, nous devons présumer qu'ils furent construits après cette date. On pourra peut-être trouver un indice crucial dans le fait que le voyageur ottoman Âşık Mehmed vit à Štip, au cours de la première moitié de l'année 1590, une structure qu'il a décrite comme *ribât-ı âlî*⁴². Malheureusement, ce qu'il voulait dire n'est pas tout à fait clair. Depuis le début de l'islam, le terme *ribât* a été utilisé pour des bâtiments de fonctions variées, y compris des édifices fortifiés en général, des *hankâh* urbaines et des caravansérails⁴³. Âşık Mehmed ajoute que le *ribât-ı âlî* de Štip sert pour l'hébergement des voyageurs (*nüzûl-i müsâfirîn için*), mais qu'il remplit aussi les fonctions de *hankâh*, qu'il peut également dénommer *ribât*. On ne sait pas très précisément à quel bâtiment de Štip de 1590 il fait allusion. Evliyâ Çelebi ne s'exprime pas sur l'une des *zâviye/tekye* de Štip comme revêtant une importance architecturale dans le sens où elle mériterait d'être appelée un *ribât-ı âlî*. En fait, à part les mosquées, la seule structure imposante qu'il a mise en évidence est le caravansérail d'Abdülkerîm Efendi dont il a été question plus haut. Comme nous l'avons vu, dans sa description de cette structure, l'auteur la mentionne comme « ressemblant à une forteresse » (*kal'a-misâl*) ; il est même très probable que c'est à cause de ces éléments — une structure imposante en pierre répondant aux besoins des visiteurs — que les deux

⁴¹ BAYRAM, 1999, p. 171.

⁴² ÂŞIK MEHMED, 2007, p. 1004.

⁴³ RABAT, 1995.

voyageurs l'ont mise en évidence et comparée à une *kal'a* ou à un *ribât*. Si cette identification est correcte, le patronage doit être situé entre 1570 et 1590. Néanmoins, une date plus proche de 1590, coïncidant avec le sommet de la carrière de ces personnes, est plus probable.

On ne peut que spéculer sur les antécédents immédiats de la décision prise par Sinân de parrainer un nombre considérable de bâtiments au nom d'Abdülkerîm dans une localité avec laquelle il ne semble avoir entretenu par ailleurs aucune relation. Bien sûr cela pourrait être dû à la haute estime qu'il avait pour le cheikh prédicateur, estime qu'il aurait partagée avec beaucoup de ses contemporains⁴⁴ ; ou bien pourrait-il l'avoir récompensé pour des services qu'il en aurait reçus ? Une piste possible est à explorer dans le rôle de prédicateur influent que joua Abdülkerîm dans la seconde moitié du règne de Murâd III (1574-1595). On trouve quelques commentaires plutôt désagréables sur le rôle des prédicateurs de cette période dans des textes de Mustafâ Âlî datés de 1581 et 1599. Cet auteur déplorait leur intervention dans la politique. Leur rôle de prédicateurs, selon Mustafâ Âlî, aurait dû être limité au domaine théologique, or ils abusaient de leur influence sur le peuple pour critiquer impunément, en public, sultans et vizirs. Pire encore, dans le dernier quart du xvi^e siècle, ils avaient été consultés « à plusieurs reprises » au sujet de la révocation et de la nomination de grands vizirs⁴⁵. À cet égard, le rêve fait par le *silâhdâr* Saatçî Hasan Ağa peu avant la mort du sultan en 1595 est intéressant ; on y retrouve, parmi les protagonistes, Murâd III, son grand-père Soliman le Magnifique et Şeyh İstibî⁴⁶. La simple présence de ce dernier dans un tel rêve semble indiquer un certain degré d'intimité avec Murâd III. On avancera, à simple titre d'hypothèse, que le cheikh avait donné son approbation au rappel d'exil de Koca Sinân Pacha, nommé de nouveau grand vizir en avril 1589, et que ce dernier, pour le remercier de son geste, avait financé en partie les bâtiments de Štip fondés au nom du cheikh. Dans ce cas, ceux-ci auraient été construits entre le printemps 1589, lorsque Sinân Pacha devint de nouveau grand vizir, et le printemps ou l'été 1590, lorsqu'Âşık Mehmed admira le « sublime » caravansérail.

On ne doit cependant pas perdre de vue qu'une telle reconstruction reste spéculative et n'est corroborée par aucune source directe. Elle répondrait cependant à certaines questions non résolues. Si elle est correcte, la

⁴⁴ Cf. en particulier PEÇEVİ, 1969, p. 451.

⁴⁵ MUSTAFA ÂLÎ, 2003, p. 172. Pour ses précédentes observations sur les prédicateurs, cf. MUSTAFA ÂLÎ, 1979, p. 55-57 (traduction) et p. 148-150 (transcription).

⁴⁶ D'OHSSON, 1788, p. 399-402 ; HAMMER-PURGSTALL, 1829, p. 230 et références.

« conjoncture » importante se serait présentée en 1589. Le cheikh avait une influence considérable dans la capitale, y compris sur le sultan lui-même, tandis que le pacha, fabuleusement riche mais controversé, avait besoin de son soutien. Le pacha aurait rendu la pareille en construisant à Štip, selon les souhaits du cheikh, un ensemble de bâtiments qui pourrait non seulement promouvoir sa ville natale comme un centre florissant, mais aussi soutenir quelques institutions, telles qu'un couvent de derviches, par la création d'autres établissements de rapport. En outre, il est probable qu'il dota les descendants du cheikh d'un moyen de subsistance en leur offrant la perspective de devenir *mütevellî* d'un *vakf* enregistré au nom d'Abdülkerîm, mais dont les ressources provenaient d'une infrastructure payée par le pacha. Certes, le caractère de ce patronage architectural est assez atypique pour un cheikh. Mais même si seul Evliyâ Çelebi atteste la participation du pacha à cette entreprise, les autres indices suggèrent que cette collaboration, si elle eut bien lieu, obéissait à de solides raisons.

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Maximilian HARTMUTH, *Le patronage architectural de Koca Sinân Pacha dans les Balkans : un ensemble de bâtiments inconnus de la fin du XVI^e siècle à Štip (Macédoine)*

L'objectif de cette contribution est d'établir l'implication de Sinân Pacha (ob. 1596) dans la construction dans la ville macédonienne de Štip (ott. : İştib) d'un ensemble de bâtiments, parmi lesquels un immense caravansérail aujourd'hui disparu et un marché couvert. Pour diverses raisons, ces bâtiments ont été ignorés dans les recherches menées sur le riche patronage architectural de cet homme d'État ottoman, d'origine albanaise, de la seconde moitié du XVI^e siècle. La raison principale est que, bien que financés (au moins en partie) par Sinân Pacha, ils ont été construits sous le nom de l'éminent prédicateur cheikh Abdülkerîm Efendi, né à Štip. Cet article se propose donc d'interroger la relation entre le pacha et le cheikh qui a conduit à leur parrainage conjoint des bâtiments à Štip. Il essaiera également d'expliquer pourquoi cette démarche fut entreprise et quels étaient les effets attendus, à cet endroit précis et dans le contexte du développement de cette ville au cours de la seconde moitié du XVI^e siècle.

Maximilian HARTMUTH, *The Architectural Patronage of Koca Sinân Pasha in the Balkans : a Cluster of Unknown Buildings in Late-16th-Century Štip (Macedonia)*

This paper discusses the contribution of Sinân Pasha (d. 1596) to the construction in the Macedonian town of Štip (Ott. : İştib) of a cluster of buildings, including an immense caravanserai (not extant) and a covered market. For many reasons, these buildings have been ignored by research on the rich architectural patronage of this Albanian-born second-half-16th-century Ottoman statesman. The main reason is that, although financed (at least in part) by Sinân Pasha, these structures were actually built in the name of the sheikh Abdülkerîm Efendi, a native of Štip who had risen to prominence in Istanbul as a preacher. My paper considers the relationship between the pasha and the sheikh, which led to their joint patronage of new buildings in Štip; it also tries to explain the motives as well as the expected results of such operations in this particular area, in the framework of the city's development in the second half of the 16th century.

BUILDING AN OTTOMAN LANDSCAPE: THE COMPLEXES OF SINÂN PASHA ON THE IMPERIAL ROADS OF SYRIA

S _____ INTRODUCTION

inân Pasha (1520-1596)¹ was a great architectural patron who founded numerous buildings all over the Ottoman Empire.² None of these foundations involved the construction and maintenance of as many religious and utilitarian buildings as his endowment in the province of Damascus; this foundation was ordered during his first appointment as grand vizier (1580-1582),³ and mostly completed during his governorship of that province (1586-1588).⁴ The *waqf* included buildings in the city of Damascus and in the (then) village of Acre, but more importantly, the often disregarded three roadside complexes on the imperial roads between

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¹ This paper is part of an ongoing research project, funded by the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA) and running until the summer of 2012. The conclusions drawn at this stage are thus still preliminary and hypothetical. I would like to thank the Syrian Ministry of Tourism and Culture, the Syrian Department of Antiquities and Museums as well as the Turkish Ministry of Culture. Without their authorisations I would not have been able to get access to any of the material presented in this paper. I would also like to thank Vanessa Van Renterghem, Stephen McPhillips and the editors of this special feature for their comments and corrections to different versions of this paper, as well as St. McPhillips and Paul Wordsworth for their invaluable help with developing the map (fig. 1).

² ÖZ, 1946; BAYRAM, 1999.

³ HEYD, 1960, p. 110-113.

⁴ MEHMED SÜREYYA, 1996, vol. 5, p. 1512; PASCUAL, 1983, p. 32-34.

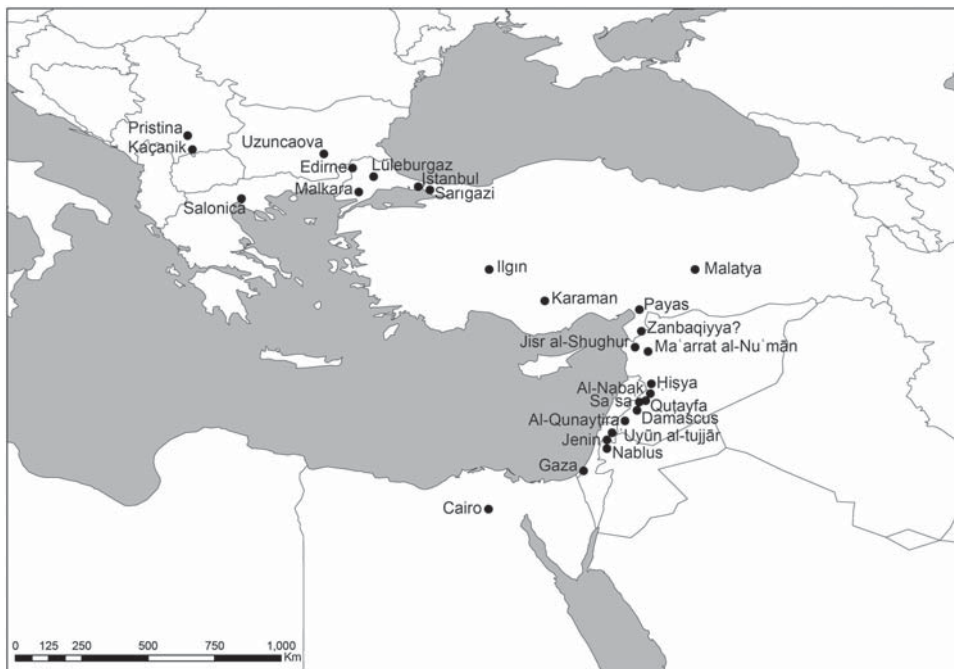


Fig. 1. Map of the geographical situation of Sinân Pasha's complexes on the imperial roads of Syria (design: Marianne Boqvist)

Istanbul and Cairo: the so-called imperial *imarets* (*'imâra 'âmira*) in Qutayfa, Sa'sa', and 'Uyûn al-Tujjâr.⁵

These three imperial *imarets* are of particular interest, not only because they were part of such a big and important endowment, but also because, as far as we know, the Ottomans built remarkably few *imarets* in the Arab provinces and all of them were concentrated in Syria: five in Damascus and its neighbourhood and ten on the roads leading to other cities and regions.⁶

⁵ VGM 629-523 and VGM 583-188, fol. 1a-1b. Different aspects of this endowment and some of the buildings within it have previously been studied; cf. MEINECKE, 1978, p. 584-585; PASCUAL, 1983; ARNÂ'ÛT, 1993; WEBER, 1997-1998, p. 436, p. 439, p. 442, p. 445, ill. 11; KAFESCIOĞLU, 1999, p. 74-76; MEIER, 2007.

⁶ In Damascus: the two sultanî foundations of the Takiyya Salîmiyya and the Takiyya Sulaymâniyya, the Aḥmadiyya by Şemsi Aḥmad Pasha, the Mawlawiyya and the one in Maşjid al-Qadam by Küçük Aḥmad Pasha; on the roads outside the city: the three complexes that are the focus of this paper as well as those of Lala Muştafâ Pasha in Qunayṭira and Fâtîma Khâtûn in Jenin, that of Hasseki Hürrem in Jerusalem, those in Ḥisya and al-Nabak by Şâliḥ

No building complex of this kind, generally referred to as a *takiyya*, was founded in Egypt or elsewhere in North Africa.⁷

Dependent on the context, an Ottoman *imaret* could be associated with a multifunctional building complex, or with the food distribution facility included as part of some of these complexes.⁸ Three days of free hospitality for pilgrims and travellers had been the standard practice in similar institutions in the time of the Seljuqs. These Ottoman *imarets* that offered food and shelter free of charge for up to three months were thus a way to emphasise the generosity of the new rulers.⁹

In addition, the presence of a public kitchen seems to have been particularly important for an imperial designation and in theory only the complexes promoted by members of the Ottoman royal family were allowed to distribute food free of charge.¹⁰ The complexes discussed below were founded in collaboration with the sultan, but the imperial label vanished with time and only the name of Sinân Pasha remained in use. The food distribution, however, was maintained, at least until the 18th century.¹¹

The aim of this paper is to present some preliminary thoughts on the multifaced intentions that lay behind the foundation of Sinân Pasha's endowment in Bilâd al-Shâm. In addition to determining how these complexes related to Ottoman and local architectural traditions, it considers why they were founded at this time and on this particular road. It also discusses how the foundations related to the financial and political interests of Sinân Pasha and/or the Ottoman state, and to the importance of the state-controlled pilgrimage and trade.

Due to the lack of detailed information on the buildings' spatial organisation and shape in Sinân Pasha's endowment deed, the architectural analysis is based on a study of written source materials, in conjunction with an analysis of the complexes spatial and material aspects. These in turn are compared to similar complexes built in the same province by

Pasha as well as two others in the region; cf. MEIER, 2007, p. 148. Other similar complexes in the province were those in Payas by Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, Beilan by Sulaymân the Magnificent and Zambaqiyya by Sinân Pasha.

⁷ ERGİN, NEUMANN, SINGER eds., 2007, p. 46; MEIER, 2007, p. 141.

⁸ Food distribution was in general the facility that received the most attention; cf. ERGİN, NEUMANN, SINGER eds., 2007, p. 13.

⁹ NEUMANN, 2007, p. 284.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 283.

¹¹ E.g., for Qutayfa, cf. THÉVENOT, 1727, p. 85-87, and GREENE, 1736, p. 31.

another patron or in other provinces by Sinân Pasha himself. This cross-disciplinary approach provides a broader (and thus hopefully more solid) information basis from which conclusions can be drawn.

More evidence on the circumstances of the foundation and its subsequent historical development can certainly still be found; yet thus far, the imperial orders (*Mühimme Defterleri*) are the only published source providing us with information on the sultan's involvement in Sinân Pasha's foundation.¹²

The two most important Syrian buildings considered here for comparative purposes are Murâd Çelebi's complex in Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân, at the north of Hama, and Lala Muştafâ Pasha's one in Qunaytira, located on the road between the Sa'sa' and the 'Uyûn al-Tujjâr complexes (fig. 1). Valuable comparisons are also to be made with other complexes on the same, roughly contemporary roads.¹³ Sinân Pasha's endowments in Uzuncaova (Bulgaria), Kaçanik (Kosovo), and Malkara (Turkish Thrace) are also important to consider because, although only few of their buildings are still standing, the endowment deeds are available.¹⁴

THE THREE *IMARETS* IN QUṬAYFA, SA'SA' AND 'UYÛN AL-TUJJÂR

The village of Quṭayfa, 30 km north of Damascus, was an important junction on the roads towards the north (Aleppo-Istanbul) and the east (Palmyra-Baghdad). The importance of this village as a stop on these roads was emphasised by the foundation of a *khân* for travellers by Nûr al-Dîn ibn Zangî in the 12th century.¹⁵ Sinân Pasha did not include this *khân* in his complex but chose for its construction a site close by. This complex has survived in a reasonable state of preservation and is described in several travel accounts as well as by J. Sauvaget in 1937.¹⁶ Parts of

¹² HEYD, 1960, p. 110-113. There is potentially still considerable relevant documentation in the Başbakanlık Arşivi and in the Topkapı archives in Istanbul as well as in the Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü archives in Ankara. This is why the conclusions drawn in this paper must be considered preliminary.

¹³ Cf. SAUVAGET, 1937, and MEIER, 2007, p. 148.

¹⁴ KALEŞI, 1972; SCHWARTZ, KURIO ed., 1983; HAASE, 1991.

¹⁵ The village was also included in his endowment. For more information, cf. SAUVAGET, 1939, p. 49; ZAKARIYYÂ, 1955, vol. 1, p. 198-199.

¹⁶ For instance, THÉVENOT, 1727, p. 85-87, gives a detailed description of the complex, *khân*, mosque, café and bathhouse. Other descriptions have been provided by GREENE,

it are still in use and have most likely been restored in recent years, especially the mosque used by the people in Qūṭayfa, and the caravanserai used as military barracks.¹⁷

A fortified wall enclosed the complex, whose main entrance opened on a vaulted market (*arasta*) comprising ten shops, a bakery and a coffee shop, all of them vaulted. The *arasta* opened to the immediate right towards the bathhouse, composed of a summer and a winter dressing room, a hot room and smaller domed chambers. This market also served as an access to the open court whence one entered the enclosed courtyard of the single-domed Friday mosque on the left and a caravanserai on the right. The latter was rectangular in shape with domed rooms on two floors and a rectangular fountain in the centre of the courtyard. The u-shaped, cross-vaulted public kitchen was accessible only through this caravanserai and was located in between this building and the enclosing wall (fig. 2 and 3).

Sa'sa' is situated on the road between Damascus and Cairo (*Via Maris*), approximately 30 km south-west of Damascus and only 10 km north of Lala Muṣṭafā Pasha's imperial *imaret* in Qunayṭira. Sinân Pasha's foundation here responded to the fact that travellers suffered from an increasing threat of Bedouin raiding towards the end of the 16th century.¹⁸ We also know this from the travel account of S. Schweigger, who passed by at the time Sinân Pasha was founding these complexes on an earlier structure that had burnt down.¹⁹ An order was made through the imperial treasury to build a fortress with towers that could host 200 households. The project budget was estimated at 3 000-4 000 gold pieces and it was stipulated that the work should be personally supervised by the governor of Damascus, who was also expected to keep record of the costs and to make sure that "good" peasants and fortress guards settled in the complex.²⁰ In addition, the governor was required to personally attend the

1736, p. 37; SEETZEN, 1854, p. 26. Finally, BIDDULPH, 1609, p. 40, says that he stopped in "Cotifey" on his way to Damascus where he "lodged in a very stately new Cane, built by Synan Bashaw".

¹⁷ SAUVAGET, 1937, p. 117-120; CEZAR, 1983, p. 153-154. SEETZEN, 1854, p. 26, says that the complex is intact, but not as well looked after as it should be, a statement that proves that it was still in use after the earthquake of 1759.

¹⁸ HEYD, 1960, p. 110-113.

¹⁹ When S. Schweigger passed by Sa'sa' in May 1581, he reports an attack that resulted in the destruction of the *khân* by Bedouins; cf. *ibid.*, p. 114.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 112-113.

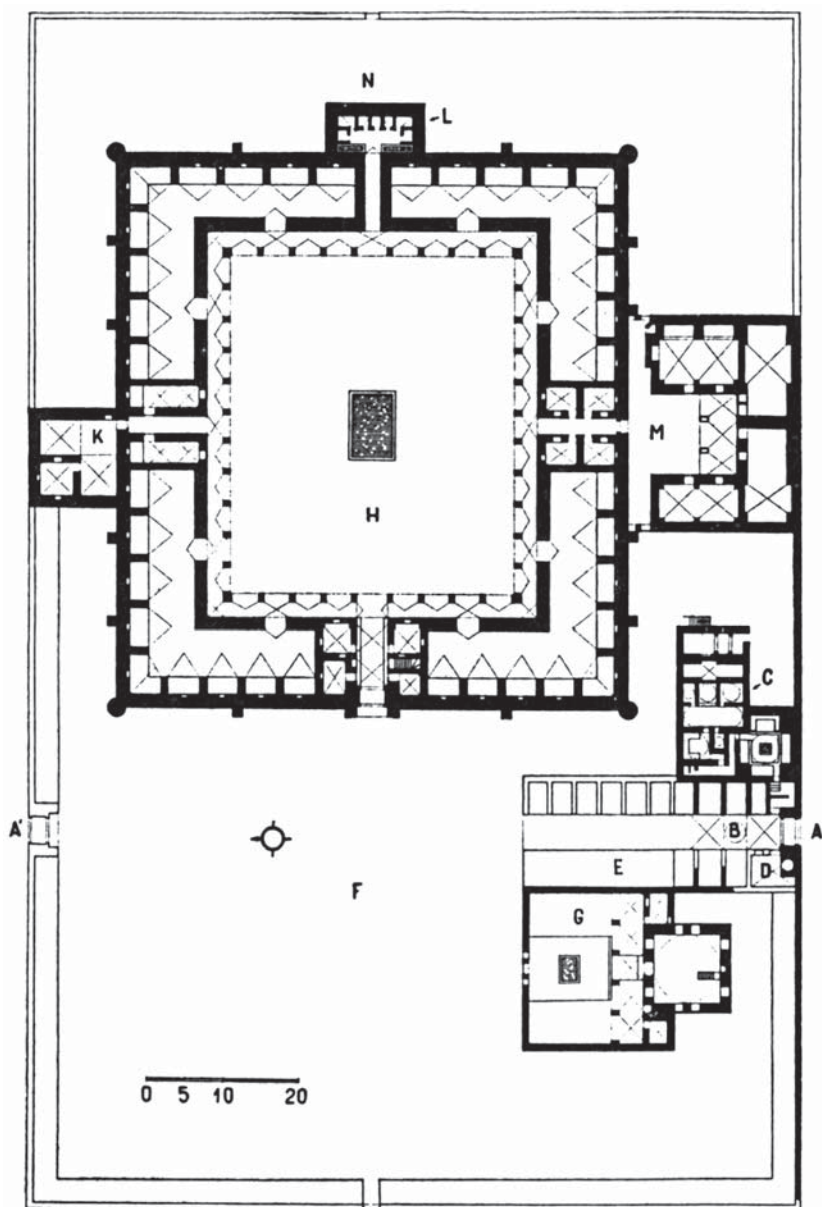


Fig. 2. Qutayfa: plan (Sauvaget, 1937, p. 119, fig. 25).



Fig. 3. Overview of the complex in Qutayfa (photo: Marianne Boqvist).

building site of a fortress big enough to house ten fortress guards and thirty horsemen.²¹ A total of thirteen builders, carpenters, stonecutters and day labourers from Damascus and its vicinity were hired to work in Sa'sa'.²²

In Sa'sa', the exterior fortified wall with its polygonal corner towers and the monumental entrance gate are still in place (fig. 4 and 5), built in small well-preserved limestone masonry. Unfortunately, most of the buildings inside this wall have been removed, ruined or heavily restored. Some of this destruction was due to earthquakes, although for the removal of building materials local inhabitants were probably also to blame.

Our understanding of the complex is based on comparison between the endowment deed building list, the description by Evliya Çelebi, who visited Sa'sa' in the 1670s, historical photographs and what currently remains on the site.²³ The single-domed mosque was in the centre of the

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 180.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 113, n. 13, n. 17, n. 18.

²³ *EVLIYÂ ÇELEBİ*, 2005, p. 265, and *KIEL*, 2001.



Fig. 4. Sa'sa', wall and towers (photo: Marianne Boqvist).



Fig. 5. Sa'sa', main entrance (photo: Marianne Boqvist).



Fig. 6. Sa'sa', interior (photo: Marianne Boqvist).

fortified enclosure and fronted by a fountain.²⁴ A vaulted market led from the main entrance to this single-domed mosque, opening on a bathhouse, a public kitchen with eight domes, a bakery and storerooms joining the passage leading to the kitchen. The complex also had a *maktab*, a primary school for young Muslim boys, and a vaulted space with a chimney.²⁵ Shelter for animals and travellers as well as storage space was provided in two-storied buildings (probably accessible through domed galleries) on the sides of the complex. Only ruins of these parts remain today (fig. 6).

Outside the main entrance to the complex was a fort (no longer in existence), permanently guarded by approximately twenty soldiers. The complex also had a state-supported weekly market outside of these premises.

²⁴ This is visible for instance in a satellite view on Google Maps: <http://maps.google.com/maps?ll=33.289207,36.023148&spn=0.001821,0.002328&t=f&ecp=33.28820546,36.02314814,958.24,-0.005,56.491,0&lci=com.youtube.all&z=19>.

²⁵ MARDAM BEK, 1956, p. 125.

The complex in ‘Uyûn al-Tujjâr²⁶ was located on the same road, at the south-west of Sa‘sa‘, close to the junction of the roads towards Egypt or Jerusalem and Hebron. In 1581, local officials reported to the sultan that this important site had become a meeting place for rebellious Bedouins and brigands who were a threat to the safety of Muslim pilgrims and traders on the road to Egypt. It was suggested that a fortified *khân* with a permanent military garrison should be built here to rectify this situation.²⁷ Orders were then sent to Sinân Pasha, then grand vizier, to build a complex in this location.

There is little left of the complex, and photographic evidence from the Creswell photographic archives shows a complex in a very ruined state in the first half of the 20th century.²⁸ At the same time, the shape of the towers and the enclosure walls, and the nature of the masonry, still bear witness to a striking similarity with what we see in Sa‘sa‘. This can probably be explained by the fact that the same work teams worked at these two sites. According to the Ottoman archival sources mentioned above, Sinân Pasha was asked to take on the responsibility for the construction of a complex including a bath house, six shops, a mill, a coffee-shop, a Friday mosque, a public kitchen with storage rooms (*anbâr*) and two *khâns*, one of which was a fortress financed by the state treasury and the other a caravanserai financed by Sinân Pasha himself.²⁹ This was confirmed by another document stating that the construction work in Sa‘sa‘ and ‘Uyûn al-Tujjâr was financed by Sinân Pasha and the fortresses adjacent to them were built by the state and paid for by tax revenues.³⁰

The funds for these building sites were raised from the Damascus treasury against the sealed receipts of the local administrators Ḥajjî Ḥasan, *jâwish* of the court and superintendent of the two building sites, and Ḥasan, *beg* of Safad and inspector of the ‘Uyûn al-Tujjâr fortress.³¹ Sinân Pasha was to reimburse the imperial treasury from his private fortune.

²⁶ EVLİYÂ ÇELEBİ, 2005, p. 225, and KIEL, 2001.

²⁷ HEYD, 1960, p. 101 and p. 110-114.

²⁸ I have not had the possibility myself to visit this site, this is why its description is less detailed than the other two. For the Creswell photographs, cf. <http://creswell.ashmolean.museum/archive/EA.CA.5196.html>, and <http://creswell.ashmolean.museum/archive/EA.CA.5194.html>, accessed on 15 May 2012.

²⁹ HEYD, 1960, p. 110-113.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

³¹ Administrator of Hasseki Hürrem’s *waqf* in Jerusalem in 987/1579, according to *ibid.*, p. 58 and p. 114.

The involvement of family members in this endowment seems to have been important, as can be seen from the subsequent appointment of Sinân Pasha's son as governor of the province when the mosque in Damascus was inaugurated.³²

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS: OTHER *IMARETS* IN SYRIA AND *IMARETS*
FOUNDED BY SINÂN PASHA IN OTHER LOCATIONS

The first imperial *imarets* to be built in the region following the Takiyya Salîmiyya and the Takiyya Sulaymâniyya in Damascus were those of Lala Muştafâ Pasha in Qunayṭira and Fâtîma Khâtûn in Jenin.

The one in Qunayṭira is particularly interesting in that its written description included in the endowment deed is sufficiently detailed for us to get an approximate idea of its spatial organisation, structures and building material, some of which had features in common with the complex in Sa'sa'.

For instance the endowment deed claims that the Friday mosque of this complex was built with rare and expensive building materials, otherwise only found in an urban context. Yet, according to the same source, these materials were associated to the local architectural vocabulary rather than to that of the central Ottoman lands. The complex was guarded by 42 soldiers, a larger military force than the ones in Quṭayfa (22), Sa'sa' (21), and 'Uyûn al-Tujjâr (28),³³ even if all four public kitchens served the same amount of people: 400 per day.

Murâd Çelebi's complex in Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân, on the road between Aleppo and Hama, is another interesting example in this context, since it is similar to that in Quṭayfa in organisation and design and contemporary to Lala Muştafâ Pasha's foundation. As in Quṭayfa, the layout of this complex was quite similar to the symmetrical space organisation known in the architecture of the central Ottoman provinces. Yet this complex did not have a Friday mosque, but a small domed *masjid* in the centre of its courtyard, adjacent to a domed fountain on pillars. The *masjid* had also a *sabîl* on its outer *qibla* wall. This was a Seljuq architectural tradition

³² LAOUST trans., 1952, p. 190-191.

³³ HEYD, 1960, p. 190.

often found in Anatolia that was introduced in Syria by the Ottomans.³⁴ It is possible that the position of the mosque in the centre of the courtyard in the Sa'sa' complex could be affiliated to this spatial organisation, despite it being a single-domed Friday mosque, in the Ottoman provincial style. This remains to be explored.

The roadside complexes in Qūṭayfa, Sa'sa' and 'Uyûn al-Tujjâr were affiliated to the same architectural tradition as the Takiyya Sulaymâniyya, both in terms of symmetrical space organisation, and in the shape of the buildings, although they were built on a less monumental scale. Similar complexes were built in Ḥisya, al-Nabak, Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân, Jisr al-Shughûr, although these were not imperial *imarets* and did not include any food-producing facilities. Only the complex in Zanbaqiyya, on the road between Jisr al-Shughûr and Hama in northern Syria (fig. 1), supposedly also built by Sinân Pasha, included an *imaret* together with baths and a caravanserai.³⁵

The Ḥisya complex had also a *masjid* in the centre of its courtyard, and the one in al-Nabak included a single-domed mosque. Both these complexes were built by Šâliḥ Pasha in the early 17th century. They were said to have been built on the same pattern as the one in Qūṭayfa.³⁶ In addition, one traveller referred to both of them as the work of Sinân Pasha.³⁷

If we look for comparisons beyond Bilâd al-Sham, Sinân Pasha was responsible for at least three complexes designated as imperial *imarets* in their endowment deeds, namely those in Uzuncaova, Kaçanik and Malkara.³⁸ Uzuncaova was located in a narrow mountain pass, at a nine-days distance from Istanbul, in a place where the (trade) routes from Plovdiv to Edirne, from the Mediterranean Sea, the Black Sea and the Danube met.³⁹ Sultan Bayezid (*regn.* 1481-1512) had built a *khân* on the site that was restored by Sinân Pasha, who during his march towards Belgrade in 1001/1593, ordered the foundation of another *khân*, a Friday mosque, a public kitchen, two bathhouses and shops at the same place.⁴⁰ He also ordered the settlement of two villages in the neighbourhood of

³⁴ Another example is Lala Muṣṭafâ Pasha's caravanserai in Damascus, known as the Khân al-Bâshâ; cf. WATZINGER, WULZINGER, 1924, p. 53-54.

³⁵ ÖZ, 1946, p. 193, n° 250, founded in 998/1589. It was noted by Sauvaget (1937, p. 98) as destroyed when he passed the area in the 1930s. Cf. ZAKARIYYÂ, 1934, p. 118.

³⁶ MUḤIBBÎ, 1970, vol. II, p. 242-243.

³⁷ SEETZEN, 1854, p. 26.

³⁸ SCHWARTZ, KURIO ed., 1983; KALEŠI, 1972; HAASE, 1991.

³⁹ HAMMER-PURGSTALL, 1834, p. 584.

⁴⁰ According to SCHWARTZ, KURIO ed., 1983, p. 4, he invested 30 000 *ghurûsh* of his private funds in this foundation.

his new foundation. This action could be linked to the settlement strategy propagated in Sa'sa', where 200 families were ordered to settle the imperial *imaret*.⁴¹ The foundation of the *imaret* in Uzuncaova was obviously related to the military campaign for the conquest of Belgrade and was thus used as a symbol of Ottoman presence in this location. It must also have served to protect traders and pilgrims.

Sinân Pasha also established a yearly market that took place every autumn in Uzuncaova; today, only the mosque, transformed into a church, and possibly the entrance of one of the *khâns* remain of all this.⁴² The mosque-church is clearly affiliated to the local Ottoman architecture, built in a pale limestone and covered with a domed lead-covered roof.

The Kaçanik complex was built by Sinân Pasha to secure the road between Bosnia and Macedonia and was founded in 994/1586. It consisted of a Friday mosque, a public kitchen, (imperial *imaret*), two *khâns*, a *maktab* and a bathhouse.⁴³ Out of these buildings only the mosque is still standing, another mosque built in the local Ottoman style, a single-domed building, made of sober limestone and covered with a lead roof.

In Malkara, Sinân had a farm where he spent his four-year exile after his failure with the Persian campaign in 1581, after his grand vizierate. There he founded an '*imâra*, rooms (*buyût*) for travellers, two *ribâts* and water works.⁴⁴ There seems to be no remains left of this complex today.

These complexes in the Balkans are less well preserved than those in Syria, most of them were already destroyed in the late 17th century during the Habsburg invasion (1689), or when the Balkan states became independent, in the 19th century. Generally only the mosques have survived, occasionally together with some of the commercial buildings. Not having had the opportunity yet to see these buildings, the only pertinent statement thus far is that they all were built in the local Ottoman provincial style, which was also the case of the Syrian foundations.

By comparing the different complexes founded by Sinân Pasha, it becomes obvious that the Syrian ones included more facilities. This could be due to their location in remote regions that needed to be repopulated, or where there was a need for these facilities, or where it was more important to display Ottoman presence than it was in the Balkans.

⁴¹ HEYD, 1960, p. 188.

⁴² According to SCHWARTZ, KURIO ed., 1983, p. 9, the mosque was converted into a church in 1906.

⁴³ KALEŠI, 1972, p. 280-281, and KIEL, 2001, p. 109.

⁴⁴ HAASE, 1991, p. 141-143.

The variety of buildings included in an *imaret* seems to be quite constant: the primary difference between an ordinary and an imperial complex was its role in food distribution. It is this difference, and the shape of the building, that distinguishes the Ottoman buildings from the local ones.

This brings us to the subsequent question of how the Ottoman concept of imperial *imaret* related to an architecture closely tied to the centre of the Empire and to the local architectural tradition.

IMPERIAL IMARETS: IMPERIAL OR LOCAL ARCHITECTURE?

Contrary to what one may think of such an imperial Ottoman phenomenon, there was no standard model for the Ottoman *imaret*, probably due to the fact that *imarets* had to be adapted to the geographical situation of each site.

What they all probably had in common was that they were built under the responsibility of the office of the royal architects. This office seems to have worked with architectural drawings that could have been sent to the different building sites. The actual use of these drawings is presently not very well known. From what can be observed in the sites in Syria, they were probably a source of inspiration for local supervisors, although the final result depended on the skills of master builders and workmen, as well as on the building material available in each site.⁴⁵

This probably lays behind the formation of a local imperial Ottoman architecture in Damascus and its region that kept some forms common to imperial Ottoman architecture such as the characteristic single-domed mosques.

These mosques were generally built on a quadrangular base, preceded by a loggia flanked by pointed polygonal minarets and often enclosed within a domed gallery, where reused classical columns were crowned by lozenge capitals and in the centre of which there was a rectangular pool. Other characteristic architectural features included the use of domed spaces in places that in the local architecture would have been (most commonly cross-)vaulted. Another characteristic Ottoman element in these buildings was the structure of the caravanserais where the ground floor (for the animals) was composed of two parallel rows of ribless vaults

⁴⁵ Mi'mâr Sinân built just over 20 both imperial and non-imperial *imarets*, but there is no common layout for all of them; ERGİN, NEUMANN, SINGER eds., 2007, p. 27.

on a central pillar.⁴⁶ Other “Ottoman” architectural features were, for instance, the spatial simplification of bathhouses, where the characteristic Ottoman bath had two bigger rooms, one cold and one hot instead of the local tradition of three smaller ones (cold, warm and hot). Other new features introduced in the Syrian architecture through these foundations were the coffee-shops as well as the public kitchens in a roadside context. Finally, the *maktab* was an additional Ottoman import.

At the same time as many innovations were introduced, each building complex bore its own local architectural tradition.⁴⁷ In Syria this implied that although the layout of the single-domed mosques was clearly Ottoman in form, the profile of the domes as well as the drum that supported them was affiliated to the local way of dome-building. In addition, these domes were plastered and not covered with sheets of lead, which was the common practice in Anatolia and the Balkans.

Building material used for ornamentation was also an indicator of the importance of a building and of the status of its architectural patron. The degree of central Ottoman influence in Sa‘sa‘ is particularly obvious in the decoration on the main entrance, where sculpted flowers flanking the inscription on the main gate as well as the sculpted interior of the door could be compared to the main gate of Sinân Pasha’s mosque in Damascus, where we can see the same flowers sculpted in marble.⁴⁸ We have not been able to characterise the type of stone used for this motif in Sa‘sa‘, but considering the degree of preservation it must either be marble or a very hard limestone (fig. 5). It is interesting to note that this probably was not the work of a Damascene workman.

Decoration inside the mosque in this complex is clearly affiliated to the Damascene architecture, in particular the sculpted medallions and framings filled with black and red colour paste. One can thus conclude that this complex displayed its imperial Ottoman affiliation outside and its Damascene one inside.

In the Qūṭayfa mosque, architectural decoration was even rarer, although the limestone masonry is very fine (similar to that in Ma‘arrat

⁴⁶ KIEL, 1990, p. 137-138.

⁴⁷ ERGİN, NEUMANN, SINGER eds., 2007, p. 28.

⁴⁸ The buildings founded by Sinân Pasha in Damascus contained great numbers of precious building material. For instance, his Friday mosque in Damascus was one of the three monuments in the city that had a lead covered dome together with the Omayyad mosque and the Takiyya Sulaymāniyya.

al-Nu‘mân). The painted gypsum lunettes positioned over the windows in the prayer hall could either be a provincial version of similar painted lunettes in the Takiyya Sulaymâniyya or an imitation of the tiles produced in Damascus and used for instance in the Sinâniyya mosque and in the Takiyya Sulaymâniyya. We know from the documents mentioned above that Damascene work teams were sent to Sa‘sa‘ and ‘Uyûn al-Tujjâr. For Quṭayfa no such information has been found so far.

DISCUSSION

Imarets and their impact on the neighbouring areas

The *imarets* historical use as a nucleus of a new settlement, a suburb, or as a pacifying element in insecure areas, is relevant in this context as all three complexes were founded in areas that were out of Ottoman control.⁴⁹ In fact, the insecurity in this type of rural areas was a reason for the abandonment of the rural environment in the second half of the 16th century, which in its turn led to a decrease in travel security at a time when the Ottoman state needed these roads to be secure for the state supported caravans.

The study of cadastral records of the neighbouring sanjaq of Hawran shows that there was a decrease in the population just after the Ottoman conquest.⁵⁰ As the travellers' security was particularly threatened by the depopulation of these areas on the border between settled areas and Bedouin territory, the establishment of loyal farmers with tax-exempt status and horse caretakers in the area was one attempted solution. They probably provided a population equivalent to approximately 250 families.⁵¹

Since thus far none of the cadastral records from this particular region have been studied, we still do not know where the populations brought to these areas came from. The records of the neighbouring area inform us that there were twenty-five Turcoman tribes in the Hawran in the 16th century and that Turcoman soldiers (*sipâhî*) were given revenues from cultivated land (*timar*) to guard routes.⁵² This information corresponds to that of the 1560 *kânûnnâme* that designated Turcomans in the Damascus

⁴⁹ NEUMANN, 2007, p. 280.

⁵⁰ BAKHIT, 1982, p. 227.

⁵¹ HEYD, 1960, p. 101, p. 126-127, p. 190, and BAKHIT, 1982, p. 97-98 and p. 220-221.

⁵² BAKHIT, 1982, p. 226.

region as settlers and not as Bedouins.⁵³ It also corresponds to ‘Abd al-Ghanî al-Nâbulusî’s travel account, according to which Turcoman tribes on the road between Sa‘sa‘ and Jerusalem treated him well.⁵⁴ These settlers probably abandoned the region during the instability periods at the beginning of the 17th century or in the 18th century and were replaced by other Turcoman and Dagestani populations transferred to this area by the Ottoman authorities in the 19th century.⁵⁵

An additional question to this section is whom were these complexes built for. It is most likely that the number of pilgrims and other travellers passing these roadside complexes was greater than the number of per-day served (approximately 400) meals, which raises the question of whom were they intended for and how this might have changed over time.

Information of this type is provided in travel accounts. Thus J. Greene, an 18th-century traveller, was positively surprised to find that travellers could eat and get comfortable shelter for both themselves and their cattle free of charge in this location.⁵⁶ R. Pococke who passed by the same complex a few years later reports to have stayed “in a very fine kane, which has a portico round it” in “Kteiphe”, but notes that free provisions and shelter was no longer available.⁵⁷ This could indicate that this practice was already out of use by that time or that there was a temporary interruption of the services provided.

Sinân Pasha’s endowment deeds include stipulations on food distribution, similar to the Takiyya Sulaymâniyya ones that separated meals for the common poor from meals for more distinguished guests.⁵⁸ This distinction does not however seem to have been the common Ottoman policy.⁵⁹ There is a possibility that the original endowment deed of Lala Muştafâ Pasha’s foundation uses the same formulation.⁶⁰ This could have been a Syrian particularity or a response to the fact that there were some kind of richer, more important travellers on this road that would have deserved special treatment at the time of the foundation of these com-

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 227.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 228, n. 185.

⁵⁵ ZAKARIYYÂ, 1955, p. 539.

⁵⁶ GREENE, 1736, p. 36-37.

⁵⁷ POCKOCKE, 1745, p. 43.

⁵⁸ On the stipulations concerning different dishes on Fridays and Ramadan and for special guests, cf. MEIER, 2007, p. 130-131.

⁵⁹ KIEL, 2001, p. 110.

⁶⁰ MEIER, 2007, p. 142, brings our attention to the fact that there could be a scribal error in this text.

plexes, such as, for instance, Ottoman officials or merchants associated with the Red Sea trade.

In some cases, the mosques in these complexes seem to have been larger than necessary, given the likely number of travellers visiting the *khân*. This could be related to the sultan's intention to found more permanent settlements in these locations. There is evidence that the villagers used these mosques in the 19th century, but so far we do not know who had access to them at the time of their foundation.⁶¹

Imarets economy and interregional trade

The economic factor of commercial interest in the Red Sea trade must also be taken into consideration when examining *imaret* complexes as they were a key to the safe passage of goods and itinerant traders and thus important for the prosperity of the region as were the taxes for the well-being of the Empire.⁶² The *Via Maris* was one of the most important trade routes of the Empire, with *khâns* at the most one daytrip apart that generated significant amounts of tax income.⁶³

Markets were established outside of the Sa'sa' and 'Uyûn al-Tujjâr complexes on the sultan's order in 1582. These markets gathered great numbers of merchants, local artisans and travellers every week.⁶⁴ In comparison, the Uzuncaova complex had one of the most important markets in Rumeli. Another important factor in this context was the protection of the overland route of the Red Sea trade that passed through Egypt. This was an imperial concern, but Sinân Pasha's foundations and merchant facilities on the imperial roads must also be put into the context of his personal investments in the Red Sea trade during his second governorship of Egypt ten years earlier (1571-1574). This included the purchase of part of the Red Sea trading fleet as well as the endowment of grain conservation warehouses for the pilgrimage caravan in the port of Bulaq, in Cairo.⁶⁵

It must consequently have been important to Sinân Pasha to secure the road and to provide facilities for itinerant traders as well as possibilities

⁶¹ 'ALİ BEY, 1816, p. 325, says that the Qutayfa mosque was used as a village mosque in 1803-1807. This was also the case in Qunaytira and still is in Sa'sa'.

⁶² İNALCIK, QUATAERT, 1994, p. 490.

⁶³ HÜTTEROTH, ABDULFATTAH, 1977, p. 92.

⁶⁴ BAKHIT, 1982, p. 221; HEYD, 1960, p. 64.

⁶⁵ HANNA, 1983, p. 30.

for storage and sale of goods along the way. The rivalry between Lala Muṣṭafâ and Sinân Pasha earlier on in their career, both ambitious high officials vying for the position of grand vizier, may have been one of the reasons why Sinân Pasha agreed (or wished) to build complexes and to establish markets that could compete with the complexes of Lala Muṣṭafâ and his wife (in Jenin). An additional argument in favour of this hypothesis was the death of Lala Muṣṭafâ in 1580. He was thus no longer able to defend his properties in this region when Sinân founded his. It is possible that Murâd III was aware of this situation and used it as an argument to motivate his grand vizier to invest in the need for increased security of traders and travellers in the region towards the end of the 16th century.

Founding such a big endowment also implied considerable prestige for the governor's family. We know for instance that his son was governing Damascus at the time of the inauguration of the mosque.⁶⁶ This follows Casale's argument that Sinân Pasha was representative of a new type of high official that combined his private resources with state finances;⁶⁷ his observations on a trend of intense involvement of Ottoman high officials in construction works in the last third of the 16th century appear particularly valid when considering the foundation of these three imperial *imarets*.

CONCLUSION

An appropriation of the landscape through the establishment of Ottoman complexes including facilities that travellers never before had had access to in Syria was of utmost importance to the sultan. In this case we can state that the use of buildings included in the complexes was completely new in this province and connected to the display of Ottoman presence in the periphery of the Empire. The buildings were most clearly linked to the Ottoman architecture of Damascus, which was the closest urban centre and capital of province; a trend that can be noted in most provinces. There was thus a regional diversity in the architecture, but not in the facilities provided by the Ottoman complexes.

⁶⁶ PASCUAL, 1983, p. 98.

⁶⁷ CASALE, 2006, p. 181.

It is clear from the documentation exploited in this study that these complexes were part of a strategy of ottomanisation of the provinces and of an affirmation of Ottoman control in remote and unsecure places through repopulation. The aim was to establish – or at least to create the impression of – an Ottoman landscape in places bordering the settlement frontier that were never under the real control of the Ottoman state.

The sultan's interest in the safety of pilgrims and travellers moving from Istanbul and Anatolia to Damascus and to Egypt was a political, power demonstration but also a financial issue related to the tax paid at these stops.

Sinân Pasha's personal interest in the Red Sea trade and the safe passage of goods from Egypt to Damascus and beyond still must however have been one of the main reasons why he wanted to finance so many complexes along the same road in one single endowment. Even though both personal and governmental, the motivation for constructing these foundations was clearly linked to the patronage of an ambitious politician.

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Marianne BOQVIST, *Construire un paysage ottoman: les complexes de Sinân Pacha sur les routes impériales syriennes*

Dans cette contribution nous proposons une analyse des trois *imarets* impériaux (*al-‘imâra al-‘âmira*) qui faisaient partie du *waqf* de Koca Sinân Pacha à Quṭayfa, Sa‘sa‘ et ‘Uyûn al-Tujjâr, sur la partie syrienne de la route impériale entre Istanbul et Le Caire. Nous étudions ces complexes selon plusieurs perspectives: nous tentons de comprendre et d’expliquer leur place dans l’architecture ottomane et locale, les raisons de leur fondation à ce moment et en ces endroits précis, dans quelle mesure ces fondations étaient liées aux ambitions et stratégies financières et politiques personnelles de Koca Sinân Pacha ou de l’État ottoman, enfin comment elles étaient liées au pèlerinage et au commerce. Des comparaisons sont faites avec des complexes similaires en Syrie ainsi qu’avec les complexes de Koca Sinân Pacha à Uzuncaova (Bulgarie), Kaçanik (Kosovo) et Malkara (Thrace turque).

Marianne BOQVIST, *Building an Ottoman Landscape: the Complexes of Sinân Pasha on the Imperial Roads of Syria*

The aim of this contribution is to analyse the intentions that lay behind the foundation of the three imperial *imarets* (*al-‘imâra al-‘âmira*) included in Koca Sinân Pasha’s endowment in the Bilâd al-Shâm, located in Quṭayfa, Sa‘sa‘, and ‘Uyûn al-Tujjâr, on the imperial roads between Istanbul and Cairo. It discusses their relation to Ottoman and local architectural traditions, the reasons why they were founded at these particular moments and locations, how the foundations related to the financial and political interests of Koca Sinân Pasha and/or the Ottoman state. Comparisons are made with other similar complexes in Syria, as well as with the imperial *imarets* of Koca Sinân Pasha in Uzuncaova (Bulgaria), Kaçanik (Kosovo), and Malkara (Turkish Thrace).

LE WAQF DE SINÂN PACHA DANS LE BILÂD AL-SHÂM DES ANNÉES 1730 : UN *MUTAWALLÎ* ENDETTÉ, DEUX *TAKIYYA* FERMÉES, DES COMPTES RÉGLÉS

INTRODUCTION

Au début de l'année 995/décembre 1586, alors qu'il vient de connaître un exil de quatre années après avoir été démis de ses fonctions de grand vizir, Sinân Pacha¹ aurait écrit au sultan Murâd III pour lui demander de lui attribuer le gouvernorat de Damas afin qu'il y édifie une mosquée et une sépulture pour lui-même (*li-yu'ammir bi-hâ masjid wa madfan la-hu*)²; dans cette perspective, il achèterait des biens qu'il fonderait en *waqf*³. La demande de Sinân Pacha est rapidement exaucée : selon le biographe al-Ghazzî, il devient gouverneur de Damas au début de l'année 995/décembre 1586 et le restera jusqu'en 996/1587-1588⁴. Ibn

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¹ Sur Sinân Pacha, cf. BABINGER, DÁVID, 1997 ; GHAZZÎ, 1981-1982, vol. II, p. 714-716 ; GÜNEŞ, 1981, p. 116-117 ; MUHİBBÎ, 1970, vol. II, p. 214-217 ; article de N. Michel dans le présent volume.

² Ce *madfan* est cité par Ibn Jum'a (1949, p. 40) mais Sinân Pacha n'y est pas enterré. Notons que H. Laoust traduit le terme *madfan* par « cimetière » ; un cadî de Damas y est enterré en 1075/1664-1665 ; cf. LAOUST trad., 1952, p. 214.

³ GÜNEŞ, 1981, p. 116.

⁴ Il y assiste à la pose de la première pierre de la grande mosquée qu'il construit extra-muros, sur la route du pèlerinage ; cf. GHAZZÎ, 1981-1982, vol. II, p. 714-716. Sur cette

Ayyûb (al-Anşârî) précise qu'il occupera cette fonction jusqu'au 4 *sha'bân* 996/29 juin 1588⁵.

Le Bilâd al-Shâm n'est pas une *terra incognita* pour Sinân Pacha : avant d'être nommé grand vizir pour la première fois en 988/1580, il avait été, dans les années 1550-1560, *sancakbegi* de Tripoli, puis de Gazza, puis gouverneur d'Alep. En 989/1581, alors qu'il était grand vizir, il avait commencé à édifier des complexes architecturaux destinés à accueillir les voyageurs à Sa'sa' et à 'Uyûn al-Tujjâr, sur la route reliant Damas au Caire⁶, comme l'avait fait, quelques années plus tôt, son grand rival, Lala Muştafâ Pacha, sur cette même route, à Qunayţira ; ces constructions s'inscrivaient dans le cadre de la politique impériale visant à protéger cette région contre les attaques des Bédouins⁷.

Dès sa prise de fonction à Damas, Sinân Pacha entreprend véritablement la réalisation de son projet de fondation grâce à la collaboration de plusieurs personnes qui le représentent au tribunal ou qui supervisent les travaux de construction⁸. Au début de *jumâdâ II* 1004/début février 1596, huit ans après avoir quitté ses fonctions à Damas et deux mois avant son décès survenu le 4 *sha'bân* 1004/3 avril 1596, il fait établir un document (*kitâb*)⁹ destiné à récapituler le contenu d'actes antérieurs¹⁰ et dans lequel son mandataire énumère les institutions bénéficiaires de son *waqf* ainsi que les biens qui lui sont affectés. Ce document a déjà fait l'objet d'une

mosquée, qui sera pratiquement achevée le 4 *muḥarram* 999/2 novembre 1590, alors que Muḥammad, le fils de Sinân Pacha, est gouverneur de Damas, cf. ANŞÂRÎ, 1991, vol. I, p. 158 ; KAFESCIOĞLU, 1999, p. 88-91 ; TALAS, 1975, p. 227. Sur les inscriptions qui s'y trouvent, cf. SHIHÂBÎ, 1997, p. 221-222.

⁵ GÜNEŞ, 1981, p. 116.

⁶ Sur cette route, cf. ABDEL NOUR, 1983, p. 181-182. Sur les complexes architecturaux construits par Sinân Pacha sur les routes caravanières de Syrie, cf. l'article de M. Boqvist dans le présent volume.

⁷ HEYD, 1960, p. 110-115 et p. 187-189.

⁸ Sur les personnes qui ont participé au projet de Sinân Pacha en achetant des biens et en supervisant les travaux, cf. GÜNEŞ, 1981, p. 116 ; GHAZZÎ, 1981-1982, vol. I, p. 351-352 ; vol. II, p. 715. Parmi eux figure l'émir Muḥammad b. Manjak (m. 24 *rabî' I* 1032/26 janv. 1623), descendant d'un gouverneur de Damas à l'époque mamelouke ; il fut *mutawallî* de l'*imaret* du sultan Soliman à Damas ; cf. MUḤIBBÎ, 1970, vol. IV, p. 229-231. À l'époque ottomane, cette famille se distingue à Damas par l'importance de ses constructions et de ses *waqf* ; cf. ZAWAHREH, 1992, p. 182-184.

⁹ Après une première édition anonyme et lacunaire, ce document a été édité par Muḥammad al-Arnâ'ût ; ARNÂ'ÛT éd., 1993. Sur les deux copies de ce document conservées à Damas, cf. *ibid.*, p. 25-26.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 126-127. D'après l'inventaire du fonds « Sinân Pacha » conservé au musée de Topkapı, des *waqfiyya* auraient été établies en 995-996/1586-1587 ; cf. ÖZ, 1946, p. 189.

étude qui met en évidence le vaste programme de construction du gouverneur dans l'ensemble de la région (Damas, Quṭayfa, Sa'sa', 'Uyûn al-Tujjâr, Acre) et les nombreuses acquisitions qu'il fait non seulement à Damas et dans son environnement rural, mais aussi en Palestine et dans le Mont-Liban, pour assurer le fonctionnement de sa fondation¹¹.

À l'instar des hauts dignitaires d'Edirne¹², de Jérusalem¹³ ou de Bursa¹⁴, Sinân Pacha est doté de biens par le sultan sous forme de *tamlîk*¹⁵. Deux *kitâb tamlîk*, parfois qualifiés de *khâqânî* ou de *sulṭânî*, sont mentionnés plus de quatre-vingt fois dans son acte de *waqf*¹⁶; datés de la *mi-dhû al-qa'da* 1003/fin juillet 1595¹⁷ et de la *mi-jumâdâ I* 1004/mi-janvier 1596¹⁸, soit peu de temps avant son décès (5 *sha'bân* 1004/3 avr. 1596), ils concernent surtout la dîme (*'ushr*) de nombreux villages dans lesquels il a acquis des biens fonciers¹⁹ en opérant des transactions auprès de différents juges de Damas²⁰.

Comme en témoignent les archives, la fondation de Sinân Pacha perdurera plusieurs siècles en connaissant toutefois quelques vicissitudes comme la plupart des institutions de ce type²¹. Dans les registres des tribunaux (*maḥâkim shar'yya*) de Damas sont consignés, tout au long de l'époque ottomane, de nombreux actes concernant ce *waqf* (nomination à des fonctions, actes de location, plaintes, etc.)²². À travers les registres établis en 1143-1153/1730-1740, il apparaît que ce *waqf* traverse une période de crise liée à l'endettement de son *mutawallî*. Nous examinerons

¹¹ PASCUAL, 1983, p. 32-35, p. 43-64, p. 97-105.

¹² GERBER, 1983, p. 39.

¹³ STEPHAN, 1944; SINGER, 1997.

¹⁴ GERBER, 1988, p. 153-155.

¹⁵ Sur le *tamlîk*, cf. BARNES, 1987, p. 21-49; İNALCIK, QUATAERT, 1994, p. 120-126.

¹⁶ ARNÂ'ÛT éd., 1993, p. 139-151.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 140.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 146 et p. 149.

¹⁹ Les dates de ces acquisitions ne sont indiquées que pour deux transactions opérées le 12 *rabî' II* 995/22 mars 1587 et le 15 *jumâdâ I* 995/23 avril 1587 sur des biens situés à proximité de Damas; cf. ARNÂ'ÛT éd., 1993, p. 137-138.

²⁰ L'identité du juge auprès duquel sont opérées ces transactions est indiquée dans une quinzaine de cas seulement. Il s'agit le plus souvent d'un substitut hanafite, parfois d'un substitut hanbalite ou malikite; le *qâdî al-quḍât* est mentionné une seule fois; cf. ARNÂ'ÛT éd., 1993, p. 130-138 et p. 147. La liste des juges mentionnés dans l'acte de *waqf* montre donc une diversité plus grande que celle suggérée par Ibn Ayyûb qui fait seulement allusion à un juge hanbalite; cf. GÜNEŞ, 1981, p. 116.

²¹ Sur cette question, cf. CRECELIUS, BADR 'ALI, 1995; CRECELIUS, 2006; FAROQHI, 1974, 1981, 1988, 1995.

²² Dans le présent article, les références à ces actes comprennent trois nombres: registre/page/document.

ici quelques aspects de son administration et de sa gestion au cours de cette décennie à travers les décisions prises par Istanbul concernant ses responsables, les difficultés rencontrées par deux *takiyya*²³ qui ont été fermées pendant plusieurs mois, les modalités du remboursement des dettes du *mutawallî* sur les villages du *waqf* et, enfin, les comptes qui sont établis entre les deux responsables du *waqf* pour deux années consécutives.

LES RESPONSABLES DE LA FONDATION

Dans les actes juridiques concernant le *waqf* de Sinân Pacha au XVIII^e siècle, il apparaît que les responsables de la fondation ont été nommés conformément aux conditions stipulées dans l'acte de *waqf*²⁴ : le *nâzir* est le mufti de Damas et le *mutawallî* est le descendant d'un affranchi du fondateur. Au cours de la décennie étudiée, l'administration de la fondation se trouve dans une situation particulière : le *mutawallî* est frappé d'interdiction (*ḥajr*) par ordre sultanien et un *qâ'immaqâm* doit veiller à sa place aux intérêts du *waqf*. Toutefois, le rôle de ce dernier dans l'administration du *waqf* ne semble pas directement lié à l'interdiction qui frappe le *mutawallî*. Cette fonction peut, en effet, être prévue dans les actes de *waqf* : cela est le cas pour le *waqf* de Hâssekî Sultân à Jérusalem²⁵ et, comme nous le verrons, pour une région particulière du Bilâd al-Shâm dans l'acte de *waqf* de Sinân Pacha ; de plus, à Damas, elle est attestée alors que divers personnages sont successivement *mutawallî* du *waqf*.

Le contrôle d'Istanbul

Le contrôle du pouvoir central sur les *waqf* du Bilâd al-Shâm apparaît clairement à travers les *Mühimme Defterleri*²⁶ et se perçoit aussi dans certains actes consignés dans les registres des tribunaux locaux. Le *seyhülislam* (*muftî al-mamâlik al-'uthmâniyya*) exerce un droit de regard

²³ Dans les actes juridiques du XVIII^e siècle, le terme *takiyya* est employé pour désigner un type d'établissement connu sous le nom d'*imaret* ; c'est d'ailleurs ce dernier terme qui est employé dans l'acte de *waqf* de Sinân Pacha établi en 1004/1596. Sur ces deux termes, cf. ARNÂ'ÛṬ, 2001 ; MEIER, 2007, p. 140-142.

²⁴ ARNÂ'ÛṬ éd., 1993, p. 152.

²⁵ Ainsi, dans le *waqf* de Hâssekî Sultân, un salaire est prévu pour l'administrateur local du *waqf* (*kâimakâm-i mütevelli*) ; cf. SINGER, 2003, p. 261.

²⁶ BAYYÂT, 2009.

sur le *waqf* de Sinân Pacha, non seulement en contrôlant sa comptabilité, mais aussi en donnant son avis sur la compétence de son personnel : il suggère au sultan la nomination de certains responsables locaux²⁷ et signe, après le mufti de Damas/*nâzir* du *waqf*, les cahiers de comptes de la fondation²⁸. Des sommes d'argent, plus précisément « l'argent des écoles » (*mâl al-madâris*), lui sont destinées et les frais liés à leur envoi sont prélevés sur les revenus du *waqf*²⁹, de même que les frais de déplacement (*mâl al-qudûmiyya*) et les dépenses (*maşârif*) de l'envoyé du *mutawallî* à Istanbul³⁰. Les liens entre Damas et Istanbul se perçoivent aussi dans le fait que certains *mutawallî* de *waqf* impériaux de Damas résident à Istanbul³¹ et y font enregistrer les procurations permettant à leur mandataire (*wakîl*) de gérer le *waqf* sur place³².

Le *nâzir* : le mufti de Damas

Le *nâzir* du *waqf* de Sinân Pacha doit être, selon les stipulations de l'acte de fondation, le mufti hanafite de Damas, enseignant à la Madrasa Sulaymâniyya de cette ville³³. Conformément à ces stipulations, plusieurs muftis de Damas appartenant aux familles 'Imâdî, puis Murâdî, se succèdent dans la fonction de *nâzir* du *waqf* au cours du XVIII^e siècle : Ḥâmid Efendî b. 'Alî Efendî al-'Imâdî³⁴, 'Alî Efendî b. Muḥammad Efendî al-Murâdî³⁵, 'Abd al-

²⁷ 71/86/173, 74/171/325.

²⁸ 94/168/286.

²⁹ Cf. 74/49/96. Sur l'envoi d'argent à Istanbul par les *waqf* impériaux, cf. PERI, 1984, p. 60; STEPHAN, 1944, p. 193.

³⁰ « Travel money for a foundation official visiting the capital was a common item of expenditure »; FAROQHI, 1981, p. 100.

³¹ En 1173/1760 et en 1209/1794, deux *mutawallî* du *waqf* de Şâlih Pacha, gouverneur de Damas en 1069/1658-1659, résident à Istanbul; cf. 154/182/372 et 230/515/643. Cela est aussi parfois le cas pour certains *mutawallî* du *waqf* de Hâsseki Sultan à Jérusalem; cf. PERI, 1992, p. 181.

³² Le 5 *jumâdâ I* 1164/1^{er} avril 1751, le *mutawallî* du *waqf* de Şâlih Pacha octroie une procuration à un mandataire; toujours en vigueur neuf ans plus tard (20 *rajab* 1173/8 mars 1760), celle-ci est consignée au tribunal de Maḥmûd Pacha, à Istanbul (154/182/237). Notons que plusieurs actes consignés dans les registres des tribunaux de Damas font référence à des actes établis dans des tribunaux d'Istanbul, soit celui de Maḥmûd Pacha (49/239/711, 71/1/3, 71/1/4, 71/63/126, 139/212/230), soit celui de Dâwûd Pacha (94/26/51); sur ces tribunaux, cf. AKGÜNDÜZ, 1988, vol. 1, p. 128-130 (Dâwûd Pacha) et p. 162-164 (Maḥmûd Pacha). Je remercie Işık Tamdoğan de m'avoir indiqué cette référence.

³³ ARNÂ'ÛT éd., 1993, p. 152.

³⁴ 77/124/200 (1149/1736), 94/168/286 (1145-1146/1732-1734).

³⁵ 177/398/622 (1180/1766).

Raḥmân Efendî b. Ḥusayn Efendî al-Murâdî³⁶. À ce titre, ils interviennent parfois comme bailleurs de certains biens affectés au *waqf*. Şâlih Pacha, gouverneur de Damas dans la seconde moitié du xvii^e siècle (1069/1658-1659), stipule de même que le *nâzir* de son *waqf* devra être le mufti de Damas³⁷.

Le *mutawallî* : un affranchi du fondateur

Selon une pratique répandue³⁸, Sinân Pacha stipule que les *mutawallî* successifs de sa fondation seront les descendants mâles du plus qualifié de ses affranchis (*al-arshad fa-al-arshad min 'utaqâ' al-wâqif [...]* *thumma li-man yûjad min awlâdi-him wa ansâbi-him wa a'qâbi-him al-dhukûr dûna al-inâth*)³⁹. En cas d'extinction de cette lignée, la *tawliya* reviendrait aux descendants mâles du fondateur, mais il semble que les descendants des affranchis aient occupé cette fonction au moins jusqu'à la fin du xix^e siècle.

Lors de la rédaction de l'acte de *waqf* (début *jumâdâ II* 1004/début fév. 1596), le *mutawallî* de la fondation est Yûsuf Aghâ b. 'Abd al-Raḥmân⁴⁰; il est vraisemblablement le personnage auquel a succédé Qâsim b. 'Abd al-Mannân (m. 22 *rabî' I* 1057/27 avr. 1647), un des affranchis du fondateur (*wa huwa fî al-aşl min 'utaqâ' al-wazîr al-a'zam Sinân Bâshâ*), d'origine kurde⁴¹. Selon Muḥibbî, ces deux personnages auraient été *nâzir*, mais il s'agit sans doute là d'une confusion du biographe qui, dans la notice qu'il consacre au fils de Qâsim, Muşţafâ b. Qâsim b. 'Abd al-Mannân (né en 1027/1617-1618; mort au début de *sha'bân* 1079/début janv. 1669), indique que ce dernier succède à son père en tant que *mutawallî* des *waqf* de Sinân Pacha. Muḥibbî précise que cette succession s'effectua en vertu de la stipulation concernant les affranchis et leurs descendants (*bi-mûjib al-sharţ li-al-'utaqâ' wa dhurriyyati-him*); il signale que ce personnage administra la fondation de manière rationnelle (*taşarrafa bi-al-tawliya bi-'aqli-hi*) mais que, en raison de la diminution

³⁶ 233/280/480 (1211/1796).

³⁷ MUḤIBBÎ, 1970, vol. II, p. 242-243. Cette condition est d'ailleurs rappelée dans certains actes juridiques (166/14/37 et 166/29/77) et le mufti de Damas apparaît effectivement dans plusieurs actes de location de biens affectés au *waqf* de Şâlih Pacha au cours du xviii^e siècle (133/396/637, 139/235/271, 166/14/37, 166/29/77).

³⁸ BAER, 1997, p. 277-278.

³⁹ ARNÂ'ÛṬ éd., 1993, p. 151.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

⁴¹ MUḤIBBÎ, 1970, vol. III, p. 292-293.

des revenus et de l'augmentation des dépenses, il connut des difficultés grandissantes et eut beaucoup de soucis et de préoccupations (*qalla 'alay-hi al-îrâd wa kathara al-şarf fa-zâdat 'alay-hi al-aḥwâl wa takad-dara min-hu al-fikr wa al-bâl*)⁴².

À la fin du xvii^e siècle, le *mutawallî* du *waqf* de Sinân Pacha est Qâsim Aghâ b. Qâsim Aghâ (m. 3 *şafar* 1115/18 juin 1703). Le chroniqueur Ibn Kannân rappelle à son tour la stipulation du fondateur concernant la fonction de *mutawallî* (*Banî Qâsim mashrûṭûn fî al-tawliya bi-şarṭ al-wâqif*)⁴³. Il mentionne par ailleurs le décès d'un autre *mutawallî* du *waqf*, celui d'al-Sayyid Muşţafâ Aghâ al-Quṭayfânî (m. 9 *shawwâl* 1128/26 sept. 1716)⁴⁴, mais il fait sans doute ici une confusion, courante dans les diverses sources examinées, sur le statut de ce personnage qui pourrait être le *qâ'immaqâm* du *mutawallî*, comme le sera quelques années plus tard, nous le verrons, al-Sayyid Ḥusayn al-Quṭayfânî qui est vraisemblablement son fils.

Le *mutawallî* qui retient ici toute notre attention est Aḥmad Aghâ b. Qâsim Aghâ b. Muḥammad Aghâ b. Qâsim Aghâ⁴⁵, à propos duquel il est parfois précisé, dans les actes juridiques, que sa nomination est liée à la stipulation du fondateur du *waqf* (*bi-mûjib şarṭ al-wâqif*)⁴⁶; il aurait été nommé par un ordre sultanien daté du 8 *sha'bân* 1143/16 février 1731⁴⁷. À moins qu'il ne s'agisse d'une erreur, cette date pourrait correspondre à un renouvellement de ses fonctions; en effet, en 1146/1734, il évoque lui-même ses fonctions au sein du *waqf* depuis la fin de l'année 1137/août 1725⁴⁸; par ailleurs, plusieurs actes établis à partir du 2 *dhû al-qa'da* 1133/25 août 1721 indiquent qu'il occupe déjà ce poste dans les années 1720⁴⁹.

Très rapidement, Aḥmad Aghâ semble être en position de faiblesse au sein du *waqf*; lors d'une comparution au tribunal le 5 *shawwâl* 1146/11 mars 1734, il signale en effet que le *nâzir* ne lui a laissé aucune latitude pour s'occuper des affaires du *waqf* (*nâzir al-waqf lam yumakkin-hu min al-taşarruf*)⁵⁰ depuis la fin de l'année 1137/août 1725, soit depuis

⁴² *Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 385-387.

⁴³ IBN KANNÂN, 1994, p. 64.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 257.

⁴⁵ Sa généalogie la plus complète, remontant à son arrière-grand-père, est indiquée dans 43/434/746.

⁴⁶ 43/166/293, 43/434/746.

⁴⁷ 74/49/96.

⁴⁸ 71/72/141.

⁴⁹ 43/166/293, 43/211/376, 43/434/746, 45/233/466, 45/234/467, 51/132/328, 52/159/452, 52/219/610.

⁵⁰ 71/72/141.

près de dix ans. Par ailleurs, environ trois mois plus tard, un ordre sultanien daté du 20 *muḥarram* 1147/22 juin 1734 frappe Aḥmad Aghâ d'interdiction (*ḥajr*)⁵¹ : il ne doit plus intervenir dans les affaires du *waqf* ('*adam mudâkhalati-hi li-umûr al-waqf*'), ni percevoir sa rétribution de *mutawallî* jusqu'à ce que son fils Muḥammad (qui doit lui succéder) ait atteint sa majorité (*bulûgh*) et sa capacité d'agir (*rushd*). Toutefois, les raisons pour lesquelles le *mutawallî* est sommé de ne plus s'occuper du *waqf* ne sont pas très claires : « *li-'ajzi-hi wa 'adam rushdi-hi* ». Si l'expression « '*adam rushdi-hi* » fait clairement référence à son manque de discernement, à quoi fait exactement allusion le terme « '*ajz* » ? À son incompétence ? À son invalidité ? Aurait-il été frappé d'interdiction en raison de son endettement ?⁵² Il ne semble pas qu'il l'ait été en raison d'une quelconque déficience mentale car, dans les actes juridiques de cette époque, les troubles psychologiques et les personnes qui en sont atteintes sont désignés par des expressions particulières dont nous n'avons trouvé aucune trace en ce qui concerne Aḥmad Aghâ⁵³.

Selon le même ordre sultanien, c'est al-Sayyid Ḥusayn Aghâ, son *qâ'immaqâm*, jugé plus efficace et plus apte (*anfa', aṣlah*), qui devra gérer les affaires du *waqf* tout seul, sans Aḥmad Aghâ (*bi-mufradi-hi dûna Aḥmad Aghâ*)⁵⁴.

Dans un acte daté du 14 *muḥarram* 1149/25 mai 1736, il est indiqué que le *mutawallî* est absent de Damas⁵⁵. Résiderait-il alors à Istanbul comme cela sera le cas en 1173/1760 et en 1209/1794 pour deux *mutawallî*

⁵¹ Sont soumis au *ḥajr*, le mineur, le fou, l'irresponsable (notamment le dépensier), le failli, la personne atteinte d'une maladie mortelle et l'esclave ; cf. SCHACHT, 1975. Sur l'interdiction, cf. LINANT DE BELLEFONDS, 1973, p. 261-304.

⁵² Sur l'interdiction pour cause d'endettement, cf. TYAN, 1964. Sur l'interdiction infligée à une personne dépensière, cf. ARABI, 2001.

⁵³ Dans les actes juridiques du XVIII^e siècle, ces expressions sont les suivantes : *maṣlûb al-'aql* (55/19/41), *khalal ḥâṣil fî 'aqli-hi* (55/25/56), *mukhtall al-'aql* (64/195/577), *ikhtilâl 'aqli-hi* (72/199/356). Signalons qu'à la même époque, au mois de *rabî' II* 1142/novembre 1729, le juge de Damas met sous la tutelle (*waṣiyya*) de sa fille une femme qui est *mutawalliya* du *waqf* de son fameux ancêtre Lala Muṣṭafâ Pacha, car, ayant perdu la raison, elle est devenue incapable de gérer ses affaires (*ikhtalla 'aqlu-hâ wa ṣârat lâ taḥsun al-taṣarruf fî umûr nafsi-hâ* ; cf. 56/181/500) ; sa fille est elle-même mise sous le contrôle de son frère et ne doit effectuer aucune démarche sans qu'il le sache (56/181/501). Dans ce cas, la *mutawalliya* est frappée d'interdiction par l'autorité juridique (*al-maḥjûr 'alay-hâ min qibal al-shar' al-sharîf*) ; sa tutrice semble habilitée à traiter non seulement ses affaires personnelles mais aussi celles du *waqf*.

⁵⁴ 74/171/325.

⁵⁵ 77/124/200.

wallî du *waqf* de Şâlih Pacha ?⁵⁶ Nous perdons ensuite la trace d'Aḥmad Aghâ. Nous savons seulement qu'il est mort avant le 25 *rabî' I* 1153/20 juin 1740 ; à cette date, c'est son fils, Muḥammad Aghâ b. *al-marḥûm* Aḥmad Aghâ, qui, conformément à la stipulation du fondateur, est *mutawallî* du *waqf*⁵⁷ ; il occupe toujours cette fonction le 26 *muḥarram* 1174/7 septembre 1760⁵⁸. Le 9 *sha'bân* 1191/12 septembre 1777, c'est 'Abd al-Raḥmân Aghâ b. Muḥammad Aghâ, probablement son fils, qui est *mutawallî* du *waqf*⁵⁹.

Dans des actes datés du 8 *rabî' I* 1209/2 novembre 1794 et du 15 *jumâdâ I* 1209/7 décembre 1794, le *mutawallî* du *waqf* est Aḥmad Aghâ b. Muḥammad Aghâ⁶⁰. Il s'agit sans aucun doute du personnage qui, à l'époque où Aḥmad Pacha al-Jazzâr gouverne Acre et Damas, aurait été envoyé par ce dernier à Damas comme *mutasallim* pour y rétablir l'ordre ; il serait arrivé d'Acre le 8 *ramadân* 1209/29 mars 1795 et aurait emprisonné de nombreuses personnes dont le précédent *mutasallim* et plusieurs membres de la famille Fârḥî qui occupaient les plus hautes fonctions financières auprès d'Aḥmad Pacha⁶¹ ; il serait ensuite parti à Istanbul où il serait mort au mois de *rabî' I* 1213/août-septembre 1798⁶².

Une trentaine d'années plus tard, le 7 *rabî' I* 1243/28 octobre 1827, le *mutawallî* du *waqf* est Muḥammad Aghâ b. Qâsim Aghâ⁶³. À la fin du XIX^e siècle, en 1316/1898-1899, Ibrâhîm Aghâ b. Muḥammad Aghâ b. Ibrâhîm Aghâ b. Qâsim Aghâ b. 'Abd al-Raḥmân Aghâ occupe cette fonction⁶⁴.

Bien que nous ne soyons pas en mesure d'établir avec précision les liens qui unissent ces *mutawallî* successifs, il semble que, jusqu'à la fin du XIX^e siècle, ce sont les descendants des affranchis de Sinân Pacha qui, conformément aux stipulations de ce dernier, occupent cette fonction ; tous semblent bien appartenir à la lignée des Banû Qâsim, comme les identifie le chroniqueur Ibn Kannân⁶⁵.

⁵⁶ 154/182/372, 230/515/643.

⁵⁷ 94/168/286.

⁵⁸ 159/90/184.

⁵⁹ 205/2/4.

⁶⁰ 227/367/416, 233/41/58.

⁶¹ Sur la disgrâce de cette famille, cf. MARINO, 2003, p. 128-130.

⁶² 'ABD, 1986, p. 22, p. 28, p. 41 ; cf. aussi DIMASHQÎ, 1982, p. 19.

⁶³ 313/81/246, 313/82/247.

⁶⁴ ARNÂ'ÛT éd., 1993, p. 124.

⁶⁵ IBN KANNÂN, 1994, p. 64.

Le *qâ'immaqâm* : le substitut du *mutawallî*

Comme nous l'avons signalé, les *mutawallî* des *waqf* sultaniens sont parfois assistés localement par un *qâ'immaqâm* ; cela est ainsi le cas pour le *waqf* de Şâlih Pacha, gouverneur de Damas dans la seconde moitié du xvii^e siècle (1069/1658-1659)⁶⁶. Dans l'acte de *waqf* de Sinân Pacha, cette fonction est prévue pour 'Uyûn al-Tujjâr : elle doit y être attribuée à un homme de confiance, juste, loyal, entièrement dévoué au *waqf*⁶⁷. Al-Sayyid Ḥusayn Aghâ est *qâ'immaqâm* au sein du *waqf* au cours de la décennie étudiée mais son aire de compétence géographique, s'il en a une, n'est pas explicitement définie. Le 5 *shawwâl* 1146/11 mars 1734, il est investi de ses fonctions par le juge lors d'une séance du *dîwân* de Damas, en présence du gouverneur Sulaymân Pacha al-'Azm⁶⁸. Sa nomination est officialisée par une décision du juge datée du 28 *dhû al-ḥijja* 1146/1^{er} juin 1734, en vertu d'un ordre sultanien daté du 5 *dhû al-ḥijja* 1146/9 mai 1734. Dans cet acte de nomination sont précisées sa rémunération (20 *dirham* 'uthmâniyya par jour) et ses fonctions : tout comme un *mutawallî*, il peut percevoir (*qabḍ*), dépenser (*ṣarf*), louer (*ijâr*), construire et restaurer (*ta'mîr wa tarmîm*), emprunter (*istidâna*)⁶⁹. Al-Sayyid Ḥusayn Aghâ est renouvelé dans ses fonctions au mois de *rajab* 1148/décembre 1735⁷⁰ et il les exerce toujours le 5 *jumâdâ II* 1159/25 juin 1746⁷¹.

La fonction de *qâ'immaqâm* est aussi attestée au sein du *waqf* pour des périodes postérieures : al-Sayyid Ḥusayn Aghâ l'occupe encore en 1153/1740 auprès du successeur d'Aḥmad Aghâ⁷² et, au mois de *jumâdâ II* 1210/décembre 1795, 'Abd al-Raḥmân al-Murâdî est nommé mufti de Damas et *qâ'immaqâm* du *waqf* de Sinân Pacha⁷³.

⁶⁶ Notons toutefois que le statut de ce *qâ'immaqâm*, 'Umar Efendî b. Aḥmad Efendî al-Manîni-zâdah varie selon les documents : en 1166/1753, il est identifié comme le *mutawallî* du *waqf* (139/235/271) ; en 1173/1760, il est *wakîl* du *mutawallî* (154/182/372) et en 1175/1761, quelques jours après avoir été identifié comme *qâ'immaqâm* (166/14/27), il est qualifié de *wakîl* (166/29/77). Ces variations ne reflètent sans doute pas un changement de statut de ce personnage ; elles sont vraisemblablement dues à un manque de rigueur du scribe.

⁶⁷ ARNÂ'ÛT éd., 1993, p. 159.

⁶⁸ 71/62/124.

⁶⁹ 71/86/173.

⁷⁰ 74/171/325.

⁷¹ 117/18/32.

⁷² 94/168/286.

⁷³ 'ABD, 1986, p. 26-27. C'est ainsi qu'il est aussi identifié dans un acte de location du Ḥammâm al-Sinâniyya daté du 14 *jumâdâ I* 1211/15 novembre 1796 ; cf. 233/280/480.

Bien que cela ne soit précisé ni dans la décision de sa nomination, ni dans le document le confirmant dans ses fonctions, al-Sayyid Ḥusayn Aghâ b. Muṣṭafâ Aghâ est sans aucun doute possible al-Sayyid Ḥusayn Aghâ al-Quṭayfânî, comme cela est indiqué dans certains actes⁷⁴. L'importance de ce personnage est notable, non seulement au sein du *waqf* de Sinân Pacha, mais aussi dans la vie politique damascène : le chroniqueur Budayrî l'identifie non pas comme le *qâ'immaqâm* mais comme le *mutawallî* du *waqf* de Sinân Pacha et signale qu'il est nommé *nâ'ib* de Damas au mois de *dhû al-ḥijja* 1155/février 1743, à la suite du meurtre du *mutasallim* par les Bédouins lors du pèlerinage⁷⁵.

Ainsi, comme cela est le cas à la fin du siècle, en 1209/1795, pour le *mutawallî* du *waqf* de Sinân Pacha qu'Aḥmad Pacha al-Jazzâr envoie à Damas comme *mutasallim*, et comme cela se rencontre en Palestine à cette époque pour le *waqf* de Hâssekî Sultân⁷⁶, les collusions sont fréquentes entre les fonctions exercées au sein des *waqf* impériaux et les responsabilités politiques.

Interdiction aux effets limités pour le *mutawallî*, satisfecit unanime pour le *qâ'immaqâm*

Dans cette affaire, la sanction infligée à Aḥmad Aghâ est beaucoup moins sévère que celle réservée à d'autres responsables de *waqf* qui, en raison de leur malhonnêteté, furent démis de leurs fonctions comme, par exemple, 'Umar al-'Azabî à Damiette, à la fin du xvi^e siècle⁷⁷, ou Luṭfî, fils de Ni'ma al-Ḥamawî, à Damas, au milieu du xviii^e siècle⁷⁸. L'interdiction qui frappe Aḥmad Aghâ par ordre sultanien daté du 20 *ramaḍân* 1147/13 février 1735 semble avoir des effets relativement limités. En effet, le 17 *rabî' I* 1148/7 août 1735, six mois après avoir été frappé d'interdiction, il se présente auprès du juge et atteste avoir fait les comptes du *waqf* avec son *qâ'immaqâm*. Dans le document établi à cette occasion, ses fonctions de *mutawallî* sont reconnues – la date de sa nomination est indiquée – mais aucune allusion n'est faite à son interdiction. Par ailleurs, toujours selon le même document, al-Sayyid Ḥusayn Aghâ aurait effectué, en 1147/1734-1735, des dépenses pour le *waqf* avec

⁷⁴ 74/73/138 et 117/18/32.

⁷⁵ BUDAYRÎ, 1959, p. 33.

⁷⁶ PERI, 1984.

⁷⁷ CRECELIUS, BADR 'ALI, 1995, p. 268.

⁷⁸ MARINO, 2005, p. 150, d'après 133/111/229.

l'autorisation d'Aḥmad Aghâ et sous son contrôle (*bi-idhn Aḥmad Aghâ wa iṭṭilâ'i-hi*); le *mutawallî* aurait, quant à lui, perçu sa rémunération (*ma'lûm waẓîfat al-tawliya li-Aḥmad Aghâ*) et continué à apposer son sceau sur des attestations (*bi-mûjib tamassukât mudhayyala bi-ismi-hi makhtûma bi-khatmi-hi*)⁷⁹.

À la suite des comptes effectués avec al-Sayyid Ḥusayn Aghâ, Aḥmad Aghâ n'a pas été démis de ses fonctions de *mutawallî* mais il semble avoir été définitivement écarté de la gestion du *waqf*. Le 14 *rabî'* I 1149/23 juillet 1736, un groupe de personnes exerçant des fonctions au sein des différents établissements édifiés par Sinân Pacha se présentent auprès du juge et avouent leur satisfaction (*râḍûn*) et leur reconnaissance (*shâkirûn*) envers al-Sayyid Ḥusayn Aghâ, le *qâ'immaqâm*. Ils soulignent sa capacité à récolter l'argent du *waqf* et à le dépenser à bon escient (*qudratu-hu 'alâ taḥṣîl mâl al-waqf al-mazbûr wa ṣarfi-hi fî maḥalli-hi*) et affirment qu'il est plus apte qu'Aḥmad Aghâ, absent de Damas et frappé d'interdiction, pour veiller aux intérêts du *waqf*. Selon eux, si le *waqf* était resté entre les mains d'Aḥmad Aghâ une année supplémentaire, il aurait été voué à la détérioration et à la disparition. Les titulaires de fonctions dans les mosquées et les *takiyya* de Quṭayfa et de Sa'sa' ajoutent qu'al-Sayyid Ḥusayn Aghâ a restauré les deux *takiyya* et rétabli leur fonction alimentaire. Selon eux, l'action d'al-Sayyid Ḥusayn Aghâ au sein du *waqf* est donc très profitable pour ce dernier (*fî mubâsharat al-Sayyid Ḥusayn Aghâ li-umûr al-waqf naf' tâmm li-jihat al-waqf*)⁸⁰.

Qu'en est-il donc de la situation de ces deux *takiyya* ?

DEUX TAKIYYA EN MAUVAIS ÉTAT À QUṬAYFA ET À SA'SA'

Comme de nombreux établissements de ce type, les deux *takiyya* de Sinân Pacha à Quṭayfa⁸¹ et à Sa'sa'⁸² connaissent des difficultés⁸³. Leur fermeture donne lieu à une intense mobilisation auprès des autorités locales, représentées par le gouverneur et le juge au *dîwân* de Damas. Les efforts assidus du *qâ'immaqâm* permettront leur réouverture.

⁷⁹ 74/49/96.

⁸⁰ 77/124/200.

⁸¹ Sur les constructions de Sinân Pacha à Quṭayfa, cf. SAUVAGET, 1937, p. 117-120; 1939, p. 49.

⁸² Sur les constructions de Sinân Pacha à Sa'sa', cf. KIEL, 2001, p. 105-107.

⁸³ Sur cette question, cf. FAROQHI, 1974, p. 166; 1981, p. 111; 1995, p. 285.

La fermeture des deux *takiyya*

Un document établi le 5 *shawwâl* 1146/11 mars 1734 comprend deux volets : il y est d'abord question de la détérioration des deux *takiyya*, dont le *mutawallî* est jugé responsable, puis des dettes qui sont attribuées à ce dernier⁸⁴. Nous examinerons ici les deux *takiyya* et nous nous pencherons ensuite sur la question des dettes.

Au début du document sont rappelés les faits (*ba'da an*, « après que... ») :

- Les personnes recevant une rétribution (*murtaziqa*) des deux *takiyya* situées à Sa'sa' et à Quṭayfa ainsi que les habitants des villages affectés au *waqf* de Sinân Pacha ont adressé deux pétitions (*'arḍ ḥâl*) au gouverneur de Damas, Sulaymân Pacha al-'Azm, au sujet de la détérioration (*iḍmiḥlâl*) du *waqf* et de la fermeture des deux *takiyya* depuis sept mois. Ils ont sollicité un examen de leur situation et une inspection des deux *takiyya* et des deux mosquées qui s'y trouvent (*iltamasû al-naẓar fî ḥâlî-him wa al-kashf wa al-wuqûf 'alâ aḥwâl al-takiyyatayn al-marqûmatayn wa al-jâmi'ayn bi-himâ*).
- Le gouverneur a répondu favorablement à leur sollicitation et a adressé un ordre (*buyuruldu*) au juge pour lui demander de diligenter une délégation sur place.
- À la suite de l'inspection, les *murtaziqa* des deux *takiyya* et une foule d'habitants des villages du *waqf* (*murtaziqat al-takiyyatayn al-marqûmatayn wa jamm min ra'âyâ qurâ al-waqf*) se sont présentés au *dîwân* et ont exhibé les deux documents établis par le juge.

Selon le contenu du premier (*maḍmûn al-awwal*), on a inspecté la *takiyya* et la mosquée de Quṭayfa et on n'a pas trouvé de provisions (*dhakhîra*) dans son cellier (*kîlâr*) ; dans certains endroits de la mosquée, on a trouvé des tapis (*ḥiṣar*) et cinq lampes (*qanâdîl*) dont l'huile provenait du village⁸⁵ ; la cuisine et le four du *khân* étaient en ruine (*kharâb*) et les pièces étaient démunies de porte (*bi-lâ abwâb*).

Selon le contenu du second (*maḍmûn al-thânî*), on a inspecté la *takiyya* de Sa'sa' et sa mosquée ; on a trouvé dans le cellier 10 *raṭl* de graisse (*samn*), 20 *raṭl* de riz, 2 *raṭl* d'huile, 12 *mudd* de farine (*daqîq*), 4 *raṭl* de mélasse (*dibs*), 2 *mudd* d'olives (*zaytûn*), une grande marmite (*tanjara*

⁸⁴ 71/72/141.

⁸⁵ Sur l'éclairage de la *zaviye* de Celaleddin à Konya à la fin du xvi^e siècle, cf. FAROQHI, 1988, p. 54-56.

kabîra) et 1 *ghirâra*⁸⁶ d'orge (*sha'îr*); la *takiyya*, le *khân* et le moulin (*tâhûn*) étaient en ruine (*kharâb*)⁸⁷.

Après la lecture de ces deux documents au *dîwân*, les demandeurs ont porté plainte contre le *mutawallî* du *waqf*, Aḥmad Aghâ; ils ont réclamé leur dû et l'ouverture des deux *takiyya*, ainsi que leur restauration et celle des deux mosquées qui s'y trouvent. Selon eux, le *waqf* n'était pas endetté : les dettes étaient celles d'Aḥmad Aghâ.

Avant d'aborder la question des dettes qui fait l'objet de la seconde partie du document en question, voyons quelles sont les grandes étapes de la remise en fonctionnement de ces deux *takiyya*.

La restauration des deux *takiyya*

Nous ne disposons d'aucun document relatant la restauration des deux établissements⁸⁸ mais celle-ci est évoquée dans plusieurs actes établis dans les années 1148-1149/1735-1736; il apparaît ainsi qu'al Sayyid Ḥusayn Aghâ a réagi très rapidement après la dénonciation de la situation au *dîwân* de Damas.

Comme cela est indiqué dans un document établi le 17 *rabî' I* 1148/7 août 1735 au sujet des revenus et des dépenses du *waqf*⁸⁹, al-Sayyid Ḥusayn Aghâ a effectué des dépenses pour restaurer les deux *takiyya* entre le 8 *shawwâl* 1146/14 mars 1734 – soit trois jours après l'examen de la situation des deux institutions au *dîwân* par le gouverneur et par le juge – et la fin de *dhû al-ḥijja* 1146/2 juin 1734.

Au début de l'année 1147/3 juin 1734, le *mutawallî* et le *qâ'immaqâm* du *waqf* empruntent, pour huit mois, 4 800 *qursh* à un certain Ramaḍân Aghâ afin de payer, entre autres, les provisions (*dhakhâ'ir*) des deux *takiyya* du *waqf* situées à Sa'sa' et à Quṭayfa, signe que les deux établissements sont à nouveau ouverts ou sur le point de l'être⁹⁰. Dans les

⁸⁶ 1 *raṭl* serait équivalent à 1,85 kg, 1 *mudd* à 2,84 kg (72 *mudd* = 1 *ghirâra*) et 1 *ghirâra* à 204,5 kg; cf. respectivement HINZ, 1970, p. 33, p. 75, p. 64.

⁸⁷ Ces quantités ne constituent pas un gros stock : à l'exception des céréales dont les quantités ne sont pas précisées dans l'acte de *waqf*, elles correspondent environ à celles qui sont prévues quotidiennement pour chaque établissement; cf. ARNÂ'ÛT éd., 1993, p. 159-161. Pour une comparaison avec la nourriture devant être distribuée dans l'*imaret* de Sinân Pacha à Kačanik (sud du Kosovo), cf. KIEL, 2007, p. 110.

⁸⁸ Pour un état des lieux de la *takiyya* de Lala Muṣṭafâ Pacha, située à Qunayṭira, non loin de Sa'sa', cf. 18/73/113 (23 *muḥarram* 1101/6 nov. 1689). Sur la restauration d'une *imaret* à Istanbul au XVII^e siècle, cf. ERGİN, 2007.

⁸⁹ 74/49/96.

⁹⁰ Cf. 72/85/159. Nous examinerons plus loin les modalités du remboursement de cet emprunt.

comptes du *waqf* de l'année 1147/1734-1735 entre le *mutawallî* et le *qâ'immaqâm*, il est aussi indiqué que des dépenses ont été effectuées pour payer les provisions des deux *takiyya*, restaurer la *takiyya* de Sa'sa' et rétribuer les titulaires de fonctions (*'alâ'if arbâb al-wazâ'if*) dans les deux institutions⁹¹.

L'année suivante, dans l'acte établi au mois de *rajab* 1148/décembre 1735 pour maintenir al-Sayyid Ḥusayn Aghâ dans ses fonctions de *qâ'immaqâm*, il est enfin indiqué que, selon des informations données par un grand nombre (*ikhbâr jamm ghafîr wa khalq kabîr*) de personnes concernées par le *waqf*, le personnage en question a restauré les deux *takiyya* de Qūṭayfa et de Sa'sa' et les a dotées de provisions (*dhakhâ'ir*)⁹². C'est encore sur ces deux points – restauration et alimentation – qu'insistent l'année suivante, dans un satisfecit unanime exprimé le 14 *rabî' I* 1149/23 juillet 1736, les personnes exerçant des fonctions au sein des mosquées et des *takiyya* de Qūṭayfa et de Sa'sa'⁹³.

Si le fonctionnement des deux institutions semble ainsi rétabli grâce à l'intervention efficace du *qâ'immaqâm*, le *waqf* a toutefois été menacé par l'endettement de son *mutawallî*.

LE TRANSFERT DES DETTES DU MUTAWALLÎ SUR LES VILLAGES DU WAQF

Au cours de la procédure relatant la détérioration des deux *takiyya* dans l'acte établi le 5 *shawwâl* 1146/11 mars 1734⁹⁴, un lien direct est établi entre cette détérioration et l'endettement qui est attribué non pas au *waqf* mais à son *mutawallî*, Aḥmad Aghâ, qui en a transféré le remboursement aux villages du *waqf* sous forme de *ḥawâla*⁹⁵.

Les dettes d'Aḥmad Aghâ

Aḥmad Aghâ reconnaît que les dettes qui lui sont imputées sont bien les siennes, mais elles le sont à cause du *waqf* (*al-duyûn al-mutarattiba*

⁹¹ Cf. 74/49/96. Sur les titulaires de fonctions dans les trois *takiyya* de Sinân Pacha, cf. ARNÂ'ÛṬ éd., 1993, p. 157-161 ; PASCUAL, 1983, p. 64.

⁹² 74/171/325.

⁹³ 77/124/200.

⁹⁴ 71/72/141.

⁹⁵ Sur le transfert de dette, cf. DIETRICH, 1975. Pour des fatwas concernant le transfert du droit de créance dans le cas de *waqf*, cf. RAMLÎ, 1882-1883, vol. I, p. 250-251 ; IBN 'ÂBIDÎN M., 1882-1883, vol. I, p. 291-296.

'*alay-hi duyûnu-hu bi-sabab al-waqf*'). Comme nous l'avons signalé, il indique que, depuis la fin de l'année 1137/septembre 1725⁹⁶, il ne s'est pas occupé du *waqf* car le *nâzir* ne lui laissait aucune latitude ; c'est, selon lui, 'Uthmân Çelebî al-Bahnasî⁹⁷ qui s'en occupait et c'est en raison de la cupidité (*ṭam'*) de ce dernier que la situation du *waqf* s'est détériorée et qu'il s'est trouvé confronté à des dettes (*ibtala'a al-mutawallî bi-al-duyûn*). Nous ignorons à quel titre 'Uthmân Çelebî al-Bahnasî s'occupait du *waqf* de Sinân Pacha, tout comme nous ignorons les raisons pour lesquelles Ahmad Aghâ s'est retrouvé endetté « à cause du *waqf* ». Bien que le *waqf* jouisse de la personnalité juridique et que ses dettes ne soient pas, légalement, exigibles du *mutawallî*⁹⁸, il semble que la responsabilité de ce dernier est ici engagée⁹⁹.

Aḥmad Aghâ rappelle (*dhakara*) que le montant total des dettes s'élève à 20 573,25 + 1/3 *qursh* et détaille la somme due à chaque créancier, neuf présents (18 927,75 *qursh*) et six absents (1 645,5 + 1/3 *qursh*). Il indique qu'il n'est pas en mesure de rembourser ces dettes en un seul versement en raison de ses faibles revenus (*lâ qudra la-hu 'alâ wafâ' al-duyûn al-mazbûra daf'a wâhida li-qillat îrâdi-hi wa madkhûli-hi*) et qu'il en a transféré (*kâna aḥâla*) une partie sur les villages du *waqf* ; il demande la suppression de ces transferts (*ṭalaba ilghâ' hâdhihi al-ḥawâlât*) et l'échelonnement de ses dettes (*taqsîṭ mâ 'alay-hi min al-duyûn*).

En présence de neuf créanciers, les revenus d'Aḥmad Aghâ sont calculés. Après examen (*ba'd al-tafaḥḥuṣ*), il apparaît que les dettes de l'année 1146/1733-1734 doivent être remboursées selon les modalités suivantes : chaque créancier recevra le quart de la somme qui lui est due (*bi-ḥasab al-rub'*) dans un délai de six mois à partir du début du mois de *shawwâl* de l'année en cours/début mars 1734 ; puis, chaque année, pen-

⁹⁶ Cette date est antérieure à celle que nous connaissons pour sa nomination (1143/1731, 74/49/96).

⁹⁷ 'Uthmân Çelebî al-Bahnasî fait partie d'une grande famille d'ulémas damascains. Il s'agit probablement de 'Uthmân Efendî b. 'Abd al-Raḥmân Efendî b. 'Uthmân Efendî qui occupe diverses fonctions au cours du XVIII^e siècle : au mois de *jumâdâ II* 1138/février 1726, après avoir été lecteur du Coran au sein du *waqf* de Küçük Aḥmad Pacha (56/35/154), il est nommé enseignant dans une *madrasa* hanafite située intra-muros, la *Madrasa Qaşşâ'iyya*, et *mutawallî* de son *waqf* (56/34/152). Au mois de *şafar* 1149/fin juin 1736, il est nommé *nâzir* des *waqf* de ses aïeux (77/83/141) et *mutawallî* de la mosquée de Bahrâm Aghâ, située intra-muros, dans le quartier de Bâb Tûmâ (77/83/142).

⁹⁸ Sur cette question, cf. ZAHRAA, 1995 ; ABU SAAD, 2001 ; 'AKSH, 2001 ; MAYMÂN, 2004 ; BEHRENS-ABOUSEIF, 2009.

⁹⁹ Pour un autre cas dans lequel la responsabilité du *mutawallî* est engagée, cf. MARINO, MEIER, 2009.

dant dix ans, à partir du début du mois de *rabî' II* 1147/début septembre 1734, une somme de 1 543,5 *qursh* devra être payée en vertu du document (*daftar*) signé par le juge ; celui-ci précise le nom des créanciers et le montant de leur créance. Les créanciers présents approuvent l'échelonnement (*radû bi-al-taqât*). Les dettes étant celles d'Aḥmad Aghâ, le gouverneur et le juge annulent les transferts et le juge fait savoir que, dans la mesure où les revenus d'Aḥmad Aghâ ne permettent pas le remboursement des dettes en un seul versement, ils ne doivent pas lui réclamer plus que cela (*fa-laysa la-hum muṭâlabatu-hu bi-azyad min dhâlika*)¹⁰⁰.

Plus d'une trentaine de témoins signent cet acte à la suite duquel est consigné, dans le registre, un document récapitulatif qui établit la liste des créanciers et les sommes qui leur sont dues par Aḥmad Aghâ. Ce dernier accepte, dans cet acte, de rembourser ses dettes sur ses revenus, sans transfert sur les sujets du *waqf* (*min ghayr ḥawâla 'alâ ra'âyâ al-waqf*)¹⁰¹.

Six ans plus tard, le 25 *rabî' I* 1153/20 juin 1740, alors que Muḥammad Aghâ a succédé à son père comme *mutawallî* du *waqf*, al-Sayyid 'Alî b. *al-marḥûm* al-Sayyid 'Abd al-Wâḥid, réclame une somme de 1 589,75 *qursh* à al-Sayyid Ḥusayn Aghâ qui est toujours *qâ'immaqâm* du *waqf*. Le demandeur fait référence à l'acte établi le 5 *shawwâl* 1146/11 mars 1734 dans lequel figure effectivement le nom de son père et le montant de la somme réclamée. Au cours de cette procédure, al-Sayyid Ḥusayn Aghâ exhibe plusieurs cahiers de comptes du *waqf* ('*iddat dafâtir muḥâsabât al-waqf*), notamment ceux des années 1145/1732-1733 et 1146/1733-1734 ; ces documents montrent qu'aucune dépense supplémentaire ne pouvait justifier un endettement du *waqf* (*lam yûjad fî-himâ ziyâda fî maṣârifi-hi taqtaḍi al-istidâna*)¹⁰². Le juge fait alors savoir au demandeur que, dans la mesure où les dettes étaient celles d'Aḥmad Aghâ et non celles du *waqf*, ni lui ni les autres héritiers de son père ne doivent s'opposer à al-Sayyid Ḥusayn Aghâ et au *waqf* à ce sujet¹⁰³.

Cette démarche, qui laisse supposer que les dettes n'ont pas été remboursées selon l'accord convenu, est quelque peu insolite. Bien qu'il

¹⁰⁰ 71/72/141.

¹⁰¹ 71/73/142.

¹⁰² Notons toutefois que l'année suivante, en 1147/1734-1735, dans le cadre d'une procédure très fréquente dans la gestion des *waqf*, le *mutawallî* et le *qâ'immaqâm* empruntent à un certain Ramaḍân Aghâ une somme de 4 800 *qursh* ; cet emprunt est réalisé en bonne et due forme, avec l'autorisation du juge, en raison du manque d'argent dans les caisses du *waqf* (*li-'adam mâl ḥâṣil fî al-waqf*) ; cf. 72/85/159.

¹⁰³ 94/168/286.

connaisse le contenu de l'acte établissant les dettes d'Aḥmad Aghâ, le demandeur semble – ou fait semblant d' – ignorer que les dettes étaient non pas celles du *waqf*, mais celles du *mutawallî*; il tente ainsi de récupérer les créances de son père auprès du *waqf* et non pas auprès du fils du débiteur défunt car il sait sans aucun doute que « les dettes ne sont jamais dues par les héritiers ni sur leur personne, ni sur leurs biens. Seule la succession du *de cuius* en répond »¹⁰⁴. Le défendeur, quant à lui, n'exhibe pas l'acte mettant en évidence les dettes d'Aḥmad Aghâ, mais seulement les cahiers de comptes montrant que le *waqf* n'était pas endetté. Tout se passe en définitive comme si le but de cette démarche était de confirmer la non-implication du *waqf* dans l'endettement de son précédent *mutawallî*.

Comment Aḥmad Aghâ gère-t-il donc le remboursement de ses dettes ?

Le transfert du droit de créance (*ḥawâla*)

Les raisons pour lesquelles Aḥmad Aghâ se retrouve endetté à cause de 'Uthmân Çelebî al-Bahnasî demeurent obscures. Dans la mesure où cet endettement semble être lié au *waqf*, le *mutawallî* aurait-il emprunté sans l'autorisation du juge ?¹⁰⁵ Nous ignorons tout des circonstances dans lesquelles ces dettes ont été contractées mais deux documents nous renseignent sur deux emprunts qui doivent être remboursés par certains villages du *waqf*: l'un est effectué par Aḥmad Aghâ en 1145/1733 et l'autre par Aḥmad Aghâ et al-Sayyid Ḥusayn Aghâ en 1147/1734. Comme nous le verrons plus loin, les villages concernés par ces transferts sont les mêmes que ceux concernés par les comptes établis entre les deux responsables du *waqf* pour deux années consécutives.

Un transfert de dette au profit d'al-Ḥâjj Ḥijâzî

Le 29 *dhû al-qa'da* 1145/13 mai 1733¹⁰⁶, soit onze mois avant que son endettement ne soit établi auprès du juge, Aḥmad Aghâ avoue (*aqarra*) une dette de 8 500 *qursh* envers un certain al-Ḥâjj Ḥijâzî b. al-Ḥâjj Muṣṭafâ¹⁰⁷, somme qu'il doit lui rembourser sous forme de transfert

¹⁰⁴ CHEHATA, 2005, p. 102.

¹⁰⁵ Dans ce cas, il lui appartiendrait de rembourser les dettes du *waqf* sur ses propres fonds; cf. MAYMÂN, 2004, p. 45-48.

¹⁰⁶ 71/32/68.

¹⁰⁷ Dans la liste des dettes établie le 5 *shawwâl* 1146/11 mars 1734, ce personnage

(*hawâla*) en cinq traites (*qasṭ*) annuelles de 1 700 *qursh* à partir de 1147/juin 1734. Le créancier peut se procurer cette somme sur dix sources de revenus du *waqf*: outre le loyer du village de Ḥâṣbayâ (458 *qursh*), un revenu émanant du village de Ruḥayba (100 *qursh*) et un autre qui n'a pu être identifié (150 *qursh*), il s'agit de « l'argent des *ṣûbâshî* » (*mâl al-ṣûbâshiyya*)¹⁰⁸ de sept villages¹⁰⁹.

Dans ce transfert de droit de créance, la part de « l'argent des *ṣûbâshî* » est relativement importante; elle s'élève à 1 000 *qursh*, somme qui, comme les autres, ne doit pas être versée au *waqf*, mais perçue par le créancier d'Aḥmad Aghâ. Normalement, « la dette du cédant doit être conforme à celle du débiteur cédé »¹¹⁰; cela n'est pas le cas ici et le créancier devra par conséquent restituer le surplus au *mutawallî*¹¹¹.

Dans cet acte, il n'est pas précisé si cette somme est empruntée pour le compte du *waqf*; s'agirait-il d'un emprunt dont le *mutawallî* envisage le remboursement sur des revenus futurs auxquels il aurait droit dans le cadre du *waqf*?¹¹²

Un autre emprunt effectué l'année suivante par les deux responsables du *waqf* est, quant à lui, explicitement contracté pour les besoins du *waqf*.

apparaît comme le plus gros créancier d'Aḥmad Aghâ; sa créance s'élève à 9 842 *qursh* (71/72/141, 71/73/142).

¹⁰⁸ Dans la Palestine du XVI^e siècle, les *ṣûbâshî* sont très présents en milieu rural, où ils peuvent louer le droit de collecter des revenus à la place des personnes qui en sont officiellement chargées. Bien qu'ils ne soient pas mentionnés dans la liste du personnel d'un *waqf*, ils peuvent donc, indirectement, exercer des fonctions dans le cadre de celui-ci en collectant les taxes dans les villages (SINGER, 1994, p. 26-28 et p. 73; 2002, p. 57). Sur les taxes collectées par le *ṣûbâshî* de la fondation de Ḥassekî Sultân dans huit villages proches de Ramla en 994/1586, cf. SINGER, 1996. Notons que les *ṣûbâshî* sont parfois débiteurs du *waqf* pour lequel ils collectent les taxes (SINGER, 1994, p. 73). Les règlements fiscaux des diverses provinces syriennes établis au XVI^e siècle mentionnent à plusieurs reprises des restrictions sur les taxes que les *ṣûbâshî* sont habilités à lever; cf. MANTRAN, SAUVAGET, 1951, p. 34 et p. 51-56.

¹⁰⁹ À l'exception de celui du village de Ruḥayba qui s'élève à 300 *qursh*, ce *mâl al-ṣûbâshiyya* est de 100 ou 150 *qursh*: Ḥâṣbayâ, 150 *qursh*; Ḥalâ et Tawânî, 100 *qursh*; Qâbûn, 100 *qursh*; Kiswa, 150 *qursh*; Kanâkir, 100 *qursh*; Manîḥa, 100 *qursh*. En 1146-1147/1733-1735, la contribution des villages de Qâbûn, de Ḥammûriyya et de Kanâkir au *mâl al-ṣûbâshiyya* est de 435 *qursh*; cette somme sert à payer les frais de déplacement et les dépenses de l'envoyé du *mutawallî* à Istanbul; cf. 74/49/96.

¹¹⁰ DIETRICH, 1975.

¹¹¹ D'après nos calculs, le surplus est de 8 *qursh*; dans le document, il est indiqué qu'il est de 40 *qursh*.

¹¹² Le *mutawallî* semble en effet utiliser des revenus (*'awâ'id*) du *waqf* qui lui sont destinés pour rembourser ses dettes; cf. 74/49/96.

Un transfert de dette au profit de Ramaḍân Aghâ

Le 23 *rajab* 1147/19 décembre 1734, soit près de dix mois après que l'endettement d'Aḥmad Aghâ a été établi auprès du juge, le *mutawallî* et le *qâ'immaqâm* avouent (*aqarra*) devoir une somme de 4 800 *qursh* à un certain Ramaḍân Aghâ b. 'Alî Beshe : 3 600 *qursh* empruntés depuis le début *muḥarram* de l'année en cours/début juin 1734 en plusieurs versements (*fî dafa'ât mutafarriqa*) ; 400 *qursh* empruntés le jour de l'aveu pour les provisions destinées à la réception du gouverneur de Damas (*li-ajl dhakhîrat istiqbâl ḥaḍrat muḥâfiẓ Dimashq*) ; 800 *qursh* correspondant à « une quantité connue de savon »¹¹³ qu'ils ont achetée ce jour-là à Ramaḍân Aghâ ; cette somme doit être remboursée dans huit mois. Il s'agit là d'un endettement autorisé par le juge, procédure tout à fait courante dans la gestion des *waqf*. Les débiteurs autorisent quant à eux le remboursement de l'emprunt sur l'argent du *waqf* : 1 300 *qursh* auprès des villageois de Kiswa, 1 200 *qursh* auprès de ceux de Ḥammûriyya, 1 300 *qursh* auprès de ceux de Ruḥayba, 500 *qursh* auprès de ceux de Quṭayfa et 500 *qursh* auprès de ceux de Tawânî¹¹⁴.

Les modalités de remboursement de ces dettes, étroitement liées aux taxes versées par les villages du *waqf* de Sinân Pacha, nous conduisent à examiner les revenus et les dépenses de celui-ci tels qu'ils apparaissent à travers les comptes établis entre le *mutawallî* et le *qâ'immaqâm* le 17 *rabî' I* 1148/7 août 1735.

LE RÈGLEMENT DES COMPTES

En tant que fondation impériale brassant d'importants flux financiers, le *waqf* de Sinân Pacha figure sans aucun doute dans les registres de comptabilité conservés à Istanbul qui permettent, comme l'ont montré de nombreuses études, d'examiner la situation financière de ces fondations sur plusieurs décennies¹¹⁵ ; un document comptable concernant ce *waqf*, daté des premières années de son existence (1004-1006/1595-1598), est

¹¹³ Il s'agit là d'une formulation courante pour éviter de dire explicitement qu'il s'agit d'intérêts.

¹¹⁴ 72/85/159.

¹¹⁵ Sur ce type de registres, cf., par exemple, FAROQHI, 1974, 1981, 1988 ; GERBER, 1988, p. 149-185 ; FAROQHI, 1995 ; ORBAY, 2005 et 2007.

d'ailleurs conservé dans les archives du musée de Topkapı¹¹⁶. En Syrie, certains registres d'Alep sont consacrés à la comptabilité des *waqf*¹¹⁷, mais aucun registre de ce type n'existe pour Damas ; seuls quelques rares documents comptables y sont consignés dans les registres des tribunaux¹¹⁸. Parmi eux se trouve un document singulier, un acte de deux pages, daté du 17 *rabî' I* 1148/7 août 1735, dans lequel le *mutawallî* atteste (*ashhada 'alay-hi*) avoir fait les comptes (*taḥâsaba*) avec son *qâ'immaqâm* sur les sommes qui ont été perçues et dépensées par ce dernier au cours des années 1146-1147/1733-1735¹¹⁹.

Revenus et dépenses pour l'année 1146/1733-1734

Une partie des comptes entre les deux responsables du *waqf* porte sur les revenus et les dépenses concernant une période de trois mois moins huit jours pour la fin de l'année 1146/1734¹²⁰. Cette comptabilité débute le 8 *shawwâl* 1146/14 mars 1734, soit trois jours après que l'endettement d'Aḥmad Aghâ a été établi auprès du juge. Au cours donc des trois derniers mois de l'année 1146/1733-1734, al-Sayyid Ḥusayn Aghâ a perçu une somme de 966,5 *qursh* et 2 *mişriyya*¹²¹, correspondant au loyer du hammam situé dans le Sûq al-Sinâniyya, à Damas¹²², et à des revenus provenant d'Acre. Au cours de cette période, il a effectué des dépenses pour les deux *takiyya* du *waqf* situées à Sa'sa' et à Quṭayfa : provisions et autres (*dhakhâ'ir wa ghayr dhâlika*), rétribution des titulaires de fonctions ('*alâ'if arbâb al-waḥâ'if*') dans la mosquée du fondateur située à Damas¹²³ et salaires liés au *waqf* (*ujûr mutarattiba 'alâ al-waqf*). Ses dépenses ont atteint 1 596 *qursh* et 7 *mişriyya* ; les comptes de cette période affichent donc un déficit de 629,5 *qursh* et 5 *mişriyya*.

¹¹⁶ Öz, 1946, p. 190.

¹¹⁷ Il s'agit des registres « *muḥâsabât awqâf* » n°s 39, 152/I, 177 ; cf. aussi n° 329 (1) et II/1 ; MARINO, OKAWARA, 1999, p. 164, p. 176-177, p. 183, p. 199.

¹¹⁸ Cf., par exemple, la comptabilité du *waqf* de la Madrasa Fârisiyya dans 18/19/28.

¹¹⁹ 74/49/96.

¹²⁰ La comptabilité des *waqf* est normalement établie pour une année, mais cela n'est pas toujours le cas ; cf. ORBAY, 2007, p. 12-16.

¹²¹ 40 *mişriyya* sont équivalentes à 1 *qursh*.

¹²² Entre 1159/1746 et 1211/1796, soit sur une période d'un demi-siècle, le loyer du Hammâm al-Sinâniyya demeure le même : 67,5 *qursh* par mois, soit 810 *qursh* par an (117/18/32, 159/90/184, 177/398/622, 218/460/2201, 233/41/58, 233/280/480).

¹²³ Sur le salaire des titulaires de fonctions dans la mosquée Sinâniyya à Damas, cf. PASCUAL, 1983, p. 62-63.

Pour l'année 1146/1733-1734, al-Sayyid Ḥusayn Aghâ a aussi perçu une somme de 4 730 *qursh* provenant des villageois de Ruḥayba, Quṭayfa, Ḥammûriyya, Kiswa, Tawânî et Ḥalâ¹²⁴ et du coton de Sa'sa'. Il en a déduit la somme de 629,5 *qursh* et 5 *mişriyya* mentionnée plus haut. Sur la somme restante de 4 100,25 *qursh* et 5 *mişriyya*, il a remis 4 009,25 *qursh* et 5 *mişriyya* à Aḥmad Aghâ à qui il devait encore par conséquent 91 *qursh*.

Revenus et dépenses de l'année 1147/1734-1735

Les comptes entre le *mutawallî* et son *qâ'immaqâm* ont aussi porté sur les revenus qu'a perçus al-Sayyid Ḥusayn Aghâ au cours de l'année 1147/1734-1735 : 510,75 *qursh* et 3 *mişriyya* correspondant aux loyers de jardins (*min ujûr al-basâtîn*) et 2 433,25 *qursh* et 6 *mişriyya* payés par des villages et des *mazra'a* (*min ba'd al-qurâ wa al-mazârî*).

Les villageois de Kiswa, Tawânî, Ḥalâ, Ruḥayba et Quṭayfa ont, quant à eux, payé 4 930 *qursh*, somme correspondant aux revenus du *waqf* issus de la récolte des villages mentionnés (*naẓîr mâ huwa 'â'id li-jihat al-waqf al-mazbûr min ghilâl al-qurâ al-madhkûra*)¹²⁵.

La somme totale qu'a perçue al-Sayyid Ḥusayn Aghâ en 1147/1734-1735 est de 7 874 *qursh* et 9 *mişriyya* auxquels ont été ajoutés les 91 *qursh* dus sur les revenus de l'année précédente, soit 7 965 *qursh* et 9 *mişriyya*.

Les comptes ont aussi porté sur les dépenses qu'a effectuées al-Sayyid Ḥusayn Aghâ pour le *waqf* au cours de l'année 1147/1734-1735.

Outre les sommes consacrées aux deux *takiyya* (provisions pour les voyageurs, restauration de la *takiyya* de Sa'sa', rétribution des titulaires de fonctions dans les deux institutions), ces dépenses ont aussi concerné, entre autres, les mosquées (*jâmi'* et *masjid*) du fondateur à Damas (huile, bougies, tapis, rémunérations) et la restauration des biens du *waqf* situés à Damas, sans oublier les salaires du *qâ'immaqâm* et du *mutawallî* et les

¹²⁴ À l'exception de Ḥalâ, ces villages sont les mêmes que ceux mentionnés dans la reconnaissance de dette du *mutawallî* et du *qâ'immaqâm* envers Ramaḍân Aghâ (72/85/159, 1147/1734). La somme en question est sensiblement voisine : Ramaḍân Aghâ devait se procurer 4 800 *qursh* auprès des gens de ces villages. Dans ce document, la somme payée par ces villages est de 4 730 *qursh* en 1146/1733-1734 et de 4 930 *qursh* en 1147/1734-1735.

¹²⁵ Contrairement à l'année précédente, le village de Ḥammûriyya n'est pas mentionné : s'agirait-il d'un oubli du scribe ? Quoi qu'il en soit, on constate une augmentation de 200 *qursh* par rapport à la somme payée par ces villages l'année précédente.

frais liés à l'envoi de « l'argent des écoles » destiné au *seyhülislam*. Les dépenses d'al-Sayyid Ḥusayn Aghâ pour l'année en question se sont élevées à 8 961,66 *qursh*, soit 996,5 *qursh* de plus que les revenus.

Sont ensuite mentionnées les céréales attribuées au *waqf* (tabl. I) et les taxes perçues par al-Sayyid Ḥusayn Aghâ.

À l'exception de Qâbûn, situé à proximité de Damas, les villages qui fournissent des céréales au *waqf* sont liés aux deux *takiyya* : il s'agit de Sa'sa' et Kharîbat Sa'sa', qui abritent une des deux *takiyya*, et de Jayrûd, Ḥalâ et 'Ayn al-Baydâ', proches de la *takiyya* de Qūṭayfa.

Tableau I. Céréales attribuées au *waqf* de Sinân Pacha pour l'année 1146/1733-1734 (récolte effectuée en 1147/1734-1735)

Village	Blé (<i>ḥinṭa</i>)	Orge (<i>sha'îr</i>)
Jayrûd	5 <i>ghirâra</i>	62 <i>ghirâra</i> et 4,5 <i>mudd</i>
Qâbûn	39 <i>ghirâra</i> et 9 <i>mudd</i>	25 <i>ghirâra</i>
Sa'sa' et Kharîba (Kharîbat Sa'sa')	34 <i>ghirâra</i> et 4 <i>mudd</i>	39 <i>ghirâra</i> et 7 <i>mudd</i>
Ḥalâ et 'Ayn al-Baydâ'	2 <i>ghirâra</i> et 1 <i>mudd</i>	2,5 <i>ghirâra</i> et 31 <i>mudd</i>

Pour chaque village – ou couple de villages – les quantités de blé et d'orge sont à peu près équivalentes, sauf pour Jayrûd où la quantité de blé est très faible par rapport à l'orge ; au lieu de 5 *ghirâra*, le scribe aurait sans aucun doute dû enregistrer la quantité d'une cinquantaine de *ghirâra*.

En l'absence d'informations sur la consommation de céréales au sein des deux *takiyya*, nous ignorons si ces quantités de blé et d'orge, qui s'élèvent à environ une cinquantaine de tonnes, sont entièrement consommées par les institutions charitables du *waqf* ou si une partie est vendue, comme cela est le cas pour d'autres institutions de ce type¹²⁶.

Les diverses taxes perçues sur les villages ont quant à elles rapporté 3 283 *qursh*. Al-Sayyid Ḥusayn Aghâ a dépensé 2 992,5 *qursh* ; il restait donc 290,5 *qursh* qu'il a déduits des 996,5 *qursh* dépensés en trop. Il ne devait donc plus que 706 *qursh* qu'avec l'autorisation du *mutawallî* il pouvait se procurer sur « l'argent des *şûbâshî* ».

À l'issue de ces comptes, les deux hommes ont déclaré qu'ils ne se devaient plus rien à l'exception d'une dette de 135 *qursh* d'Aḥmad Aghâ

¹²⁶ Comme la fondation de Seyyid Gazi à la fin du xvi^e-début du xvii^e siècle (FAROQHI, 1981, p. 100 et p. 120) ou la *zaviye* de Mevlânâ Celaledin à Konya dans la première moitié du xvii^e siècle (FAROQHI, 1988, p. 50-52 et p. 64). Il en est de même en 1559 pour l'*imaret* de Hâsseki Sultân à Jérusalem ; cf. SINGER, 2002, p. 122-123.

envers al-Sayyid Ḥusayn Aghâ, somme qu'il aurait perçue directement sur les revenus du *waqf* et qui doit être réintégrée dans leurs comptes. Ils ont aussi indiqué que la récolte des villages de Jayrûd, Qâbûn, Sa'sa', Kharîbat Sa'sa', Ḥalâ et 'Ayn al-Bayḍâ ' restait due au *waqf* pour l'année en cours.

Les villages mentionnés dans ces comptes entre les deux hommes ne représentent qu'une petite partie de l'ensemble des villages affectés au *waqf*. À l'exception de Ḥammûriyya, qui est situé à l'est de Damas, et de Kiswa, au sud, les autres (Ruḥayba, Ḥalâ et Tawânî) sont situés à proximité de Quṭayfa. De même, à l'exception de Qâbûn, les villages fournissant des céréales au *waqf* (Jayrûd, Sa'sa', Kharîbat Sa'sa', terres de Ḥalâ, *mazra'a* de 'Ayn al-Bayḍâ') sont situés à proximité des deux *takiyya* de Quṭayfa et de Sa'sa'¹²⁷. Ces comptes, qui ne concernent pas une zone géographique homogène, semblent étroitement liés à la gestion des deux *takiyya*. Il ne s'agit aucunement d'une comptabilité relative à l'ensemble du *waqf*.

CONCLUSION

À l'issue de cette enquête, de vastes zones d'ombre subsistent sur la fondation de Sinân Pacha dans le Bilâd al-Shâm. Dans les années 1730, malgré les problèmes liés à l'endettement et à la marginalisation de son *mutawallî*, dont la responsabilité est engagée en raison de sa mauvaise gestion, elle semble surmonter des difficultés passagères grâce à l'action efficace de son *qâ'immaqâm* qui rétablit le fonctionnement des deux *takiyya* de Sa'sa' et de Quṭayfa. Mais qu'en est-il de la *takiyya* de 'Uyûn al-Tujjâr qui, selon l'acte de *waqf*, est destinée à assurer les mêmes fonctions que les deux établissements en question ? Dans quel état se trouve-t-elle au début du XVIII^e siècle ? La *takiyya* de Lala Muṣṭafâ Pacha, située à Qunayṭira, près de Sa'sa', connaît-elle les mêmes difficultés ?

Par ailleurs, qu'en est-il des revenus et des dépenses de la fondation de Sinân Pacha dans les autres régions du Bilâd al-Shâm ? Quelle est l'importance de ses flux financiers par rapport à d'autres fondations impériales de la région à la même époque ? Seul l'examen des registres de comptes du *waqf* pourrait donner une image précise de la situation du *waqf* de Sinân Pacha sur une longue période et permettre une comparaison avec d'autres fondations du Bilâd al-Shâm comme, par exemple, celle de son grand rival, Lala Muṣṭafâ Pacha.

¹²⁷ Sur ces villages, cf. ARNÂ'ÛṬ éd., 1993, p. 139-146.

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Brigitte MARINO, *Le waqf de Sinân Pacha dans le Bilâd al-Shâm des années 1730 : un mutawallî endetté, deux takiyya fermées, des comptes réglés.*

En 1004/1596, huit ans après avoir quitté ses fonctions de gouverneur de Damas, Sinân Pacha fait établir un acte dans lequel est confirmée la grande fondation (*waqf*) qu'il a constituée dans le Bilâd al-Shâm. Comme le montrent les actes juridiques consignés dans les registres des tribunaux de Damas, cette fondation traverse une crise dans les années 1730 ; le *mutawallî* est frappé d'interdiction juridique (*ḥajr*) par le pouvoir central et c'est désormais un *qâ'immaqâm*, dont les compétences sont unanimement reconnues, qui se substitue en partie à lui. Cet article examine quelques aspects de l'administration et de la gestion de ce *waqf* au cours de cette décennie à travers les décisions prises par Istanbul concernant ses responsables, les difficultés rencontrées par deux *takiyya* qui ont été fermées pendant plusieurs mois, les modalités du remboursement des dettes du *mutawallî* et, enfin, les comptes qui sont établis entre le *mutawallî* et le *qâ'immaqâm* pour deux années consécutives.

Brigitte MARINO, *Sinân Pasha's waqf in 1730s Bilâd al-Shâm : a mutawallî in debt, two takiyya closed, accounts resolved.*

In 1004/1596, eight years after he left the office of governor of Damascus, Sinân Pasha reconfirmed his great foundation (*waqf*) in the Bilâd al-Shâm. As shown by a number of legal acts recorded in the court registers of Damascus, the foundation went through a period of crisis in the 1730s; the *mutawallî* was subject to judicial interdiction (*ḥajr*) by the central government and was replaced, at least to some extent, by a *qâ'immaqâm* whose ability was unanimously recognized. This article examines some aspects of the administration and management of the *waqf* in this decade through the decisions taken in Istanbul about the persons in charge of it, the challenges faced by two *takiyya* that were closed for several months, the ways by which the *mutawallî*'s debts were to be reimbursed and finally the accounts that were established between the *mutawallî* and the *qâ'immaqâm* for two consecutive years.

HEURS ET MALHEURS DU LEGS D'UN GRAND OFFICIER IMPÉRIAL : LE *WAQF* DE SINÂN PACHA (V. 1520-1596) À ALEXANDRIE

Le *waqf* est en principe une institution pérenne qui, comme le précise rituellement le formulaire des actes de fondation « ne doit ni périr, ni disparaître, dont ni le nom ni le souvenir ne doivent s'effacer ». Dans la réalité, c'est souvent, au contraire, une institution fragile dont les biens peuvent faire l'objet d'appropriations illégales ou dont les revenus peuvent être dilapidés et les fonctions charitables délaissées par ceux-là même qui en ont la garde. Les remises en ordre que les gouvernants opèrent, à intervalle régulier, dans la gestion des fondations dont ils ont la charge témoignent amplement du caractère récurrent de ces difficultés¹. Les *waqf* affectés exclusivement à un usage d'intérêt public (dits *khayrî*) et notamment les fondations des sultans ou des grands officiers impériaux pourraient avoir été plus exposés à ces dérives que les *waqf* dont

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¹ Pour un exemple de peu postérieur au gouvernement de Sinân, cf. *Maḥk. Isk.*, reg. 28, p. 283, n° 143, *amr 'ālî* du *dîwân* du Caire du 14 *dhû al-qa'da* 995/17 oct. 1587 demandant la vérification de tous les *waqf* des villes du Delta. Crecelius et Badr 'Ali (1995) donnent une illustration, datée de 1592, de ce que ces enquêtes faisaient apparaître. Ce type de contrôle devient régulier à partir de la promulgation du *Kanunname* de Soliman, en 931/1525 et se maintient jusqu'à l'expédition de Bonaparte. Cf. 'Afîfî, 1991, p. 39-41 ; CRECELIUS, 2006, p. 226.

le bénéfice charitable est repoussé à l'extinction d'un usufruit privé (dits *ahlî* ou *dhurrî*)². Les péripéties ayant affecté la gestion de la Wikâla Sinâniyya à Alexandrie entre le xvi^e et le xix^e siècle fournissent une illustration éloquente de cette vulnérabilité plus grande. Appréhendées ici à partir d'une enquête administrative organisée entre 1846 et 1848 pour remettre de l'ordre dans la gestion de la fondation de Sinân Pacha, elles invitent aussi à poser en termes nouveaux la question des relations entre pouvoir régalien et institution judiciaire.

LA DONATION D'UN GRAND VIZIR

Figure archétypale des grands officiers impériaux du xvi^e siècle, Sinân Pacha a laissé, au fil d'une carrière longue et brillante³, un très grand nombre de fondations pieuses⁴. Formant souvent des complexes importants autour d'édifices bâtis sur sa commande, elles se distribuent tout autour du bassin oriental de la Méditerranée et sont, par leur nature comme par leur localisation, fortement corrélées aux grandes voies du négoce international⁵. En Égypte, les biens que Sinân affecte à sa fondation sont presque tous localisés dans des ports : centrée sur la mosquée qu'il fait construire à Bûlâq, port nord du Caire recevant le commerce méditerranéen transitant par Alexandrie, Damiette ou Rosette et le commerce terrestre ou maritime transitant par Suez⁶, la fondation se nourrit d'autres ensembles, tous à vocation essentiellement commerciale, avec pour élément central un grand caravansérail (*khân*). Ils sont tous situés dans des villes qui sont à la fois les points de rupture de charge et les douanes du grand négoce international (Alexandrie, Damiette, Qaṭiyâ, Suez et Quṣayr).

Sinân exerce le gouvernement de l'Égypte à deux reprises : une première fois pour quelques mois, de *sha'bân* 975/février 1568 à *ṣafar* 976/août 1568, et une seconde fois au lendemain de ses campagnes victorieuses

² L'opposition entre *khayrî* et *ahlî/dhurrî* n'apparaît pas dans les archives judiciaires. Elle est le produit d'une reformulation des catégories d'énonciation du droit due à l'action conjointe des juristes européens et des réformateurs ottomans du xix^e siècle.

³ Biographie dans TURAN, 1988 ; BABINGER, DÁVID, 1997 ; article de N. Michel dans le présent volume.

⁴ Une centaine, selon HEYD, 1960, p. 187.

⁵ Pour l'Égypte, cf. HANNA, 1983, p. 38 ; pour le Bilâd al-Shâm, cf. PASCUAL, 1983, p. 44, n. 4 (Quṭayfa) ; p. 45, n. 1 (Sa'sa') ; p. 46, n. 1 ('Uyûn al-Tujjâr).

⁶ Le port sud, au Vieux-Caire, accueillait le commerce continental en provenance de l'Afrique et le commerce de la mer Rouge par Quṣayr.

au Yémen (976/1569), de *dhû al-hijja* 978/mai 1571 à *dhû al-hijja* 981/avril 1574. Ses fondations égyptiennes sont, pour la plupart, mentionnées dans un acte conservé dans les archives du ministère des Waqfs, au Caire⁷. C'est une grosse *waqfiyya* (annexe I), de 441 lignes, datée, dans sa forme finale, du 20 *rabî' I* 996/18 février 1588⁸. Elle réunit, en réalité, deux actes distincts respectivement datés de 989 (*l.* 1-353) et de 996 (*l.* 354-441)⁹ et consigne une série de modifications apportées à l'acte original en vertu d'une clause par laquelle le fondateur se réservait le droit d'agir sur la liste des biens affectés au *waqf*: il pouvait y faire entrer (*idkhâl*) ou au contraire en faire sortir (*ikhrâj*) des biens, comme il pouvait les transformer (*taghayyur*) ou les remplacer (*tabdîl*) par d'autres (*l.* 167-171). De fait, l'acte de 996 ajoute un supplément (*dhayl*) à l'acte daté de la fin de *shawwâl* 989/fin novembre 1581, passé devant le tribunal de Damas, annulant et remplaçant l'acte original de la fin de *shawwâl* 980/fin février-début mars 1573, modifié lui-même une première fois en *shawwâl* 984/22 décembre 1576-20 janvier 1577. Le fonds des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale du Caire conserve une copie incomplète de la *waqfiyya* qui pourrait correspondre à cette modification de 984¹⁰. Elle ne compte que 210 lignes¹¹ et n'est pas datée, la fin de l'acte faisant défaut. À l'exception du préambule, plus long dans la version du ministère des Waqfs, les deux actes sont strictement identiques dans leur rédaction. Ils ne diffèrent que sur deux points: dans le document de la Bibliothèque nationale, les deux bains de Bûlâq et d'Alexandrie ne figurent pas dans la liste des biens donnés à la fondation et seule l'annulation de 980 est mentionnée avant que ne soit prononcée, de nouveau, la constitution du *waqf*. Bien qu'elle ne comporte pas, dans la copie qui nous en est parvenue, le jugement validant la recevabilité de la donation et la date de son enregistrement, cette version, nécessairement antérieure à celle des Waqfs, correspond donc très certainement à l'acte de 984 évoqué dans celui de 989/996. Un second ajout, en date du début de *rabî' II* 999/fin janvier-début février 1591, modifiant l'acte enregistré au Caire en 996, est porté dans un document conservé, lui, dans les archives de la Présidence du

⁷ *Awqâf*, n° 2869. Je remercie Tarek El-Morsy de m'avoir communiqué une copie de cet acte.

⁸ C'est le document évoqué dans 'Alî Pacha MUBÂRAK, 1886-1888, t. V, p. 19-20, et celui utilisé dans HANNA, 1983, p. 35-36; BEHRENS-ABOUSEIF, 1994, p. 200-203; SWELIM, 1993, p. 101.

⁹ Correspondant aux documents K16, 1 et K16, 2 dans BAYRAM, 1999, p. 163.

¹⁰ Cf. DK. Je remercie T. El-Morsy de m'avoir communiqué une copie de cet acte.

¹¹ Correspondant aux *l.* 10-215 de la version du ministère des Waqfs.

Conseil à Istanbul¹². Enfin, les archives du palais de Topkapı contiennent un certain nombre d'actes (*hüccet*) et de décisions de justice (*hüküm*) qui sont en réalité autant de décrets d'application des stipulations (*şurât*) exécutoires portées à l'acte de fondation, ainsi que des livres de comptes (*defter*) des œuvres égyptiennes de Sinân¹³. L'ensemble ainsi constitué permet de mieux connaître la chronologie de la lente élaboration du legs de Sinân Pacha entre 979/1572 (date de l'achat d'un certain nombre de biens par la suite donnés au *waqf*) et 999/janvier 1591 (date de la dernière modification connue).

Comme celle de Damas¹⁴, la fondation égyptienne est donc constituée au fil des ans, bien au-delà des deux mandats du fondateur. Pour autant que l'on puisse en juger sur les seuls actes de fondation, les premiers éléments du patrimoine sont acquis entre mars 1572 et janvier 1573 (*l.* 156-165), soit dans l'année qui suit la nomination de Sinân au gouvernement de l'Égypte. Ce sont des domaines agricoles, situés dans le centre du Delta¹⁵, non loin du Caire, d'une superficie totale de plus de 350 ha, achetés en partie à un ancien *cadi*. La constitution de la fondation intervient quelques mois plus tard, en février 1573, probablement dès le début de la construction de la mosquée de Bûlâq au profit de laquelle est affecté l'essentiel de la rente. Les fondations de Damiette, de Maḥalla et de Quṣayr, administrées de la même manière que le *waqf* principal, mais qui font l'objet d'actes séparés, sont instituées au même moment¹⁶. Sinân quitte l'Égypte au printemps suivant (avril 1574), mais ses opérations foncières et immobilières sont encore loin d'être achevées. Les refontes successives de l'acte de fondation ont pour but d'intégrer dans le legs des bâtiments dont la construction n'est pas encore achevée. Lors de la première modification, en janvier 1577, les bains de Bûlâq et d'Alexandrie ne sont pas encore construits : ils ne sont cités que dans l'acte de novembre 1581. À cette date, du reste, toutes les dépendances du bain de Bûlâq (entrepôts et ateliers) ne sont pas encore achevées (*lam tukmal ba'd*, *l.* 101 et 106). Le supplément de février 1588 ajoute encore un bâtiment qui vient d'être construit (*al-binâ al-mustajidd al-inshâ*, *l.* 367), toujours à Bûlâq, et qui

¹² BAYRAM, 1999, p. 163.

¹³ ÖZ, 1946, n^{os} 171-172, 173A, 174-175 pour les livres de comptes.

¹⁴ PASCUAL, 1983, p. 43.

¹⁵ Al-Aḥrâz est situé dans le district de Shibîn al-Qanâtîr (Qalyûbiyya), sur la route de Suez et Gazîrat Banî Naşr (Manûfiyya) dans celui de Shibîn al-Kawm. Cf. RAMZÎ, 1954, vol. II, p. 31 et p. 187 (sous Gazîrat al-Ḥagar).

¹⁶ Il ne semble exister de copie de ces actes qu'à Istanbul. Ils sont cités, en tout cas, par ÖZ, 1946, p. 187, n^o 173.

enferme dans une enceinte un four, un moulin et leurs dépendances¹⁷, tandis que celui de janvier 1591 complète l'ensemble avec le grand *khân* d'Alexandrie¹⁸.

Au total, la *waqfiyya* rassemble quinze items, dont trois bains, deux cafés, une fontaine-école (*sabîl-maktab*), trois maisons, un « palais » (*qaşr*)¹⁹ abritant les douanes, un four, un moulin et quatre caravansérails qui regroupent à eux seuls 96 entrepôts, 85 boutiques, 95 loges en étage (*riwâq*) faisant probablement fonction d'ateliers au-dessus des entrepôts et 112 logements (tabl. I). Sans compter les maisons, dont l'utilisation n'est pas connue, elle affecte aux œuvres de charité la rente de 388 locaux à usage commercial ou industriel, auxquels il faut ajouter les trois bains et les deux cafés. Ce total se complète encore par des bâtiments mentionnés dans le second supplément (1591), notamment le *khân* d'Alexandrie, dont on verra plus loin l'importance, et par ceux des actes relatifs à Damiette, à Maḥalla et à Quşayr, dont on n'a pas le détail.

La valeur globale de la fondation égyptienne, en capital immobilisé comme en rente, devait donc être considérable. Il le fallait, du reste, puisque l'acte de fondation fait obligation à l'administrateur de verser un très grand nombre de salaires, à la fois pour l'entretien des édifices cultuels et pour les prestations de services (prières, récitations du Coran, distributions diverses en nature) qui leur sont liées (tabl. II). Outre les 20 orphelins dont l'éducation et l'entretien sont entièrement pris en charge, près de 200 personnes²⁰, en effet, bénéficient, à un titre ou un autre, des revenus du capital affecté au *waqf*. Pour la plupart (141), ce sont des hommes de religion, '*ulamâ*' ou '*fuqarâ*', chargés du culte, des récitations du Coran et des prières dédiées au sultan Murâd et au fondateur, ou placés dans des fonctions d'enseignement. Mais une douzaine de serviteurs sont également employés de manière permanente et six personnes interviennent dans des fonctions de gestion ou d'administration. Au total, le montant annuel des charges incombant à la fondation, pour le seul état de 1588, s'élève à plus de 3 000 dinars *sulṭânî jadîd* auxquels il faut encore

¹⁷ Probablement destinés à la production du pain nécessaire aux très nombreuses distributions prévues par l'acte de fondation.

¹⁸ BAYRAM, 1999, p. 167.

¹⁹ Il s'agit ici d'un bâtiment autonome adossé au *khân* et donnant directement sur le Nil. Il abrite la douane et ressemble sans doute à la « *bella loggia* » évoquée dans les mêmes fonctions pour Alexandrie (cf. *infra*) : il est décrit comme un petit édifice porté par des colonnes avec une loggia en étage.

²⁰ 177 exactement, dans le tableau 2, mais pour certaines fonctions le nombre des personnes impliquées n'est pas donné.

Tableau I : Édifices affectés au bénéfice de la fondation égyptienne de Sinân en 1588

Localisation	Entrepôts (<i>hâşıl</i>)	Boutiques (<i>dukkân</i>)	Loges (<i>riwâq</i>)	Logements (<i>maskan</i>)	Type	Nom	Description
Bûlâq					mosquée	al-Gâmi' al-Sharîf	
Bûlâq	39		44		<i>khân</i>	al-Khân al-Kabîr	mitoyen de la mosquée
Bûlâq	1	27			palais	Divân al-Khums	au bord du Nil
Bûlâq	33	40	40		<i>khân</i>	al-Khân al-Ṭawîl	en face du Khân al-Kabîr
Bûlâq	15	18			<i>khân</i>	al-Khân al-Şaghîr	en face de la mosquée
Bûlâq					fontaine		en face de la mosquée
Bûlâq					maison		mitoyenne du Kh. al-Ṭawîl
Bûlâq	8		11		bains		à côté de la mosquée
Bûlâq					café		avec les bains
Le Caire					maison	Birkat al-Fîl	domnant sur l'étang
Banî Suwayf					bains		
Suez				112	<i>khân</i>		
Suez					café		
Alexandrie					bains	H. al-Bâbayn	à Bâb al-Bahr
Al-Ahrâz					demeure		
Al-Ahrâz					terre arable	55 <i>faddân</i>	
G. Banî Nasr					terre arable	500 <i>faddân</i>	
Bûlâq					four et moulin		en face du bain
Total	96	85	95	112			

Tableau II : Ventilation des salaires et dépenses imputés au *waqf* de Sinân

Salaire mensuel (dinars <i>sulṭânî jadîd</i>)	Coût annuel (dinars <i>sulṭânî jadîd</i>)	Coût annuel (<i>nisf fidḍa</i>)	Fonction
2,0	24,0		<i>khaṭīb</i> de la mosquée de Bûlâq
1,5	18,0		<i>imâm</i> de la mosquée de Bûlâq
6,0	72,0		6 muezzins
1,5	18,0		portier (<i>bawwâb</i>) de la mosquée
1,5	18,0		domestique chargé des nattes (<i>farrâsh</i>)
1,0	12,0		domestique chargé des cierges (<i>waqqâd</i>)
1,5	18,0		<i>musabbil</i> , chargé d'apporter l'eau du Nil
22,5	270,0		<i>mutawallî</i> du <i>waqf</i>
22,5	270,0		<i>nâzir</i> du <i>waqf</i>
1,5	18,0		<i>kâtib</i> du <i>waqf</i>
1,5	18,0		<i>shâdd</i> du <i>waqf</i>
1,0	12,0		<i>mu'addib</i> en charge des orphelins
1,5	18,0		salaire du ' <i>arîf</i> , ligne 201 : ½ dinar/mois
5,0	60,0		20 orphelins mineurs
	pm		distribution de pain : 2 <i>raṭl</i> /orphelin, 3 pour le <i>mu'addib</i> et 2 pour le ' <i>arîf</i>
30,0	360,0		trousseau pour 20 orphelins
1,0	12,0		porteur d'eau alimentant le <i>sabîl</i>
0,5	6,0		<i>imâm</i> de l'oratoire (<i>muṣallâ</i>) du Khân al-Kabîr à Bûlâq
1,0	12,0		<i>imâm</i> de l'oratoire du <i>khân</i> de Suez
1,0	12,0		porteur d'eau pour l'oratoire du Khân al-Kabîr
1,0	12,0		receveur (<i>jâbî</i>) chargé de percevoir les loyers du <i>khân</i> de Suez
1,5	18,0		astronome (<i>sâ'âtî</i>) chargé de fixer les heures des prières
1,5	18,0		meneur de bœufs (<i>sawwâq</i>) chargé des bœufs de la <i>sâqiya</i> alimentant les bassins aux ablutions de la mosquée
30,0	360,0	120,0	60 <i>fuqarâ'</i> , chargés de réciter chaque jour un <i>juz'</i> du Coran
1,0	12,0		<i>shaykh al-fuqarâ'</i>

Salaire mensuel (dinars <i>sultânî jadîd</i>)	Coût annuel (dinars <i>sultânî jadîd</i>)	Coût annuel (<i>nisf fidḍa</i>)	Fonction
	pm		dépenses de fonctionnement de la mosquée : le <i>mutawallî</i> du <i>waqf</i> doit veiller à fournir l'huile pour les lampes, les cierges, les cordes, les chaînes, les nattes, nécessaires à son fonctionnement, les outils, ustensiles, gargoulettes, seaux pour le <i>sabil</i> , le fourrage pour les bœufs de la <i>sâqiya</i> , les godets de la roue, etc.
		2 160,0	6 récitateurs chargés de moduler (<i>tartîl</i>) le Coran : 30 <i>nisf</i> chacun/mois
		240,0	domestique chargé de placer sur leurs lutrins les 6 Corans appartenant au <i>waqf</i> : 20 <i>nisf fidḍa</i> /mois
		360,0	porteur d'encensoir chargé d'encenser la mosquée tous les vendredis : 30 <i>nisf fidḍa</i> /mois
	pm		achat annuel de 200 <i>ardabb</i> de blé à remettre à un homme chargé de le préparer pour en faire du pain, à raison de 200 galettes (<i>raghîf</i>) de 1 <i>raṭl</i> chacune
	pm		distribution de pain aux employés du <i>waqf</i>
	pm		divers salaires à d'autres récitants, dans la mosquée de Bûlâq et à al-Azhar
0,5	6,0		30 <i>fuqarâ</i> chargés de réciter le Coran dans la mosquée al-Ghurabâ à Alexandrie : ½ dinar/mois chacun
		360,0	homme pieux chargé d'enseigner le livre saint aux garçons de la ville
	640,0		à verser au responsable du pèlerinage d'Égypte (<i>amîn al-ḥâjj al-miṣrî</i>) pour des récitateurs de Coran dans les deux villes saintes de la Mecque et de Médine
	500,0		à verser au même pour la fourniture en eau du <i>sabil</i> de la 'umra à partir du puits construit là-bas par le fondateur
	200,0		salaire de 30 <i>fuqarâ</i> pour réciter le Coran dans la mosquée de Jérusalem
	15,0		à verser au <i>wakîl</i> du <i>mutawallî</i> ; 8 destinés au gérant (<i>nâzir</i>) du <i>waqf</i> de la Ghûriyya, au Caire, et 7 au gérant du Waqf al-Ḥaramayn
	20,0		à verser au même, pour 2 hommes chargés de l'entretien du service du Bîr al-'Abd wa-l-Dâwâ-dâr à Qaṭiyâ
139,5	3 049,0	3 240,0	

pm : pour mémoire, abréviation utilisée en comptabilité pour des items dont la valeur n'est pas chiffrée.

ajouter des salaires plus modestes versés en *nişf fidḍa*, des distributions de pain dont la valeur n'est pas estimée et les charges du fonctionnement général. La précision des stipulations relatives aux salaires et leur fixité, combinée à l'ampleur des sommes en jeu, explique peut-être, pour une part, les difficultés qui allaient en altérer le fonctionnement dans la plus longue durée.

LA FONDATION ALEXANDRINE :
CORPUS DOCUMENTAIRE ET TRACES ARCHITECTURALES

Dans le corpus documentaire qui sert de cadre à cette étude²¹, Sinân Pacha apparaît peu dans ses fonctions de gouverneur. Contrairement à certains tribunaux du Caire²², le tribunal d'Alexandrie n'a que des compétences locales et, en dépit de l'importance de la ville dans la politique ottomane en Méditerranée, il n'occupe qu'une position secondaire dans l'organisation administrative et judiciaire de la province²³. Un seul document se rapporte directement à son action politique ou administrative. Il est relatif à des travaux sur le canal Ashrafiî reliant le Nil à Alexandrie, qu'il faut curer entre Karyûn et le pont aux Lions (Qanṭarat al-Sibâ') à l'entrée de la ville, de façon à permettre le passage des barques²⁴. Daté du tout début de son premier gouvernement, le geste est cohérent avec un intérêt proprement impérial pour les voies commerciales, dont attestent aussi ses fondations architecturales.

Sinân Pacha, en revanche, est très présent par les biens qu'il a affectés à sa fondation et les litiges ou contestations dont ils sont l'objet. L'échantillon livré par notre étude compte plus d'une quarantaine de documents

²¹ Ce travail s'inscrit dans le programme *Alexandrie ottomane et moderne* conduit sous l'égide du Centre d'études alexandrines (CEAlex, USR 3134 du CNRS), dans le cadre d'un financement euro-méditerranéen (Ramsès2, Maison méditerranéenne des sciences de l'homme). Piloté par Gh. Alleaume (Alexandrie khédiviale et moderne) et M. Tuchscherer (Alexandrie ottomane) pour l'Iremam et par Nasser Ibrahim pour l'université du Caire, il a permis le dépouillement des registres du tribunal d'Alexandrie selon une méthode de sondage consistant à relever de manière exhaustive une année hégirienne tous les 25 ans. Le corpus ainsi constitué n'est donc pas exhaustif. Il est toutefois assez fourni pour être tenu pour révélateur du type de problèmes juridiques posés par la gestion d'un grand *waqf* impérial.

²² Le tribunal du Bâb al-'âlî, notamment.

²³ HANNA, 1995, p. 46.

²⁴ *Maḥk. Isk.*, reg. 9, p. 50, n° 150 du 20 *dhû al-ḥijja* 979/4 avr. 1572.

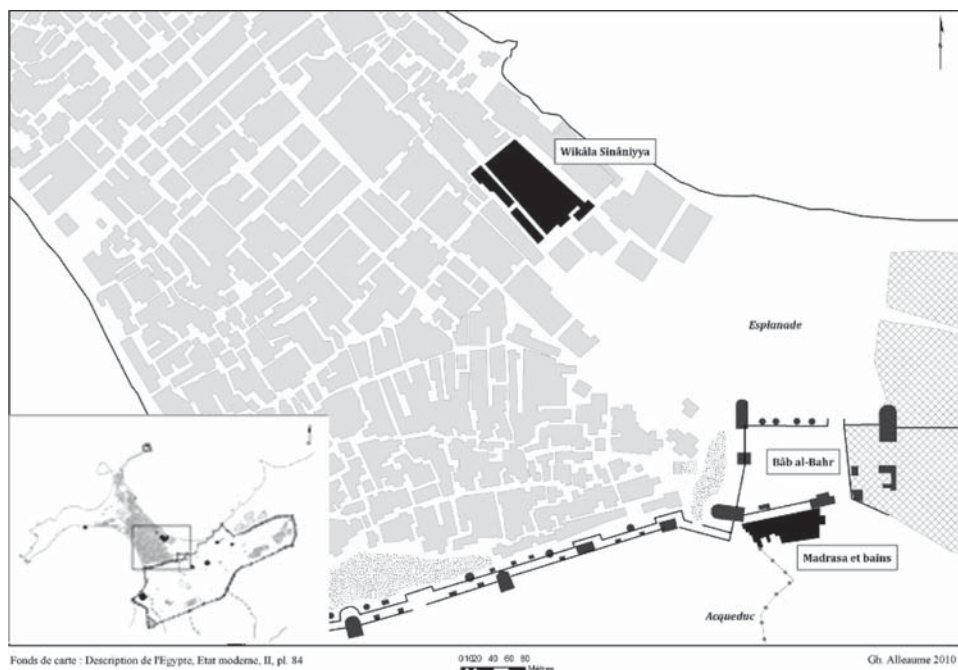


Fig. 1. Localisation des biens de la fondation de Sinân Pacha à Alexandrie.

qui témoignent d'accidents pouvant affecter le destin d'une institution charitable ; cette dernière fera, finalement, entre 1846 et 1848, l'objet d'une grosse enquête diligentée par l'administration urbaine agissant de concert avec l'institution judiciaire.

À Alexandrie, les fondations de Sinân Pacha portent sur deux ensembles de biens (fig. 1). Un premier groupe est situé intra-muros, sur la grande rue à proximité de la porte de la Marine (Bâb al-Baḥr)²⁵ : il comprend la Madrasa Sinâniyya, probablement bénéficiaire de la fondation, qui jouxte le *Dîwân* et fait face à la mosquée des Deux Portes (Masgid al-Bâbayn), adossée à la double fortification de la porte de la Marine ; et un bain double, mitoyen de l'aqueduc dont les vestiges subsistent encore au temps de l'expédition française²⁶. Le long de ces deux bâtiments s'installe un

²⁵ Sur l'histoire de ce quartier et sur le rôle qu'y tiennent les fondations de Sinân, cf. TUCHSCHERER, 2009a, p. 71-72.

²⁶ Sur ce bain, cf. TUCHSCHERER, 2009b, p. 332 et p. 340, pour la localisation et le plan.

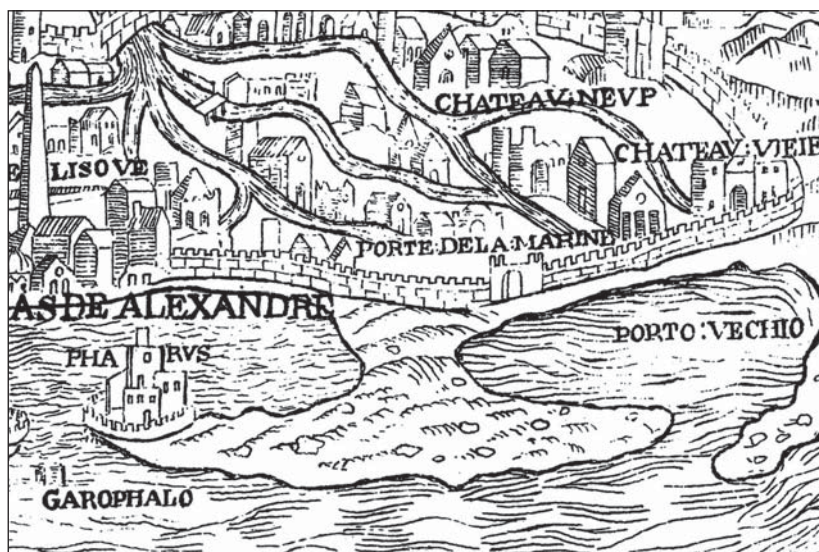


Fig. 2. La Presqu'île au lendemain de la conquête ottomane
(extrait de Belon du Mans, 1548).

souk qui compte, dans la seconde moitié du XVII^e siècle, cinquante boutiques²⁷. Le deuxième groupe est situé sur la Presqu'île, en bordure de l'esplanade : il comprend essentiellement une grande *wikâla* autour de laquelle s'organiseront par la suite d'autres biens, ultérieurement intégrés au *waqf*, parce que construits sur des terrains lui appartenant.

Au moment de leur construction, les bains et la *madrassa* s'inséraient dans un quartier commercial, plus particulièrement dédié au commerce franc, situé en bordure de l'esplanade qui en recevait les produits, mais encore à l'abri de la fortification. La fondation de la *wikâla*, au contraire, accompagne le début de l'urbanisation de la Presqu'île. Alors que la carte de Belon du Mans, publiée en 1548, suggère que rien n'était encore bâti au-delà de Bâb al-Baḥr trente ans après la conquête ottomane (fig. 2)²⁸, l'existence de bâtiments commerciaux en bordure du port est attestée dès 1565, dans la relation de voyage d'un pèlerin allemand²⁹. Mais la douane

²⁷ Evliyâ Çelebî, *Siyâhatnâme*, cité dans SENNOUNE, 2008, vol. I, p. 465, trad. Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont, Robert Dankoff.

²⁸ Belon du Mans, 1548 ; le voyage a eu lieu en août-sept. 1547.

²⁹ HAIMENDORF FÜRER, 1621, cité dans SENNOUNE, 2008, vol. I, p. 220.



Fig. 3. Les premières fondations sur la Presqu'île, vers 1570 : détail montrant l'estacade, le bâtiment de la douane et le quartier juif (d'après Braun, 1575).

où étaient acquittés les droits sur les marchandises importées par les navires francs est encore à l'intérieur de la double fortification de Bâb al-Bahr³⁰. Ce n'est que dix ans plus tard (1576) qu'est évoquée la présence d'un poste de douane situé hors les murs. Ce n'est encore qu'une « *bella loggia* »³¹, proche d'une estacade établie sur le port oriental, déjà figurée sur la carte de Pîrî Reis³². L'une et l'autre apparaissent sur la carte de Braun et Hogenberg (1575 ; cf. fig. 3), qui montre également la formation d'un noyau d'urbanisation tourné vers le port ouest dans ce qui va devenir le faubourg sud de la Presqu'île. F. Pigafetta est le premier voyageur à en donner, en 1576, une description précise³³ :

³⁰ Helffrich (1581, cité dans *ibid.*, p. 224), lors de son voyage en 1566, la décrit comme un caravansérail : « une maison longue et large, haute de deux étages et recouverte d'un toit. Elle renferme beaucoup de petites pièces et une grande cour ».

³¹ PIGAFETTA, 1984, cité dans *ibid.*, p. 231.

³² MANTRAN, 1981, p. 295-298 et fig. 3.

³³ PIGAFETTA, 1984, cité dans SENNOUNE, 2008, vol. I, p. 231.

« [Descrizione delle case che sono fuori di Alessandria e del gran casamento degli Ebrei]

Ho detto que fra il mare e la città si allarga una gran pianura; ora l'andero descrivendo. Più adentro, verso la città, in detta pianura, è il luogo dove stanno tutti gli Ebrei, quasi alla turchesca, in caravarsan, overo fondaco. Oltre gli Ebrei vi alloggiano anco gli stranieri, Mori, Turchi e d'ogni nazione, con le mercanzie loro, e vi sono diversi magazzeni abasso, ma di sopra, nelle stanze migliori, abitano gli Ebrei, e fuori vi è il mercato delle cose da mangiare. Questo gran casamento, fatto in quadrato lungo, fu edificato da un Bassà per cavarne utile, ed ivi d'intorno sono assai case di Ebrei e di altri fabricate di nuovo. Credesi in poco tempo la città di Alessandria aversi a ridurre e trasportare tutta in quel sito, perciocché l'aere è buonissimo e non ha molto che vi sono moltiplicare assai le case, e vi stanza il Sangiaccio e quasi ogni personaggio turco »³⁴.

Ce « gran casamento degli Ebrei » est l'embryon de ce qui formera plus tard le quartier juif d'Alexandrie (Ḥârat al-Yahûd). Il est de construction récente lorsque le voyageur italien le visite et sa fondation relève déjà de l'action d'un gouverneur ottoman, faisant probablement suite à la décision prise dès les lendemains de la conquête de confier aux Juifs l'administration des douanes³⁵.

Le grand caravansérail construit par Sinân Pacha, entre 996 et 999/1588-1591 est, au contraire, tourné vers le port oriental, réservé au commerce avec les Francs. Il est établi à l'extérieur de la muraille, immédiatement au sud de l'estacade et du *dîwân* des Douanes portées sur la carte de 1575 ; il manifeste, par sa localisation comme par son importance, la primauté désormais donnée au port neuf et au commerce d'exportation (fig. 4). Comme le pressentait Pigafetta, l'urbanisation de la Presqu'île s'amorce à l'extrême fin du xvi^e siècle, non pas pour des raisons d'agrément climatique, mais parce que le rôle d'Alexandrie, dans une Méditerranée orientale transformée en mer intérieure ottomane, a désormais changé.

³⁴ « J'ai dit qu'entre la mer et la ville s'étale une vaste plaine ; je vais maintenant la décrire. Plus à l'intérieur, vers la ville, dans la dite plaine se trouve l'endroit où habitent tous les Juifs, presque à la turque, dans un caravansérail, c'est-à-dire un fondouk. Outre les Juifs, y logent également les étrangers, Maures, Turcs et gens d'autres nations, avec leurs marchandises, divers entrepôts occupant le bas du bâtiment, tandis qu'à l'étage, dans les meilleures pièces, habitent les Juifs. À l'extérieur, se tient le marché des comestibles. Cette grande maison de forme rectangulaire fut édifiée par un pacha pour qu'il en tire bénéfice ; tout autour il y a beaucoup de maisons de Juifs et d'autres, récemment construites. On pense qu'en peu de temps la ville d'Alexandrie se réduira et se déplacera à cet endroit, parce que l'air est très bon. Depuis quelques temps, les maisons s'y sont multipliées et le *sandjak bey* comme presque tous les notables turcs y résident » (trad. Annalaura Turiano, Gh. Alleaume).

³⁵ SHAW, 1962, p. 102-103 ; TUCHSCHERER, 2009a, p. 62.



Fig. 4. Localisation de la Sinâniyya par rapport aux éléments figurés sur la carte de 1575.

Point d'appui de la politique impériale en Méditerranée et relais du commerce des Indes, Alexandrie n'a plus besoin de la muraille qui la sépare de son port : on ne la démolit pas encore, mais on l'outrepasse, signe éloquent, s'il en est, de l'intégration dans un empire d'une place forte, naguère poste frontière, désormais simple échelle. À partir de 1580, en tout cas, la colonisation de la Presqu'île est rapide et continue, tandis que la ville intra-muros est progressivement délaissée : dès 1581, P. Alpin y voit la formation d'une nouvelle ville³⁶ et son témoignage est confirmé ensuite par tous les voyageurs³⁷. En 1598, Chr. Harant semble le premier

³⁶ ALPIN, 1979, p. 36 : « Depuis plusieurs années, beaucoup de gens ont fui la ville et se sont installés en assez grand nombre sur les terrains jouxtant la mer, c'est-à-dire vers la Citadelle d'Alexandrie, là où habitent maintenant tous les Juifs : ainsi, par les uns et par les autres, une seconde ville a pour ainsi dire été fondée ».

³⁷ Le corpus réuni par Ou. Sennoune (2008) en donne de nombreux exemples : Nicolas Christoph Radzivil en 1583 (vol. I, p. 263), François de Pavie (vol. I, p. 271) et Michael



Fig. 5. L'urbanisation de la Presqu'île à la fin du xvii^e siècle :
a. extrait de Razaud, 1687 ; b. extrait de Massy, 1699.

à mentionner le transfert définitif de la douane, de l'intérieur de Bâb al-Bahr à un « édifice bâti en pierres, en deux étages, habité par des Juifs », situé en bord de mer³⁸.

Moins d'un demi-siècle plus tard, la translation de la ville vers la Presqu'île est consommée et tous les services de l'administration ottomane y ont leur siège³⁹. Un voyageur italien, de passage en 1678, estime à 200 le nombre de maisons que la Presqu'île abrite désormais⁴⁰. Au même moment, Evliyâ Çelebî, lui, en estime le nombre à 325 et cite, parmi les caravansérails récemment construits, ceux de Sinân Pacha, de Muştafâ Pacha et de Mandîl Zadeh, précisant qu'au total la Presqu'île compte 700 boutiques et 300 magasins⁴¹. Sur les cartes contemporaines de Razaud (1687) et de Massy (1699), la *wikâla* de Sinân est nettement reconnaissable à ses dimensions considérables et au plan en double U qu'elle gardera jusqu'au début du xx^e siècle (fig. 5). Autour d'elle se

Heberer von Bretten (vol. I, p. 274) en 1585-1586, Samuel Kiechel en 1588 (vol. I, p. 279).

³⁸ HARANT, 1972, cité dans *ibid.*, p. 300.

³⁹ BRÉMOND, 1974, p. 17 : « En ceste ville se voit deux ports, séparés par une langue de terre, qui s'avance com(m)e y'ay dict, du midy au nord, où sont à présent tous les nouveaux bastiments, et où les principaux chefs y demeurent, comme le cady ou chef de la justice, l'aga ou lieute(nant) du bacha de l'Aegipte, com(m)e le bey ou seig(neur) d'Alexandrie ». Le voyage est de 1643.

⁴⁰ Giovan Battista de Burgo, cité dans SENNOUNE, 2008, vol. I, p. 446.

⁴¹ Evliyâ Çelebî, *Seyâhatnâme*, cité dans *ibid.*, p. 466, trad. Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont. Evliyâ Çelebî séjourne à Alexandrie entre 1670 et 1682.

développe tout un quartier de grands établissements commerciaux qui vont former ce que les documents du tribunal appellent le marché de la Presqu'île (Sûq al-Gazîra). Au sud-ouest commence à s'urbaniser un quartier résidentiel, dans ce qui deviendra le quartier des Maghrébins (Ĥârat al-Maghârîba), au sud du quartier juif, tandis que sur le port ouest, réservé à la marine ottomane, s'établit l'Arsenal et plus au nord le port de pêche (Ĥârat al-Şayyâdîn).

Très endommagés durant l'occupation française⁴², les bains et la *madrasa* de Sinân sont détruits dans la première moitié du XIX^e siècle, en même temps que la porte de la Marine et le segment de fortification séparant la Presqu'île de la ville intra-muros. La *wikâla*, en revanche, traverse tout le XIX^e siècle. C'est un grand bâtiment qui occupe tout un îlot, bordé par le Sûq al-Şayârîf au nord et à l'ouest, la rue des Francs (Ĥârat al-Afrank) à l'est et le Sûq al-'Atţârîn à l'ouest. Au sud, elle jouxte le Mîdân. Elle est au centre d'une zone particulièrement riche en grandes *wikâla* : Okelle de France et Abû Hayf (1750) à l'est, Mandîl et Râkshî au sud, Shûrbagî (1678), Ghazzî Muştafâ Pacha et Khashshâb (1754) au nord, dont plusieurs sont construites à la fin du XVIII^e siècle, sur des terrains appartenant au *waqf* de Sinân au titre de baux emphytéotiques (*ḥikr*), elles-mêmes étant intégrées dans des *waqf*. Au temps de l'Expédition, elle était l'un des derniers bâtiments de la Presqu'île, en bordure de l'esplanade. La carte de Falakî (1865) montre l'îlot, tout entier occupé par la Wikâla Sinâniyya et ses dépendances, inchangé dans sa forme comme dans son environnement (fig. 6). On a seulement comblé le vide de l'esplanade et commencé à gagner des terrains sur la mer, dont la *wikâla* est de ce fait plus éloignée en 1865 qu'elle ne l'était en 1800⁴³. Ces terres neuves, formées par le recul du littoral, sont considérées comme relevant des « jouissances et servitudes » (*manâfi'* et *marâfiq*) du *waqf* et font l'objet de contrats de

⁴² En 1803, un état dressé par le tribunal d'Alexandrie pour un envoyé du sultan, Muḥammad Şâlih efendi, indique que les deux bains et 19 magasins du *waqf* de Sinân Pacha dans la ville intra-muros ont été détruits. Il estime les pertes à 250 000 riyals de France. *Maḥk. Isk.*, reg. 107, p. 152, n° 250 du 15 *shawwâl* 1217/8 février 1803.

⁴³ L'importance de cet alluvionnement est signalée dès le début du XVIII^e siècle par Benoit de Maillet dans sa *Description de l'Égypte* : « Ce nouveau terrain, ou si l'on veut, cette troisième Aléxandrie, que l'on doit regarder comme l'Aléxandrie de nos jours, s'est si fort accru, que la maison, où je débarquai en 1692 qui faisoit alors face à la mer, & n'en étoit pas éloignée de trente pas, s'en trouvoit distante en 1718 de plus de soixante & dix ; ensorte que de là au rivage on avoit bâti plusieurs habitations nouvelles. C'est un fait, dont j'ai été témoin ; & je ne doute pas que depuis ce tems-là il ne soit arrivé encore quelque pareil changement ». Cf. *ibid.*, p. 488.

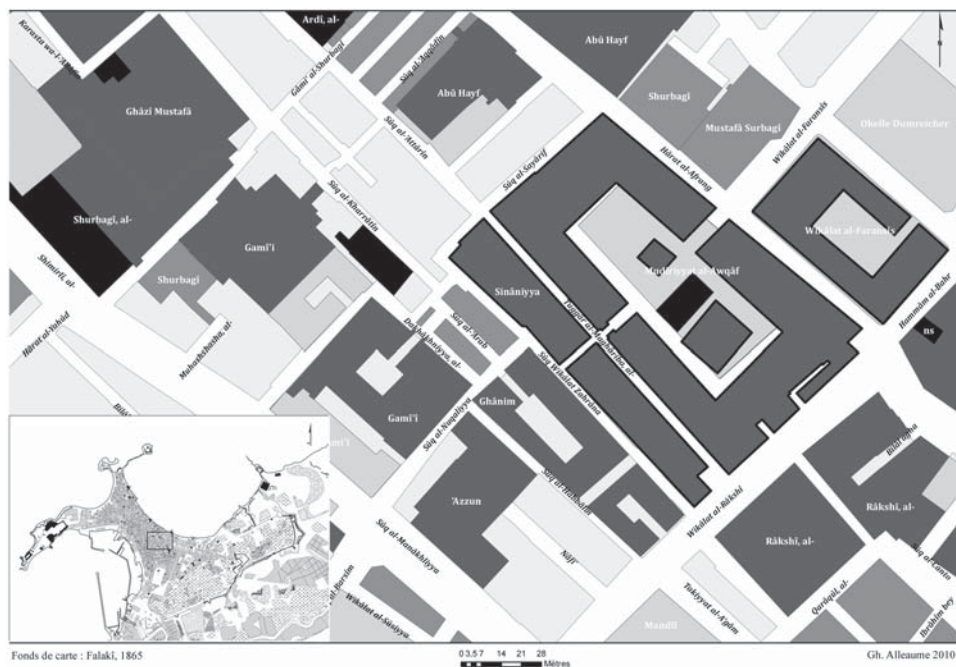


Fig. 6. La Wikâla Sinâniyya au milieu du XIX^e siècle : les *wikâla* sont en gris sombre, les mosquées en noir ; la toponymie est celle de 1865.

location en *hikr*⁴⁴. Au fil du temps, l'imbrication de ces contrats de location sur des biens dont les revenus sont affectés à des *waqf* alors qu'ils sont eux-mêmes loués à un autre *waqf*, contribue à créer des situations juridiques et financières d'une grande complexité, dont on trouve de nombreuses traces dans les registres du tribunal.

L'îlot reste inchangé, dans sa forme comme dans son environnement, sur le Plan-Album des propriétés de 1885⁴⁵ qui donne un peu plus de détails sur le plan : si le dessin est exact, c'est alors une grande *wikâla*

⁴⁴ Les mêmes dispositions juridiques sont observées à Bûlâq, sur des terres libérées par le déplacement du Nil vers l'ouest ; comme à Alexandrie, elles permettent, par le jeu de contrats de location de longue durée, l'incorporation d'une partie des biens du *waqf* de Sinân dans celui de Muḥammad bey Abû al-Dhahab. Cf. CRECELIUS, BADR 'ALI, 1995.

⁴⁵ Plan-Album, 1885, pl. 1a et supplément pour la légende : carré SE pour les n^{os} 36-50 et carré NE pour les n^{os} 76-77 ; pl. A, carré SO pour la légende des n^{os} 8-25.



Fig. 7. Les modifications du bâtiment de la Wikâla Sinâniyya, 1885-1905 :
a. extrait de Plan-Album, 1885 ; b. extrait de Goad, 1905.

à cour centrale, d'un type très comparable à la grande *wikâla* construite par Sinân à Bûlâq. Le bâtiment conserve le même dessin sur la carte du Tanẓîm en 1887 : un plan en double U autour d'une grande cour, avec deux accès, l'un à l'est, sur Ḥârat al-Afrank (en face de l'Okelle de France) et l'autre à l'ouest, sur le Sûq al-Tuggâr. C'est encore ce dessin qu'elle offre sur celle de la Municipalité, en 1902. Entre 1865 et 1885, la seule modification notable est la suppression, au sud, d'un bâtiment en avancée sur la rue de la Wikâlat al-Râkshî. Lors de travaux d'alignement, probablement au début des années 1880, ce bâtiment est détruit pour permettre l'élargissement de la rue. Un peu plus tard, c'est Ḥârat al-Afrank, à l'est, qui est modifiée : laissée intacte sur son côté est, elle est agrandie vers l'ouest, au détriment du côté est de la *wikâla*, détruit avant 1905.

Sur le plan des assurances Goad (1905), il ne subsiste plus de l'édifice original que les bâtiments bordant les côtés nord, ouest et sud de la cour et quelques fragments en ruine du côté est (fig. 7). Dans la cour qui ouvre désormais directement sur Ḥârat al-Afrank, vient s'installer entre 1905 et 1910 un grand bâtiment percé d'une cour cruciforme faite de deux longs passages se coupant à angle droit, selon un plan caractéristique des immeubles construits au début du xx^e siècle autour de la place des Consuls (fig. 8). Dans cette forme nouvelle, la Wikâla Sinâniyya existe toujours. Elle abrite, dans les étages de bureaux, l'administration des Waqfs de la ville d'Alexandrie (*Mudîriyyat al-Awqâf*), tandis que les magasins et boutiques du rez-de-chaussée de l'ancienne *qaysâriyya* du Sûq al-Tuggâr

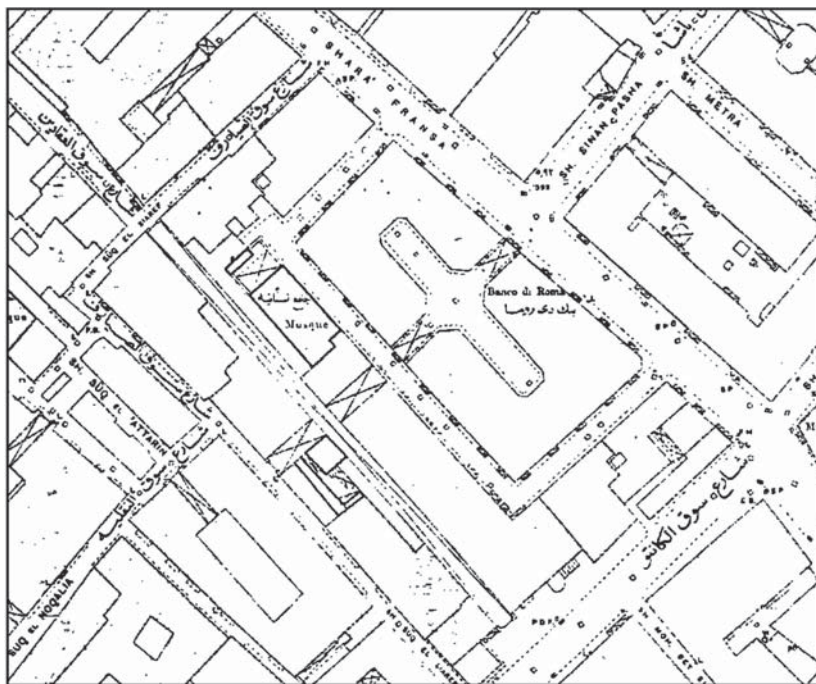


Fig. 8. L'état de l'îlot depuis 1910: extrait de Cadastre, 1910, feuille 17-7.

accueillent tout un commerce d'accessoires de mode pour dames, désormais importés de Chine, à l'usage d'une clientèle populaire. De ce qui devait être un magnifique bâtiment, ne subsiste plus que l'emprise au sol.

L'ŒUVRE DU TEMPS

La construction des bâtiments donnés à la fondation de Sinân entre 984/1576 et 999/1591 s'inscrit donc au tout début de la colonisation de la Presqu'île, après la fondation d'un premier poste de douane près de l'estacade, mais avant que ne soit abandonnée l'ancienne douane de Bâb al-Baḥr. L'implantation d'un édifice aussi vaste que la *wikâla* (9 000 m²) du côté du port oriental, à l'opposé des premiers établissements installés hors les murs, dans une zone encore vide de tout bâtiment, est de toute évidence un geste politique. Il accompagne la mise en place d'une nouvelle stratégie commerciale visant à faire d'Alexandrie

un *emporium* articulant commerce méditerranéen et commerce des Indes ou d'Arabie transitant par la mer Rouge⁴⁶. Sinân Pacha lui-même avait des intérêts dans ce négoce, d'où il aurait tiré une partie de sa fortune⁴⁷. Entre 1525 et 1580, réformes fiscales et traités commerciaux⁴⁸ donnent à cette politique le cadre institutionnel qui permet à l'Empire, au moins pour quelques décennies, de réguler un marché lucratif dont il devient l'un des acteurs directs. En 1582, deux ans après la signature des dernières capitulations (avec les Anglais)⁴⁹, la Sublime Porte autorise le pacha du Caire à vendre directement aux négociants européens d'Alexandrie les épices importées par la mer Rouge⁵⁰. La décision conforte le partage des rôles entre les deux ports d'Alexandrie, le port aux Galères à l'ouest, réservé aux navires ottomans et notamment aux navires de guerre, et le port aux Galions à l'est, seul ouvert désormais aux navires francs. Dès 1588, un firman adressé au juge d'Alexandrie rétablit la taxe de 10 % imposée sur les épices, à laquelle les négociants européens tentaient d'échapper en ne déclarant à l'exportation que la part de leur cargaison ayant la plus faible valeur⁵¹.

Du caractère volontariste de cette politique témoignent d'abord les injonctions du *Dîwân* à l'intention du juge et du gérant du *waqf* pour contraindre les négociants à occuper réellement les boutiques qu'ils ont prises en location dans le souk de Sinân⁵². Mais ce sont surtout les difficultés qui très tôt mettent en péril les éléments de la fondation situés à Bâb al-Baḥr qui confirment à quel point l'existence de ce nouveau centre commercial précipite le déplacement de la ville vers la péninsule. À peine

⁴⁶ Sur ce point, cf. CASALE, 2006, p. 172, qui date la mise en place de cette politique du gouvernement de Khâdim Sulaymân Pacha entre 1525 et 1538 ; sur le commerce en mer Rouge, cf. TUCHSCHERER, 2001.

⁴⁷ HANNA, 1998, p. 107.

⁴⁸ TUCHSCHERER, 2009a, p. 61.

⁴⁹ İNALCIK, 1975.

⁵⁰ CASALE, 2006, p. 194.

⁵¹ *Maḥk. Isk.*, reg. 28, p. 298, n° 158 du 14 *rajab* 996/9 juin 1588. L'astuce, apparemment, consistait à ne déclarer au titre du transit entre mer Rouge et Méditerranée, assujetti à cette taxe de 10 % sur la valeur globale, que les épices de plus faible valeur et de prétendre que les épices de plus forte valeur avaient été achetées ou échangées sur le marché intérieur, ce qui les rendait passibles d'une imposition calculée selon la variété et le cours du marché (*bi-ḥukm al-qiyâd*). Casale souligne à juste titre que les marchandises étant taxées à chaque rupture de charge, à Suez, à Bûlâq et à Alexandrie, le montant total de l'imposition sur les épices et, à partir de 1570, sur le café, était considérable, rendant à terme la route directe moins rentable que la route du Cap. CASALE, 2006, p. 188.

⁵² *Maḥk. Isk.*, reg. 28, p. 273, n° 138 du 14 *muḥarram* 997/3 déc. 1588. Sur ce point, cf. TUCHSCHERER, 2009a, p. 72-73.

plus d'un demi-siècle après sa fondation, la mosquée de Sinân à Bâb al-Baḥr n'est déjà plus en fonction⁵³ et, dès 1678, elle doit être entièrement reconstruite. Elle est alors intégrée au *waqf* familial de Ḥusayn Shûrbagî, *sirdâr* des Mustahfizân de la citadelle de Qâytbây, qui la complète d'un *sabîl-maktab* et d'une citerne et affecte à leur entretien les revenus d'une corvette (*naqîra*) lui appartenant, pour une valeur de 200 piastres par an, à verser à l'*odjak* des janissaires⁵⁴. Elle est désormais totalement insérée dans des terrains et des biens lui appartenant. Dans les stipulations de sa fondation, Ḥusayn Shûrbagî réserve la gérance de ces biens à lui-même de son vivant, puis à ses descendants et enfin au *sirdâr* des janissaires d'Alexandrie. L'opération reçoit, du reste, l'aval du chef du corps au Caire.

Jusqu'à l'extrême fin du XVIII^e siècle, de fait, l'agha commandant la garnison de la forteresse de Qâytbây (al-Burg al-Ashrafi) a la haute main sur les biens de Sinân. L'acte de fondation, pourtant, donnait l'administration (*tawliya*) du *waqf* au *shaykh al-islâm* et mufti de Constantinople et la gérance (*naẓar*) à son représentant (*wakîl*) en Égypte (l. 312-317). Ce devait être Sinân lui-même, tant qu'il était en vie ou plutôt son délégué, puisque la constitution de la fondation s'étala bien au-delà des deux séjours égyptiens du fondateur. Dans les premières années, il semble que cette gérance par substitution ait été dévolue directement à l'agha des janissaires. Un acte du début de l'année 1592 validant un contrat de location du bain double l'atteste sans ambiguïté⁵⁵. Quelques mois plus tard, la nomination des employés de la mosquée est, de la même manière, prononcée par le *dizdâr* du Burg al-Ashrafi, agissant en sa qualité de *nâẓir* du *waqf* de Sinân Pacha⁵⁶. Mais après la mort de Sinân, la gérance qui, selon les termes de la *waqfiyya*, aurait dû revenir au *shaykh al-islâm*, fut automatiquement dévolue au pacha du Caire⁵⁷, inaugurant un usage qui perdurera au moins jusqu'au milieu du XIX^e siècle⁵⁸. Les janissaires ne perdirent pas

⁵³ *Maḥk. Isk.*, reg. 47, p. 318, n° 696 du 4 *rabî' II* 1053/21 juin 1643.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, reg. 50, p. 380, n° 642 du 7 *dhû al-qa'da* 1089/21 déc. 1678.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, reg. 30, p. 162, n° 356 du 13 *rabî' II* 1000/28 janv. 1592: demande de validation, par le *dizdâr* du Burg al-Ashrafi, du contrat de location des deux bains pour une durée de 26 mois, au profit d'un autre officier du même *odjak*. Du *dizdâr*, il est précisé qu'il est « le gérant légal du *waqf* » (*wa-huwa al-nâẓir al-shar'î 'alâ al-waqf*).

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, reg. 29, p. 364, n° 1024 du 17 *dhû al-hijja* 1000/23 sept. 1592.

⁵⁷ Plus précisément en sa qualité de « Amîr al-lîwâ al-sultânî al-sharîf », titulature constamment citée pour justifier de la qualité de *nâẓir* du *waqf*.

⁵⁸ MUBÂRAK, 1886-1888, t. VI, p. 69 (Ḥammâm al-Sinâniyya, à Bûlâq). Resté en fonction jusqu'à l'expédition de Bonaparte, le *ḥammâm* de Bûlâq est détruit dans les combats contre les Français; il reste en ruine jusqu'au règne de 'Abbâs (1848-1854), qui, ayant consulté la *waqfiyya*, découvre que le *wâlî* du Caire en a l'administration (*naẓar*); il se

pour autant le contrôle des ressources qu'une telle fondation générerait, mais l'agha commandant la place d'Alexandrie dut prendre à bail l'ensemble des biens, pour les proposer ensuite à la location, souvent à d'autres officiers de son *odjak*. Dans les documents du xvii^e siècle, il apparaît à la fois comme locataire (*musta'jir*) auprès du *dîwân* du Caire de la totalité du *waqf* de Sinân et comme bailleur (*mu'ajjir*), contractant avec des locataires sur autorisation du *Dîwân*, pour l'occupation de chacun des biens qui le composent. Les transactions, notamment celles relatives au bain double de Bâb al-Bâhr, en donnent de nombreuses illustrations⁵⁹.

Cette mainmise des janissaires sur le *waqf* de Sinân a été acquise de haute lutte, probablement au début du xvii^e siècle, à l'issue d'une période de troubles, marquée par plusieurs séditions militaires. En 1016/1607, en tout cas, deux officiers des milices et un groupe de négociants de la Wikâla Sinâniyya saisissent le *Dîwân* d'une plainte contre les occupants juifs du bâtiment, accusés d'usurper des biens destinés aux musulmans, d'y construire des synagogues et d'y vendre de l'alcool⁶⁰. L'affermage de la douane, ou plutôt du *şâdir al-Afrank*, de fait, vient d'être confié cette année-là encore à un *mu'allim* juif, Samuel, pour la valeur de 27 500 *para*⁶¹. Or cette taxe (également appelée *şâdir al-khums*), héritière d'un impôt établi par Saladin au profit de son *waqf* alexandrin⁶², est affectée notamment à l'entretien du Masgid al-Bâbayn⁶³, situé en face de l'ancien *dîwân* des Douanes et de la mosquée de Sinân, dans un secteur désormais contrôlé par l'agha des janissaires. Le *waqf* de Saladin, du reste, fera, lui aussi l'objet d'une plainte équivalente, avec la même accusation portée contre

saisit de cette disposition pour en détruire les derniers vestiges et le reconstruire à l'identique. C'est dans le supplément de 996 qu'est précisé ce point relatif à la succession de Sinân : « ...*al-naẓar wa-l-wikâla wa-l-tawliya li-man yakûn ba'da-hu wa-yaḥull maḥalla-hu* » (l. 412).

⁵⁹ *Maḥk. Isk.*, reg. 48, p. 348, n° 974 du 1^{er} *rajab* 1053/15 sept. 1643 ; reg. 47, p. 208, n° 534 du 6 *dhû al-qa'da* 1053/16 janv. 1644 ; reg. 48, p. 75, n° 195 du 8 *rabî' I* 1058/2 avr. 1648.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, reg. 42, p. 218, n° 707 du 28 *rabî' I* 1016/23 juil. 1607.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, reg. 42, p. 268, n° 859 de la fin de *dhû al-ḥijja* 1015/fin avr. 1607.

⁶² Pour une présentation détaillée de ce document, cf. IBRÂHÎM, 2007, notamment p. 196-198. Trois copies de ce document, identiques et certifiées conformes à l'original, faites à l'occasion de litiges sur l'occupation des biens affectés à la fondation, existent dans les archives du tribunal d'Alexandrie. Elles sont datées de 1074/1663, de 1157/1744 et de 1201/1787. L'édition de N. Ibrâhîm est faite sur la version de 1744 ; cf. *Maḥk. Isk.*, reg. 78, p. 143, n° 205 du 1^{er} *şafar* 1744. Une traduction française et l'analyse de ce document exceptionnel sont à paraître dans le vol. III de la série *Alexandrie ottomane* publiée par le CEALex.

⁶³ *Maḥk. Isk.*, reg. 47, p. 193, n° 499 du 15 *ramaḍân* 1053/27 nov. 1643.

les Juifs d'usurper des biens appartenant aux musulmans. L'enjeu véritable de la plainte relative à la Sinâniyya était, bien évidemment, de conserver au bénéfice de l'*odjak* le monopole de l'exploitation de biens particulièrement rentables. Les janissaires n'y réussirent pas tout à fait, mais il est probable que le compromis légal qui consiste à les associer au bénéfice du *waqf* en considérant l'*odjak* comme le premier locataire de ses biens a été établi sous le mandat de Mehmed Pacha (1016-1020/1607-1611) et qu'il est l'un des fruits de la « restauration » impériale (rétablissement du *kanunname* de Soliman et abolition du *daftar* des Circassiens) que son gouvernement opère.

En faisant d'eux les bailleurs des biens de Sinân, la solution conservait aux janissaires un accès privilégié aux profits générés par le *waqf*. Comme pour la mosquée, les restaurations de la *wikâla*⁶⁴ ou du bain⁶⁵ sont le fait d'officiers de leur corps. Cette solution leur permettait surtout de passer des contrats de longue durée sur les terrains jouxtant la *wikâla* et d'acheter, le cas échéant, les bâtiments construits par les locataires, puisque ce type de contrat comportait un droit de construction (*inshâ'*) ou de modification des bâtiments existants. Un exemple de ce type d'opération est donné dans un acte de 1157/1745, qui permet à 'Abd al-Bâqî Shûrbagî de la Qal'at al-Rukn d'acheter à des locataires trois entrepôts contigus construits sur des terrains *hikr* appartenant au *waqf* de Sinân. Juifs l'un et l'autre, les deux vendeurs sont des employés de l'administration des douanes⁶⁶. La transaction est conclue pour un montant de 725 ducats (« dinars vénitiens »), contre le versement au *waqf* de 300 *nişf* par an pour une durée de 39 ans et 8 mois, sans doute la durée restante d'un bail emphytéotique de plus long terme. Quinze ans plus tard, ces entrepôts sont intégrés à la grande fondation que l'acheteur fait au profit de sa mosquée, située à une centaine de mètres au nord-ouest de la *wikâla*⁶⁷.

Dans la seconde moitié du XVIII^e siècle, les exemples abondent de ces transactions qui étendent l'emprise du *waqf* et contribuent à la progression de l'urbanisation sur la Presqu'île. Cinq ans après 'Abd al-Bâqî Shûrbagî, deux frères, Shams al-dîn Shûrbagî de la Qal'at al-Rukn et al-Jamâlî Yûsuf, fils de Sâlim Abû Hayf, constituent à leur tour une grosse fonda-

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, reg. 48, p. 75, n° 195 du 8 *rabî' I* 1058/2 avr. 1648.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, reg. 65, p. 175, n° 318 du 20 *shawwâl* 1130/15 sept. 1718.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, reg. 78, p. 294, n° 449 du 1^{er} *dhû al-hijja* 1157/4 janv. 1745.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, reg. 85, p. 3, n° 4 du 15 *jumâdâ I* 1172/15 janv. 1759. Une traduction de ce document est à paraître dans le vol. III de la série *Alexandrie ottomane* publiée par le CEALex.

tion au bénéfice de leur famille. Les éléments centraux de ce *waqf* sont une grande maison et une *wikâla*, mitoyenne des entrepôts de Sa'dûn al-Yahûdî achetés à ses fils par 'Abd al-Bâqî pour être intégrés à son *waqf*: cette *wikâla* est construite, comme les entrepôts, sur des terrains *hikr* du *waqf* de Sinân. Les deux fondateurs, du reste, sont aussi unis par d'autres liens, puisque 'Abd al-Bâqî a épousé l'une des filles de Shams al-dîn Abû Hayf. La plupart des grandes fondations qui entourent la Wikâla Sinâniyya comportent des biens construits sur des terrains *hikr* qui en relèvent: Abû Hayf à l'est et au nord, Shûrbagî et Ghazzî Muşţafâ au nord-ouest, Gamî'î à l'ouest (fig. 6). Il en va de même de bon nombre de boutiques dans les souks qui entourent la Sinâniyya, notamment le Sûq al-Farârgiyya et le Sûq al-Tuggâr⁶⁸. On comprend qu'une telle intrication des contrats et des intérêts ait pu donner à cette zone du Sûq al-Gazîra, dominée par les grandes *wikâla*, une forte homogénéité, à la fois fonctionnelle et sociale.

Ce n'est qu'à l'extrême fin du XVIII^e siècle que l'*odjak* perd le monopole de ce marché lucratif et que les émirs mamelouks — des acteurs singulièrement absents de l'histoire d'Alexandrie, comparée à celle du Caire — commencent à y prendre part. Ibrâhîm bey apparaît pour la première fois comme le gérant légal du *waqf* de Sinân Pacha en août 1791, dans un acte donnant à bail pour six ans l'exploitation du bain double pour un montant de 72 000 *nisf* par an. Le bâtiment vient d'être entièrement rénové par le locataire⁶⁹. Deux ans plus tard, il loue l'ensemble des bâtiments de la *wikâla*, pour une durée de trois ans, à un client (*tâbi'*) de l'agha des janissaires, Sayyid Muḥammad Kurayyim⁷⁰. C'est la dernière mention de la participation du corps à l'exploitation du *waqf*. En juillet 1795, Ibrâhîm décide de louer l'ensemble de la Sinâniyya, dédiée alors, comme la grande *wikâla* de Bûlâq, au commerce des huiles, « ainsi que les entrepôts et boutiques qui en relèvent, à l'intérieur comme à l'extérieur du bâtiment, les trois immeubles d'habitation (*rab'*) qui la surmontent et le *hikr* du Sûq al-Tuggâr qui l'entoure et fait partie du *waqf* » au cheikh Ibrâhîm Shihâb al-dîn al-'Abbâsî, servant (*khâdim*) de la mosquée de Sîdî Abû al-'Abbâs.

⁶⁸ Exemples pour le Sûq al-Farârgiyya, dans *Mahk. Isk.*, reg. 96, p. 181, n° 282 du 14 *rabî' I* 1190/3 mai 1776; p. 220, n° 351 du 15 *rabî' II* 1190/2 juin 1776.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, reg. 101, p. 245, n° 649 du 12 *dhû al-hijja* 1205/12 août 1791; n° 650 du 26 *dhû al-hijja* 1205/26 août 1791.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, reg. 101, p. 85, n° 126 du 28 *shawwâl* 1207/31 mai 1793; n° 127 du 24 *dhû al-qa'da* 1207/3 juil. 1793.

Le contrat est passé pour deux baux de trois ans et conclu pour un montant de 40 000 *nişf* par an⁷¹.

C'est le début d'une longue série de procès. Bien avant la fin de son bail, le cheikh Ibrâhîm Shihâb al-dîn est démis de ses droits : Ibrâhîm bey donne la location de la *wikâla*, en juillet 1797, pour une durée d'un an seulement, à Sayyid Muştafâ Shûrbagî Mûruwâ⁷². Au cheikh Shihâb al-dîn, on reproche deux choses. D'abord, d'avoir fait des constructions sans l'autorisation du *nâzir* et d'avoir effectué — ou laissé effectuer — des modifications importantes du bâtiment : on a bouché les portes des entrepôts donnant sur l'intérieur de la *wikâla* pour les ouvrir sur l'extérieur et les transformer en boutiques⁷³. Un acte de 1215/1800, de fait, atteste la pratique et suggère qu'elle touchait surtout le côté est de la *wikâla* : les locataires trouvaient sans doute plus avantageux d'ouvrir leurs magasins sur Hârat al-Afrank. Or le contrat de pas-de-porte (*khulw*) et de droit de jouissance (*intifâ'*) auquel il se rapporte avait été passé du temps où le cheikh Shihâb al-dîn était le locataire du *waqf*⁷⁴. Mais on lui reproche aussi d'avoir touché toute sorte de pots-de-vin (*hulwân wa-maşaîliḥ*). Bien que l'on n'ait pas d'informations précises sur ce point, on peut supposer qu'il percevait surtout des commissions sur les transactions relatives au *waqf* et notamment sur les pas-de-porte. Relativement rares sur le marché des transactions immobilières, en raison de la pérennité de la jouissance à laquelle ils donnaient droit, ces contrats devaient être recherchés aussi pour la modicité de leurs loyers. Dans la transaction évoquée ci-dessus, si le pas-de-porte pour un entrepôt de la Sinâniyya était quatre fois plus élevé que le prix d'achat moyen d'une maison dans la Presqu'île, le loyer annuel dû au *waqf*, en revanche, n'était que de 0,5 % du capital investi. Il fallait donc 200 ans au *waqf* pour percevoir une somme équivalente à celle que recevait le vendeur du pas-de-porte. On imagine aisément que celui qui était en situation de favoriser une telle transaction était aussi en situation de demander une commission.

À la fin de l'année 1797, en tout cas, Ibrâhîm bey et Murâd bey demandent de concert l'ouverture d'une enquête portant à la fois sur

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, reg. 107, p. 74, n^{os} 129 et 130 du 18 *dhû al-ḥijja* 1209/5 juil. 1795.

⁷² *Ibid.*, reg. 107, p. 98-99, n^{os} 187-188 du 27 *muḥarram* 1212/22 juil. 1797.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, reg. 107, p. 102, n^o 197 du 27 *şafar* 1212/20 août 1797.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, reg. 110, p. 64, n^o 115 du 14 *muḥarram* 1215/25 juin 1800. Il s'agit d'un acte de désistement (*isqât*) du droit d'occupation de l'entrepôt d'Angel Férié au profit d'André Fantosi pour une somme de 400 *riyal*. Le loyer dû au *waqf* est de 180 piastres par an.

les malversations financières de leur locataire et sur les constructions illégales qu'il a effectuées. Le juge doit convoquer tous les occupants de la *wikâla* pour dresser un état des sommes indûment perçues, tandis que les géomètres feront un état du bâti et l'inventaire des constructions réalisées sans l'autorisation du gérant. Ils exigent également la remise en état des lieux et notamment des entrepôts, dont les ouvertures doivent être rétablies sur la cour⁷⁵. On ne connaît pas la suite donnée à leur demande : l'arrivée des Français a probablement suspendu l'enquête. Mais l'affaire rebondit quelques années plus tard. Entretemps, la gérance du *waqf* est passée au cheikh Muḥammad al-Mahdî⁷⁶ que Muḥammad 'Alî récompense de ses bons services dans la polémique qui l'oppose à 'Umar Makram à propos des biens de mainmorte (1809) en lui donnant la gérance du *waqf* de Sinân à Alexandrie et celle de l'imam Shâfi'î au Caire⁷⁷. C'est donc un personnage considérable, lui-même grand brasseur d'affaires, qui conduit désormais les poursuites contre le cheikh Shihâb al-dîn. Aux anciennes accusations, relatives à la prévarication et aux constructions illégales s'ajoute la réclamation des sommes dues au *waqf*. Elles s'élèvent à 12 000 *nisf* au début de la procédure⁷⁸. Mais en révélant que le cheikh Shihâb al-dîn a construit sans autorisation un corps de bâtiment au-dessus des entrepôts de la Sinâniyya, l'enquête fait rapidement grimper le montant des indemnités réclamées par le gérant. Elles sont finalement établies à 130 000 *nisf*. Pour couvrir sa dette, l'accusé demande alors au tribunal de l'autoriser à louer la moitié de ce bâtiment illégal à Sayyid 'Umar Makram, pour une durée de dix ans, au prix de 13 000 *nisf* par an, au bénéfice du *waqf*. Le tribunal valide cet arrangement fort politique, qui offre aussi l'avantage de dédommager 'Umar Makram des pertes que son rival vient de lui infliger. Par là même, le juge entérine le fait acquis et intègre dans le patrimoine de la fondation le *rab'* illégalement construit, auquel le cheikh Shihâb al-dîn finit par donner son nom⁷⁹ et qu'il réussit à transmettre à son fils, Futûh Shihâb al-dîn.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, reg. 107, p. 102, n° 198 de 1212/1797.

⁷⁶ Sur ce personnage considérable, cf. la nécrologie de JABARTÎ, 1854, vol. IV, p. 233-237; cf. aussi AL-AHNAF, 1999.

⁷⁷ Sur cet épisode, cf. JABARTÎ, 1854, vol. IV, p. 235 et l'analyse dans AL-AHNAF, 1999.

⁷⁸ *Mahk. Isk.*, reg. 118, p. 289, n° 1073 du 3 *sha'bân* 1226/23 août 1811; p. 279, n° 1029 du 4 *sha'bân*/24 août 1811.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, reg. 118, p. 236, n° 485, et p. 283, n° 1048, tous les deux du 5 *sha'bân* 1226/24 août 1811.

LE GOUVERNEUR, LE JUGE ET L'ARCHIVE :
ANATOMIE D'UNE ENQUÊTE ADMINISTRATIVE

L'affaire n'est pas finie pour autant : elle court tout au long du règne de Muḥammad 'Alī, jusqu'à l'ouverture d'une grosse enquête administrative dressant un état complet de tous les contrats relatifs au *waqf* de Sinân. On a la chance d'avoir alors deux documents juridiques de nature complémentaire : un état des lieux (*bayân*)⁸⁰ et un inventaire (*kashf*)⁸¹ des biens entrant dans le *waqf*. Ils ont été dressés à deux ans d'intervalle (en 1262/1846 et en 1264/1848), dans le cours d'une enquête destinée à établir la liste des occupants légitimes et à fixer le tableau de leurs obligations financières. Réalisée sous le contrôle du juge et consignée devant la cour, l'enquête a été diligentée par la cour sur plainte (*ba'd taqaddum da'âwâ*) de l'administration urbaine (*Dîwân al-Dawârî*⁸²), représentée par Sayyid Aḥmad bey Salîm, *mubarakdji* du régiment du bassin de radoub, agissant en qualité de *wakîl* de Sayyid Ibrâhîm efendi Turkî, directeur du *Dîwân* (annexe II, au préambule). Elle porte sur un ensemble de biens immobiliers (magasins, boutiques, logements) à usage commercial ou résidentiel, qui comprend (fig. 9) :

1. la *wikâla al-kubrâ*, dite aussi *wikâlat al-zayt* ;
2. cinq *rab'* regroupant les logements en étage au-dessus des entrepôts de la *wikâla* :
 - le grand et le petit *rab'* al-Farârgiyya ;
 - le grand et le petit *rab'* al-Mallâḥa ;
 - le *rab'* de cheikh Shihâb al-dîn ;
3. la *Wikâlat al-Faransîs* (Okelle de France) ;
4. des boutiques donnant sur le Sûq al-Tuggâr ;
5. et un certain nombre d'immeubles donnant sur Ḥârât al-Afrank.

Tous ces bâtiments comportant au rez-de-chaussée des magasins ou des boutiques, le total des biens susceptibles d'être loués ou occupés et figurant en conséquence à l'inventaire (*kashf*) dressé par le tribunal est de 182, soit 91 magasins (*ḥâsil*), 29 boutiques (*ḥânûṭ*) et 62 logements

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, reg. 149, p. 304, n° 309 de 1262/30 déc. 1845-18 déc. 1846.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, reg. 151, p. 111, n° 341 de 1264/9 déc. 1847-26 déc. 1848.

⁸² Littéralement, la « direction des Arrondissements » ; sous ce titre-là cette administration semble n'avoir existé qu'à Alexandrie. On ne semble pas, en tout cas, en avoir l'équivalent au Caire, où les affaires urbaines sont réglées directement par la direction des Travaux publics (*Dîwân al-ashghâl*) ou la Police urbaine (*Zabṭiyya*).

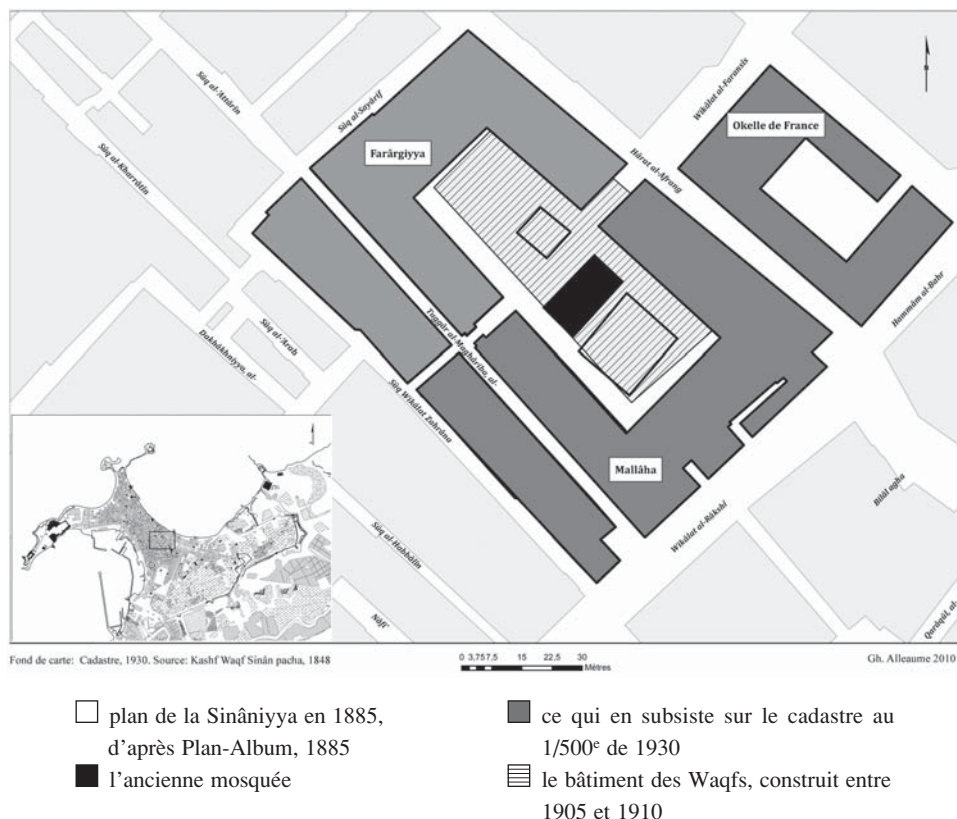


Fig. 9. Les différentes composantes de la Wikâla Sinâniyya en 1848.

(bayt). L'état des lieux mentionne encore la Zâwiya Sinâniyya (appelée sur le cadastre *masjid*), au profit de laquelle sont vraisemblablement affectés les biens après la destruction de la mosquée de Bâb al-Bahr, mais qui est en ruine en 1848. Elle était alors placée au centre de la cour. Au début du xx^e siècle, elle fut détruite à son tour par la construction du bâtiment des Waqfs et un nouveau sanctuaire, toujours en fonction, fut établi dans l'angle nord-ouest de l'ancienne *wikâla*.

L'enquête se déroule en deux temps. L'état des lieux par lequel elle commence a été dressé, comme il est d'usage, à la demande du juge, par l'envoi sur place d'un comité d'experts pour une visite domiciliaire. En l'espèce, ce dernier se compose :

- du directeur des Bâtiments (*nâzir tashghîl al-'imârât*), 'Alî agha al-Kabâbgî;
- du drogman du *Dîwân al-Dawârî*, Anîûn efendi;
- et du portier de la Wikâla Sinâniyya, 'Alî Shabbûd.

C'est donc une commission mixte, mêlant administration publique et institution judiciaire, dans laquelle les représentants de l'État se substituent aux témoins habituellement mobilisés par le tribunal en pareille circonstance. Le relevé d'informations – et leur consignation, en conséquence – se déroulent selon une logique topographique qui transcrit l'itinéraire des enquêteurs dans les bâtiments. La description des lieux se fait selon l'usage rédactionnel du tribunal, tel qu'il apparaît notamment dans le libellé des actes de *waqf*. C'est d'ailleurs par les immeubles d'habitation que commence la description, qui procède d'ouest en est, par les deux *rab'* Farârgiyya, puis par Hârat al-Afrank, pour finir par les deux *rab'* al-Mallâha au sud. Ce sont ensuite les entrepôts ouvrant sur la cour de la *wikâla* qui sont inventoriés, puis les magasins et les boutiques ouvrant sur l'extérieur, selon le même itinéraire.

La consignation de l'itinéraire et la description des logements sont assez détaillées pour permettre de restituer, au moins dans ses grandes lignes, la forme et la disposition du bâtiment. La grande cour (2 262 m²) en formait le centre. Elle rassemblait 65 entrepôts, d'une largeur de 3 m et d'une surface moyenne de 40 m²⁸³. Légèrement asymétrique, le côté nord étant moins large que le côté sud, elle devait compter 8 entrepôts au nord, 9 au sud, 23 à l'est et à l'ouest (10 au nord et 13 au sud). L'état des lieux en donne une localisation globale par rapport à la cour ou aux marchés, sans les décrire assez précisément pour que l'on puisse les distribuer sur le plan (tabl. III). Les deux passages voûtés (*takhshîba*) qui donnaient accès à la cour étaient également loués à des commerçants et des boutiques avaient été installées dans la cour même. D'une valeur médiane de 100 *nisf* par an, ces entrepôts étaient aux mains de marchands aux origines variées, mais où les musulmans sujets du sultan dominaient largement. Les Maghrébins, notamment, y étaient nombreux, surtout les Tunisiens, pour la plupart importateurs d'huile d'olive de Sfax ou de Djerba. Mais on y trouvait aussi quelques notables alexandrins appartenant à des familles d'oulémas très présentes au tribunal (Masîrî) ou descendant de jannisaires (Abû Hayf), des dignitaires proches de Muḥammad

⁸³ Le *bayân* n'en recense que 58, mais il est incomplet sur ce point. La restitution proposée ici se fonde sur une distribution régulière des magasins sur les côtés de la cour.

Tableau III. Les négociants de la Sinâniyya en 1848

Entrepôts à l'intérieur de la <i>wikâla</i>			Boutiques et entrepôts à l'extérieur de la <i>wikâla</i>		
Nombre	Nom	Valeur (<i>nisf fidâa</i>)	Nombre	Nom	Valeur (<i>nisf fidâa</i>)
3	Abû al-Nûr	300			
1	Abû Hayf, Muḥammad	100	1	Drovetti, Rose	200
2	'Agība, Aḥmad & Muḥammad	200	2	Bocchia, Petro	100
1	Aṭṭīn le Drogman	200	1	Bocchia, Petro	50
5	Badīsh, Muḥammad	325	1	Qabbânî, Ḥusayn al-	225
2	Badr al-dīn, Muḥammad	200	5		575
1	Barâd'î, Maḥmūd al-	75			
1	Ben 'Ashshûr, Muḥammad & hoirie 'Inân	100	1	Loria, Avraham	100
1	Ben 'Azzûn		5	Gubrân efendi al-Makhla'	0
1	Ben Razîn, Muḥammad	100	1	Maghribî, al-	125
1	Ben Razzûq	75	1	Gharbî, Muḥammad al-	150
1	Ben Sha'bân, Şâliḥ	100	1	Scaramanfa	125
1	Ben Yûnis	100	1	Mahdâwî, 'Alî al-	175
1	Blaise	0	10		675
1	Costandi l'épicier	120			
1	Gabriel al-Fiḳī	75	1	Bocchhari	1 200
4	Gharbî, Muḥammad al-	325	1	Terriacho	1 000

1	Ghurâb, Ḥammûda al-	100	1	Sava	1 200
2	Giriñî, Tâhir al-	25	1	Karyûnî, Anûn al-	88
4	Gubrân efendi al-Makhla'	700	1	Yani, Alexandre	150
1	Gûrgî al-Rûmî	200	1	Maghribî, al-	125
1	Ḥamdûnî, al-	100	6		3 763
1	Ḥanash, Ḥusayn al-	100	<i>Entrepôts donnant sur le Sîq al-Şayârif</i>		
1	Ibrâhîm Shâwîsh	225	1	Menato al-Yahûdî	300
1	Karmûs, Muşţafâ Efendi	100	1	Petro	88
1	Loria, Avraham & Tocchari		3	Piolani	600
1	Maghribî, al-	50	2	Ismâ'îl Shûrbagî	60
3	Masîrî, Ḥusayn al- (Khaţţâb & Muḥammad)	380	7		1 048
1	Menato al-Yahûdî	100	<i>Entrepôts donnant sur le côté sud</i>		
1	Mostita, Petro	180	1	Basîs Ibrâhîm	300
1	Mu'akkkhir, Ibrâhîm al-	100	1	Evliyân	300
1	Muqaddam, Aḥmad al-		2	Shihâb al-dîn, Futûḥ	0
5	Piolani	1 050	1	Salomon al-Yahûdî	325
1	Qabbânî, Muḥammad 'Alî al-	100	5		925
1	Shihâb al-dîn, Futûḥ	30			
1	Torino, Avraham (Norino?)	0			
8		0			
65		5 935	En gras, ceux qui ont aussi un ou des logements dans les étages de la <i>wikâla</i> .		

‘Alî (Giritlî), le fils de notre cheikh Shihâb al-dîn, des Grecs (Costandi) et quelques Juifs, dont deux familles de banquiers, liées l’une à l’autre (Loria, Tilche), qui comptaient parmi les grandes figures de la communauté. Au-dessus de ce rez-de-chaussée à usage commercial, s’élevaient des *rab’* de deux étages, comptant presque autant de logements distribués en duplex et dont beaucoup comportaient, en outre, un accès à la terrasse. Comme au Caire, ces logements de dimension moyenne (1-4 pièces, en général, avec quelques unités pouvant en compter le double) accueillait une population mêlée et souvent d’installation récente au moment de la rédaction du document⁸⁴. Ceux de la Wikâla Sinâniyya n’abritaient que des étrangers, pour la plupart venus du pourtour de ce bassin oriental de la Méditerranée qui, depuis trois siècles, nourrissait le développement d’Alexandrie. Dans ce cas, la description de l’itinéraire et de la distribution des logements par rapport à l’axe des bâtiments est assez précise pour que l’on puisse en tenter une restitution cartographique (fig. 10). La plupart de ces négociants étrangers possédaient aussi des boutiques sur le Sûq al-Şayârîf et sur Hârat al-Afrank ou des entrepôts situés à l’extérieur de la *wikâla*. Moins nombreux que les magasins donnant sur la cour et sans doute plus vastes, ces locaux, qui avaient l’avantage d’ouvrir directement sur les rues les plus marchandes, avaient une valeur locative bien plus grande : sur Hârat al-Afrank, notamment, leurs loyers pouvaient être jusqu’à douze fois supérieurs à ceux des entrepôts de l’intérieur.

Au total, le tableau dressé à l’issue de cette visite *in situ* porte sur un ensemble de 16 205 m² bâtis : 6 393 pour la partie nord de la *wikâla* (2 131 sur 3 niveaux), 8 232 pour la partie sud (2 744 sur 3 niveaux) et 1 580 pour l’Okelle de France, ancienne maison consulaire française, alors toute entière aux mains de Rose Drovetti, épouse de l’ancien consul.

On comprend qu’un relevé de terrain d’une telle ampleur ait pu poser quelques problèmes. Lorsque la visite a lieu, la *waqfiyya* n’a pas pu être consultée par le juge, qui s’en excuse auprès du *Dîwân al-Dawârî* et justifie par cette défaillance les incertitudes pouvant encore entacher l’état des lieux qu’il fait établir⁸⁵. Le Sûq al-Tuggâr notamment — qui formait une *qaysâriyya* entre deux corps de bâtiments à l’ouest de la *wikâla* — n’avait pas été couvert. Il aurait encore ajouté à ce total quelque 5 178 m²

⁸⁴ Pour une description détaillée de cette forme d’habitat collectif et de la composition sociologique de ses habitants, cf. HANNA, 1991, p. 59-64.

⁸⁵ Explication donnée en annotation (*sharḥ*), à la fin du *bayân*.

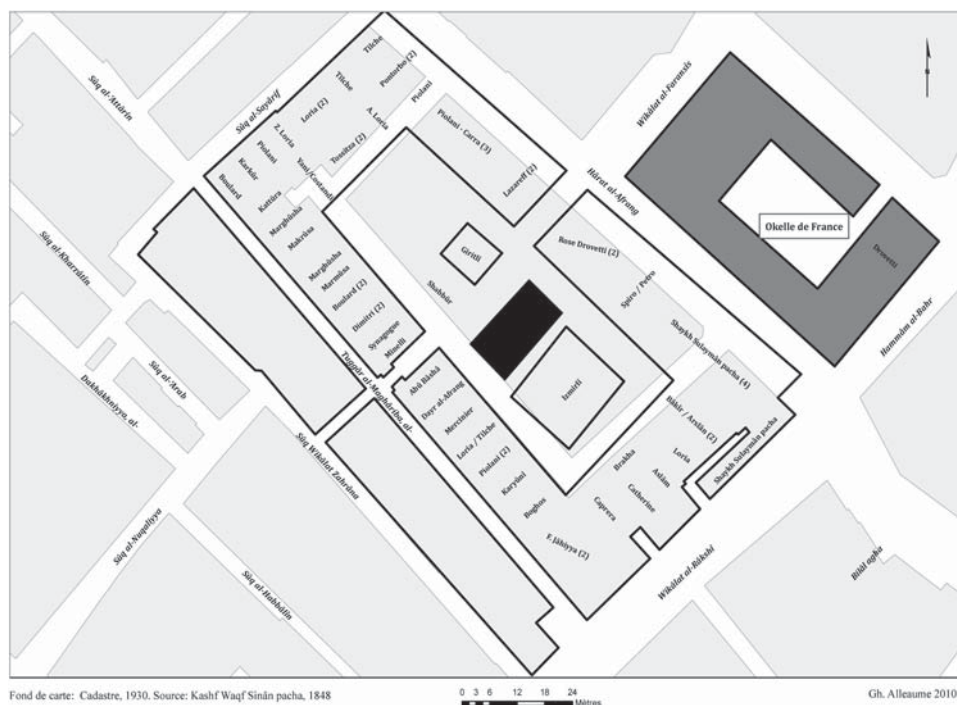


Fig. 10. Les habitants de la Sinâniyya en 1848.

de locaux (2 643 pour la partie nord, soit 881 m² sur 3 niveaux, et 2 535 pour la partie sud, soit 845 m² sur 3 niveaux). Mais ce n'est pas cette lacune, partagée par les deux documents, qui explique les divergences, mineures en vérité, existant entre ce premier état et l'inventaire fait deux ans plus tard⁸⁶ : ce sont les incertitudes qui subsistent sur le statut réel de biens dont beaucoup ont fait l'objet d'une occupation si longue (69 ans pour un entrepôt à l'extérieur de la *wikâla*) qu'elle en vient à effacer la mémoire de l'ayant droit véritable. La remarque du juge dans sa lettre au directeur du *Dîwân al-Dawârî* en témoigne et c'est ce constat qui amène l'administration, une fois dressé l'état des lieux et la liste des occupants, à lancer une enquête dans les archives mêmes du tribunal – comme, sans doute, auprès des occupants – pour établir avec précision le statut juridique de chaque élément de la *wikâla* et de ses dépendances. Cette révision des

⁸⁶ L'état des lieux porte sur 176 biens, l'inventaire sur 182.

titres occupera encore deux longues années avant que le tribunal ne soit en mesure de dresser le bilan des diverses situations juridiques constatées et des formes de régularisation négociées avec les occupants.

ENTRE POUVOIR RÉGALIEN ET INSTITUTION JUDICIAIRE :
LA DIFFICILE NÉGOCIATION D'UN COMPROMIS

Les biens affectés (*mawqûf*) aux fondations charitables pouvaient faire l'objet de diverses formes de location. Dans le cas présent, la collection documentaire en fait apparaître trois :

- un droit d'occupation et de jouissance (*khulw wa-intifâ'*) fondé sur le paiement au bénéfice du *waqf* d'un *khulw* et d'un loyer modique ; le droit d'*intifâ'* ouvert par ce contrat est perpétuel⁸⁷ ;
- un droit d'occupation et d'usage fondé sur un bail emphytéotique (*hikr/ihtikâr*) de longue durée (souvent plus de 30 ans, parfois 90 ans) susceptible de comporter aussi un droit de construction (*inshâ'*) ou de modification du bâti, donnant lieu à la jouissance en pleine propriété des parties construites et ainsi susceptible, en cas d'intégration au *waqf* de ces parties nouvelles, de donner lieu au règlement par le *waqf* d'une indemnité compensatoire (*ta'wîd*)⁸⁸ ;
- un droit d'occupation fondé sur le paiement d'un loyer annuel (*îjâr/isti'jâr*) aux termes d'un bail passé pour une durée déterminée et souvent limitée par les clauses (*shurûṭ*) de l'acte de fondation (*waq-fiyya*) lui-même ou fixée par un contrat *ad hoc*. Les juristes hanafites limitaient à trois ans la durée de ces baux, mais dans la pratique le point n'était guère observé et beaucoup de contrats étaient passés pour deux baux (*'aqd*) de trois ans.

Il existait encore bien d'autres transactions possibles sur ces biens, mais l'essentiel de l'enquête dont les résultats sont consignés dans les deux documents évoqués plus haut, le *bayân* et le *kashf*, porte sur ces

⁸⁷ Sur ce point, cf. HANNA, 1991, p. 32-34.

⁸⁸ Sur ces contrats, cf. HOEXTER, 1984, p. 253, qui les définit comme « un bail perpétuel de l'emplacement et une aliénation de la propriété primitive ». Hanna (1991, p. 32-34) parle de « semi-aliénation ». Les archives du tribunal d'Alexandrie montrent que si la nue propriété restait bien au *waqf*, le droit de jouissance ouvert par le *khulw* était acquis en pleine propriété (*milk*) par le contractant. Sur cette dualité de droits, cf. HOEXTER, 1997, p. 321.

trois formes de location. Transmissibles par succession, souvent par le biais de la constitution d'indivis, elles suffisaient à créer sur le terrain des situations assez complexes pour prendre, avec le temps, le tour d'imbroglios juridiques. Dans l'ensemble des biens soumis à enquête, ceux qui posent le plus de problèmes et font l'objet de l'occupation la plus longue sont, de fait, des indivis, particulièrement nombreux sur les baux commerciaux. De ces trois types de contrat, *a priori*, le plus avantageux pour le *waqf* était la simple location ; du moins en termes de rente, parce qu'étant de courte durée, le revenu en était plus facile à indexer sur l'évolution des prix. En termes de gestion, au contraire, les deux autres formes avaient l'avantage d'offrir au bailleur simplicité et stabilité, la durée des contrats ralentissant considérablement la rotation des locataires. Pour le preneur à bail, elles avaient l'avantage d'offrir une très grande sécurité, particulièrement précieuse lorsqu'il s'agit de s'assurer un toit. Dans tous les cas, la légitimité de l'occupation devait être prouvée par un document attestant le type de contrat et ses clauses, en général un acte (*hujja*) passé devant le tribunal ou, à défaut, par une enquête (*tahqîq*) diligentée par le juge et comportant à la fois un état des lieux (constat de l'occupation effective) et la collecte de témoignages (constat de la durée de l'occupation et de la qualité de l'occupant). Réalisée par des auxiliaires mandatés par le tribunal, elle pouvait compenser l'absence de titres en validant par une décision de justice la preuve (*bayyina*) que constituait le constat. De cette complexité et de son caractère structurel témoignent l'ampleur de l'enquête — qui dure presque deux ans (1262-1264/1846-1848) et n'est pas complètement terminée lorsque le cadi transmet son bilan au *Dîwân* — et la manière dont elle entérine purement et simplement des abus anciens qu'il n'est plus possible de corriger (cas du *rab'* du cheikh Shihâb al-dîn).

Le *kashf* (annexe II) distribue les 182 biens inventoriés selon un tableau complexe, croisant le statut légal de leur occupation tel qu'établi et éventuellement corrigé par l'enquête, la nature du bien immobilier (logement, boutique, magasin) et enfin sa localisation par rapport à la *wikâla* et aux rues qui l'entourent. La manière dont les deux sources distribuent l'information est donc très différente, mais, grâce à l'identification des occupants, il est possible de les croiser et de coupler les informations à caractère plus sociologique données par l'état des lieux à celles que livre l'inventaire juridique. Dans son bilan, le juge dresse d'abord l'état des biens sur lesquels le *waqf* conserve ou retrouve un contrôle direct. Un premier groupe de six logements (*bayt*) situés dans le *rab'* al-

Farârgiyya al-Kabîr rassemble des biens dont les occupants n'ont aucun titre et ne paient pas de loyer : les droits de *khulw wa-intifâ'* qui leur étaient afférents sont donc abolis et les biens font retour au *waqf*. Leurs occupants étaient, pour cinq d'entre eux, des étrangers ou plutôt leurs héritiers restés en indivis (*waratha*) : un sujet français (Boulard) occupant deux logements, qui à l'origine n'en formaient qu'un ; un sujet russe (Dimitri Medmeva) et deux Sardes (Menato et Minelli al-Shardhî) ; le dernier était à la Synagogue. Aucun de ces occupants n'acquittait de loyer.

Un deuxième groupe rassemble 18 magasins situés à l'intérieur de la grande *wikâla* et 2 boutiques ouvrant sur l'extérieur, dont les occupants n'ont pas pu produire de quittances (*sanad*), mais dont les droits sont reconnus par le tribunal, grâce notamment aux livres de comptes du *waqf* : le juge se contente d'exiger le paiement des arriérés et transforme toutes les anciennes tenures en baux emphytéotiques (*hikr*). Par cette décision, le tribunal cherche visiblement à abolir, chaque fois qu'il le peut, le statut donné par le paiement d'un *khulw*, non sans quelque raison puisque ce sont les contrats qui génèrent le plus de difficultés ou d'abus. Les locataires sont, dans leur immense majorité, des négociants, musulmans pour la plupart, dont beaucoup appartiennent à des familles connues (Abû Hayf, Masîrî, Karmûs, etc.). Deux boutiques, situées à l'extérieur de la *wikâla*, sur les deux grandes rues marchandes que sont le Sûq al-Şayârîf et Hârat al-Afrank, sont dans la même situation.

Enfin, un dernier groupe est formé par 32 bâtiments commerciaux en location simple (*ijâra*), sans droit d'occupation et de jouissance. Ce sont essentiellement des entrepôts situés à l'intérieur de la *wikâla* (21) ou sur les deux grandes rues (11) et ils ont tous un rendement très supérieur (de trois à douze fois) à celui des magasins situés à l'intérieur de la *wikâla*. Le public des locataires, sur ces contrats plus mobiles, est majoritairement d'origine étrangère : les Grecs et les Juifs, dont quelques familles particulièrement connues, dominent largement, notamment sur Hârat al-Afrank. C'est, du reste, cette rue qui offre, pour l'usage commercial comme pour l'usage d'habitation, la meilleure rentabilité. Au total 6 logements, 50 entrepôts, 2 boutiques et 6 logements, d'une valeur de rente de 9 320 piastres par an, dont plus de la moitié est fournie par le dernier groupe, reviennent au *waqf* en gestion directe.

La révision des titres permet ensuite de régulariser un certain nombre de situations, soit parce que l'on a pu retrouver les actes qui les concernent, soit parce qu'une décision de justice récente, éventuellement prise dans

le cours de l'enquête, a confirmé les droits des tenanciers sur les biens qu'ils occupent. Le juge, dans ce cas, valide la quasi-aliénation de biens dont les plus anciens sont entre les mains des mêmes familles depuis plus de quarante ans : 21 magasins situés à l'intérieur de la *wikâla* et 8 à l'extérieur ; les deux boutiques de Ṭâhir al-Giritlî au centre de la cour ; 9 boutiques du Sûq al-Şayârif et 21 logements (13 dans le *rab'* al-Farârgiyya al-kabîr, 3 dans le *rab'* al-Mallâḥa al-şaghîr, 3 dans le *rab'* al-Mallâḥa al-kabîr et 3 sur Ḥârat al-Afrank) restent ainsi, en toute légalité, aux mains de leurs occupants. Le *rab'* du cheikh Shihâb al-dîn, avec ses 3 logements, complète la liste de ces 65 biens rapportant au *waqf* 5 180 piastres par an.

Mais il en reste autant dont la situation n'a pas pu être établie. Ils se distribuent dans tous les types de locaux (11 entrepôts, 31 boutiques, 16 logements, pour une valeur totale de 4 295 piastres), mais ils appartiennent presque tous à des étrangers qui n'ont probablement pas pu produire leurs titres : c'est le cas de négociants maghrébins occupant des magasins à l'intérieur de la *wikâla*⁸⁹, d'associés exploitant en société (*sharika*) un local commercial (Tocchari et Loria), de successions complexes (Tilche et Loria) et de bon nombre de négociants européens. C'est aussi le cas des biens bénéficiant de baux emphytéotiques, notamment de l'Okelle de France et du Sûq al-Tuggâr dans son ensemble, l'une et l'autre construits sur des terrains *ḥikr* relevant de la Sinâniyya.

À l'issue de ce long processus d'enquête, le *waqf* n'a donc pas été rétabli dans la totalité de ses droits : il n'a repris la maîtrise que de 77 % de la rente générée par la Sinâniyya. Du moins le gérant a-t-il pu apurer ses comptes. Pour les occupants qui ont réussi à régulariser leur situation, en revanche, l'inventaire va faire durablement foi de leurs droits. La comparaison des deux populations de 1848 et de 1885 (fig. 10 et 11) révèle d'abord une remarquable permanence du melting-pot à l'ottomane qu'une institution commerciale de cette ampleur, située dans un grand port méditerranéen, était susceptible de favoriser. Dans l'intervalle, pourtant, la ville s'est transformée et le centre commercial et financier s'est déplacé plus au sud, autour de la place de Minshiyya. Plus surprenante encore est la stabilité de l'ancrage dans l'ancien souk ottoman de familles que leur statut d'Européens protégés désormais par les

⁸⁹ Cet argument, sur la difficulté à produire des titres souvent enregistrés ailleurs, est très souvent mis en avant par les Maghrébins dans l'ensemble de leurs transactions, y compris pour l'institution de leurs *waqf*.



Fig. 11. Les habitants de la Sinâniyya en 1885.

tribunaux mixtes (Mercinier, Lazari, Istria, Caprara) ou leur réussite et leur prospérité (Tossitza, Loria) auraient pu attirer vers d'autres quartiers. Il faut croire que les investissements réalisés dans la Sinâniyya conservaient encore assez d'attrait : certaines familles, comme les Loria/Tilche, confortent leur patrimoine, d'autres comme les Ben Sha'bân réussissent même à l'accroître sensiblement. L'attractivité de la *wikâla* jusqu'à l'extrême fin du XIX^e siècle se lit encore dans l'arrivée de nouveaux venus dont certains sont déjà, en 1885, des notabilités fortement implantées dans la ville (Aghion, Coronel).

Sur ce terrain au moins, l'œuvre de Sinân garde le caractère impérial qui avait présidé à sa fondation et il est bien dommage que l'on n'ait aucun témoignage sur le style architectural de son caravansérail. Au Caire, sa mosquée affirmait par son style stambouliote la nature politique de son projet. À Alexandrie, on ne peut que la restituer par le statut fonctionnel

de la fondation — notamment son rôle dans la gestion des douanes — ou son impact sur le développement de la cité. Mais plus encore qu'au Caire, la fondation alexandrine est révélatrice de l'intégration de l'Égypte, naguère centre d'un ancien sultanat rival, dans une territorialité proprement impériale. Le statut du *waqf* alexandrin et la proximité dans laquelle il est maintenu avec le commandement politique en sont un autre signe, dont témoigne sur près de trois siècles l'histoire complexe de sa gestion.

À bien des égards, les péripéties de cette fondation montrent qu'un projet régalien peut s'exprimer dans l'institution du *waqf*. L'originalité du dossier présenté ici est de montrer comment au XIX^e siècle se mettent en place des interfaces nouvelles entre les appareils de l'État régulier et les institutions judiciaires du *shar'*. Si la continuité de la norme est maintenue, la procédure qui régit l'action judiciaire est transformée par la montée en puissance des services de l'État et l'émergence d'institutions nouvelles. Certains des compromis négociés au cours de l'enquête de 1846-1848 sont obtenus aux termes d'une décision prise par le conseil des oulémas (*al-majlis al-'ilmî*)⁹⁰, une instance nouvelle créée au sein de l'Ornato par la loi du 15 *rajab* 1264/17 juin 1848⁹¹ organisant le partage de compétences entre le tribunal et l'administration urbaine, au moment où s'amorcent sous la direction de Gallice les premiers grands projets d'urbanisme à l'intérieur de la ville intra-muros.

Le *waqf* est une institution fragile quand il n'y a pas d'ayant droit de proximité et sur ce point les fondations émiraies sont incontestablement plus vulnérables que les fondations privées. Il n'en conserve pas moins une certaine efficacité. Certes, le bâtiment du XVI^e siècle a disparu et le temps a porté un coup fatal aux desseins charitables pour lesquels le *waqf* de la Sinâniyya avait été institué : plus personne ne prie pour le salut de Sinân Pacha et plus personne ne mange le pain de ses aumônes. Mais il a conservé jusqu'à nos jours la même emprise foncière — ce qui n'est pas rien dans l'Alexandrie d'aujourd'hui — et le ministère des Waqfs, toujours propriétaire de l'ancienne *wikâla*, perçoit encore les loyers du « Sûq al-Sittât » (le marché des dames) qu'il héberge désormais et dont les babioles colorées conservent, de façon moins pieuse qu'il ne l'eût souhaité, la mémoire du grand vizir.

⁹⁰ Pour un parallèle algérien, cf. HOEXTER, 1984, p. 256 ; 1998, p. 95.

⁹¹ *Maḥk. Isk.*, reg. 152, p. 155, n° 190.

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Annexe I :
Analyse de la *waqfiyya* de Sinân Pacha, Le Caire, *Awqâf*, n° 2869

1. Acte de la fin *shawwâl* 989/27 nov. 1581 (l. 1-353) : annule et remplace l'acte original de la fin de *shawwâl* 980/18 fév. 1573, modifié une première fois en *shawwâl* 984/déc.-janv. 1576.

Lignes	Contenu
1-10	Préambule (<i>Dibâjât</i>).
10-15	Eulogies sur les œuvres pies.
15-18	Titulature du fondateur.
19	Mention du nom de Sinân Pacha.
20-25	Exposé de ses motivations.
26	Déclaration devant le tribunal (<i>ishhâd</i>).
28	Début de la liste des biens.
28-57	1. Mosquée de Bûlâq.
57-66	2. Premier <i>khân</i>, al-Khân al-Kabîr à Bûlâq, mitoyen par l'est de la mosquée : 39 entrepôts (<i>hâşîl</i>) en rez-de-chaussée et 44 loges (<i>riwâq</i>) à l'étage.
66-77	3. Palais (<i>qasr</i>) du Diwân al-Khums à Bûlâq, au bord du Nil, avec l'entrepôt (<i>hâşîl</i>) mitoyen et les 27 boutiques (<i>dukkân</i>) ouvrant à l'extérieur du Khân al-Kabîr.
77-88	4. Deuxième <i>khân</i>, al-Khân al-Ṭawîl , en face du premier : 33 entrepôts ouvrant sur l'intérieur, 40 boutiques ouvrant sur l'extérieur et 40 loges à l'étage.
88-94	5. Troisième <i>khân</i>, al-Khân al-Şaghîr , en face de la mosquée, avec un <i>sabîl</i> et un <i>maktab</i> : 15 entrepôts ouvrant sur l'intérieur, 18 boutiques ouvrant sur l'extérieur et 17 loges à l'étage.
94-99	6. Maison (<i>bayt</i>) mitoyenne du Khân al-Ṭawîl.
99-139	7. <i>Hammâm</i> , à côté de la mosquée, avec 8 entrepôts, des boutiques, un café et 11 loges dont la construction n'est pas encore terminée.
139-143	8. Grande maison donnant sur Birkat al-Fîl, Le Caire.
144-148	9. <i>Hammâm</i> à Banî Suwayf.
148-152	10. <i>Khân</i> à Suez , avec un café et 112 logements (<i>maskan</i>) et entrepôts.
152-154	11. <i>Hammâm</i> double à Alexandrie.
154-156	12. Demeure (<i>dâr</i>) à al-Aḥrâz , Qalyûbiyya.
156-160	13. Terre arable (<i>ṭîn</i>) à al-Aḥrâz , Qalyûbiyya, d'une surface de 55 <i>faddân</i> , achetée à Dâ'ûd efendi, autrefois juge de la Qalyûbiyya, en même temps que la demeure ; acte émis par le tribunal de Qûşûn en date du 12 <i>ramadân</i> 980/16 janv. 1573.

Lignes	Contenu
160-165	14. Terre arable (<i>fîn</i>) à Gazîrat Banî Naşr , Manûfiyya, d'une surface de 500 <i>fad-dân</i> ; acte du 6 <i>dhû al-qa'da</i> 979/21 mars 1572.
166-167	Tout cela ayant été constitué en <i>waqf</i> .
167-171	Déclaration de résiliation du <i>waqf</i> , comme précédemment fait en 984 sur l'acte de 980.
171-174	Déclaration d'institution en <i>waqf</i> de l'ensemble des biens mentionnés <i>supra</i> .
174-188	Description des dépenses que le <i>mutawallî</i> doit imputer sur la rente de ces biens au bénéfice de la mosquée de Bûlâq: Salaire du <i>khaţîb</i> , <i>l.</i> 177: 2 dinars <i>sultânî jadîd</i> d'or/mois; Salaire de l' <i>imâm</i> , <i>l.</i> 178: 1,5 dinar/mois; Salaire de 6 muezzins, <i>l.</i> 179-180: 6 dinar/mois; Salaire du portier (<i>bawwâb</i>), <i>l.</i> 181: 1,5 dinar/mois; Salaire du domestique chargé des nattes (<i>farrâsh</i>), <i>l.</i> 182: 1,5 dinar/mois; Salaire du domestique chargé des cierges (<i>waqqâd</i>), <i>l.</i> 184: 1 dinar/mois; Salaire du <i>musabbil</i> , chargé d'apporter l'eau du Nil, <i>l.</i> 188: 1,5 dinar/mois.
190-199	Dépenses d'administration du <i>waqf</i> : Salaire du <i>mutawallî</i> du <i>waqf</i> , <i>l.</i> 190: 22,5 dinars/mois; Salaire du <i>nâzîr</i> , <i>l.</i> 192: 22,5 dinars/mois; Salaire du <i>kâtîb</i> , <i>l.</i> 193: 1,5 dinar/mois; Salaire du <i>shâdd</i> , <i>l.</i> 196: 1,5 dinar/mois.
199-210	Dépenses du <i>sabîl maktab</i> : Salaire du <i>mu'addib</i> en charge des orphelins, <i>l.</i> 199: 1 dinar/mois; Salaire du ' <i>arîf</i> ', <i>l.</i> 201: ½ dinar/mois; Entretien de 20 orphelins mineurs, <i>l.</i> 202: 5 dinars/mois; Distribution de pain, <i>l.</i> 205: 2 <i>raţl</i> /orphelin, 3 pour le <i>mu'addib</i> et 2 pour le ' <i>arîf</i> '; Distribution, à la fin de <i>ramaḍân</i> , d'argent pour acheter leur habillement (<i>kiswa</i>), <i>l.</i> 208: 1 chemise, 1 <i>qubḥiyya</i> , 1 <i>ṭâqiya</i> , 1 <i>shâsh</i> et des <i>qabqâb</i> : 1,5 dinar/orphelin; Salaire du porteur d'eau alimentant le <i>sabîl</i> , <i>l.</i> 210: 1 dinar/mois.
210	Salaire de l'imâm de l'oratoire (<i>muşallâ</i>) du Khân al-Kabîr à Bûlâq: ½ dinar/mois.
211	Salaire de l'imâm de l'oratoire du <i>khân</i> de Suez: 1 dinar/mois.
212	Salaire du porteur d'eau pour l'oratoire du Khân al-Kabîr: 1 dinar/mois.
213	Salaire du receveur (<i>jâbî</i>) chargé de percevoir les loyers du <i>khân</i> de Suez: 1 dinar/mois.
215	Salaire de l'astronome (' <i>arîf bi 'ilm al-mîqât</i>) chargé de fixer les heures des prières (<i>sa'âtî</i>): 1,5 dinar/mois.
217	Salaire du meneur de bœufs (<i>sawwâq</i>) chargé des bœufs de la <i>sâqiya</i> alimentant les bassins aux ablutions de la mosquée: 1,5 dinar/mois.
218-225	Salaire de 60 <i>fugarâ'</i> chargés de réciter chaque jour un <i>juz'</i> du Coran: ½ dinar/mois, pour chacun d'entre eux, soit 30 dinars, plus 10 <i>nisf fiḍḍa sulaymâniyya</i> /mois pour celui qui est chargé de réciter en plus une prière sur le Prophète.

Lignes	Contenu
226	Salaire du <i>shaykh al-fuqarâ'</i> : 1 dinar/mois.
234-238	Dépenses de fonctionnement de la mosquée : le <i>mutawallî</i> du <i>waqf</i> doit veiller à lui fournir l'huile pour les lampes, les cierges, les cordes, les chaînes, les nattes nécessaires à son fonctionnement, les outils, ustensiles, gargoulettes, seaux pour le <i>sabîl</i> , le fourrage pour les bœufs de la <i>sâqiya</i> , les godets de la roue, etc.
239-245	Salaire de 6 récitateurs chargés de moduler (<i>tartil</i>) le Coran : 30 <i>nisf</i> /mois chacun.
245-249	Mention des personnes auxquelles ces prières sont dédiées : Le Prophète Muḥammad ; Les autres prophètes ; Les saints ; Le sultan Murâd Khân ; Ses parents ; Le fondateur ; Les âmes des musulmans.
250	Salaire du domestique chargé de placer sur leurs lutrins les 6 corans appartenant au <i>waqf</i> : 20 <i>nisf fiḍḍa</i> /mois.
252	Salaire du porteur d'encensoir chargé d'encenser la mosquée tous les vendredis : 30 <i>nisf fiḍḍa</i> /mois.
255-261	Dépenses incombant au <i>mutawallî</i> du <i>waqf</i> : achat, chaque année, de 200 <i>ardabb</i> de blé à remettre à un homme chargé de le préparer pour en faire du pain, à raison de 200 galettes (<i>raghîf</i>) d'un <i>raṭl</i> chacune.
261-274	Détail des distributions de pain aux employés du <i>waqf</i> .
274-284	Divers salaires à d'autres récitants, dans la mosquée de Bûlâq et à al-Azhar.
285-294	Dépenses à prendre sur les revenus du <i>ḥammâm</i> à Alexandrie : Salaire de 30 <i>fuqarâ'</i> chargés de réciter le Coran dans la mosquée al-Ghurabâ à Alexandrie : ½ dinar/mois chacun ; Salaire d'un homme pieux chargé d'enseigner le livre saint aux garçons de la ville : 30 <i>nisf fiḍḍa</i> /mois.
295-303	Autres dépenses à prélever sur les revenus du <i>waqf</i> : À verser au responsable du pèlerinage d'Égypte (<i>amîn al-ḥajj al-miṣrî</i>) : 640 dinars/an pour des récitateurs de Coran dans les deux villes saintes de la Mecque et de Médine à raison de 320 dinars pour chacune des mosquées ; À verser au même pour la fourniture en eau du <i>sabîl</i> de la 'umra à partir du puits construit là-bas par le fondateur : 500 dinars/an ; Salaire de 30 <i>fuqarâ'</i> pour réciter le Coran dans la mosquée de Jérusalem : 200 dinars/an.
303-306	À verser au <i>wakîl</i> du <i>mutawallî</i> : 15 dinars/an, dont 8 destinés au gérant (<i>nâẓir</i>) du <i>waqf</i> de la Ghûriyya, au Caire, et 7 destinés au gérant du Waqf al-Ḥaramayn ; À verser au même : 20 dinars/an pour 2 hommes chargés de l'entretien du service du Bîr al-'Abd wa-l-Dâwadâr à Qaṭiyâ, à raison de 10 dinars chacun.
307-312	Déclaration d'institution du <i>waqf</i> ; interdiction à quiconque, y compris le <i>mutawallî</i> , le <i>nâẓir</i> ou les employés du <i>waqf</i> , d'en modifier la teneur ou d'en affecter les revenus à d'autres fins que celles mentionnées.

Lignes	Contenu
312-317	Stipulations exécutoires (<i>shurât</i>) : L'administration (<i>tawliya</i>) du <i>waqf</i> est confiée au <i>shaykh al-islâm</i> de la dynastie ottomane, mufti de Constantinople ; La gérance (<i>naẓar</i>) revient au <i>wakîl</i> du <i>mutawallî</i> en Égypte, Sinân lui-même, tant qu'il est en vie, puis au <i>shaykh al-islâm</i> de Constantinople.
317-320	Le fondateur et lui seul, à l'exclusion de toute autre personne, a le droit de modifier la liste des biens entrant dans la fondation ; tout ajout fera l'objet d'un supplément (<i>dhayl</i>) ajouté à cet acte, sous le seing de ses juges.
321-324	Le gérant de ce <i>waqf</i> est également celui des autres fondations du fondateur à Quṣayr, à Damiette et à al-Maḥalla al-Kubrâ, conformément aux actes les concernant.
325-326	Clause de moralité relative aux employés du <i>waqf</i> .
326-327	Un employé qui s'absenterait sans raison plus de trois jours doit être renvoyé.
328-334	Déclaration d'institution du <i>waqf</i> et jugement en validant la recevabilité.
338-353	Signatures de 15 témoins.
354-356	Enregistrement de l'acte devant le tribunal de Damas.

2. Acte du 20 *rabî'* I 996/18 fév. 1588 (l. 354-441) : supplément (*dhayl*) à l'acte de *shawwâl* 989/nov. 1581.

Lignes	Contenu
357-367	Nouvelle déclaration de Sinân devant le tribunal : institution en <i>waqf</i> des biens nouvellement construits par lui.
367-403	Description des biens entrant dans la fondation ; 15. Moulin à Bûlâq en face du bain, avec une meule à deux timons et un four.
403-427	Intégration dans la fondation, aux mêmes conditions que l'acte précédent concernant l'administration, la gérance et les stipulations exécutoires.
427-434	Déclaration d'institution du <i>waqf</i> et jugement en validant la recevabilité.
435-441	Signatures de 5 témoins.

Annexe II : Traduction du *kashf* du *waqf* de Sinân Pacha à Alexandrie

Inventaire (*kashf*) émis par le tribunal d'Alexandrie, portant état (*bayân*) des mesures prises à l'encontre des occupants illégaux (*wâdî' yad*) de la fondation de feu le regretté Sinân Pacha, sise à Alexandrie, après dépôt de recours (*da'âwâ*) par son Excellence le seigneur Aḥmad bey, *mubaradjî* du régiment du bassin de radoub d'Alexandrie, agissant sur le mandat de son Excellence le seigneur Ibrâhîm Turkî Efendi, directeur du Dîwân al-Dawâfî d'Alexandrie, relativement au statut légal des biens appartenant (*yata'allaq*) à la fondation susdite¹.

Total des biens revenant au *waqf*, loués ou n'acquittant pas de loyer ('*âṭil*) : biens occupés en vertu d'un pas-de-porte (*khulw*) ouvrant droit de jouissance (*intifâ'*), mais dont l'enquête en date de ce jour a montré que les occupants ne possédaient pas de quittances (*sanad*) conformes aux dispositions légales en la matière ; en conséquence de quoi ces biens reviennent au *waqf* en gestion directe (*khâṣṣa*).

♦ **Biens dont les droits (*khulw* et *intifâ'*) sont abolis** et dont le *waqf* peut disposer librement, qui n'acquittent pas actuellement de loyer ('*âṭila*), consistant tous en logements (*bayt*) dans le Rab' al-Farârgiyya al-Kabîr :

Nombre	Nature	Description
2	<i>bayt</i>	logements n'en formant à l'origine qu'un seul, occupés par les héritiers Boulard.
2	<i>bayt</i>	logements occupés par les héritiers de Dimitri Medmeva.
1	<i>bayt</i>	logement appartenant à la Synagogue.
1	<i>bayt</i>	logement occupé par Khawâga Renato Minelli, le Sarde.
6		

♦ **Biens dont le prix reste dû au *waqf*, leurs occupants n'ayant pu produire de quittances ;** les droits des occupants ne sont pas abolis, mais transformés en bail emphytéotique (*ḥikr*) conformément au livre de compte (*daftar ḥisâb*) du *waqf*, émis par le Dîwân Khidîwî en date de l'année 1262.

¹ *Maḥk. Isk.*, reg. 151, p. 111, n° 341 de 1264/1848.

ENTREPÔTS (*HÂŞİL*) À L'INTÉRIEUR DE LA *WIKÂLA*

Nombre	PT	Occupé par	
1	100	hoirie	Ibrâhîm al-Mu'akhhîr
3	100	hoirie	Abû al-Nûr
1	100		Muṣṭafâ Efendi Karmûs
1	100		Muḥammad b. 'Ashshûr et hoirie 'Inân
1	100	hoirie	Ḥammûda al-Ghurâb
1	100		Muḥammad Abû Hayf
1	100	hoirie	Ben Yûnis
1	100		Ḥusayn al-Ḥanash
1	100	Sayyid	Aḥmad 'Agîba
1	100	hoirie	Menato al-Yahûdî
1	100	Sayyid	Muḥammad 'Alî al-Qabbânî
1	100		Khaṭṭâb al-Masîrî
1	100		Muḥammad al-Masîrî
1	100	hoirie	Ben 'Azzûn
1	100		Aḥmad al-Muqaddam
1	100	Sayyid	Muḥammad Badr al-dîn
18	1 600		

PT: piastres

BOUTIQUES (*HÂNÛT*) À L'EXTÉRIEUR DE LA *WIKÂLA*

Nombre	PT	Occupé par	
1	100		Avraham Loria à Sûq al-Ṣayârif
1	225	hoirie	Ḥusayn al-Qabbânî à Ḥârat al-Afrank
2	325		

Soit un total de :

Nombre	PT	
6	0	Logements dont les tenures sont abolies
18	1 600	Magasins
2	325	Boutiques
26	1 925	

♦ **Biens étant au *waqf* en gestion directe**, sur lesquels personne n'a jamais eu de droits (*khulw* et *intifâ'*) maintenus ainsi jusqu'à ce jour :

ENTREPÔTS À L'INTÉRIEUR DE LA *WIKÂLA*, ACTUELLEMENT LOUÉS

Nombre	Nature	PT	Occupé par		
1	<i>hâşil</i>	250	Khawâga	Piolani	biens libres de <i>khulw</i> et <i>intifâ'</i> , restant au <i>waqf</i> , actuellement loués.
1	<i>hâşil</i>	250	Khawâga	Piolani	
1	<i>hâşil</i>	250	Khawâga	Piolani	
1	<i>hâşil</i>	250	Khawâga	Piolani	
1	<i>hâşil</i>	225		Ibrâhîm Shâwîsh	
1	<i>takhshîba</i>	50		Khibârgî (?)	
1	<i>hâşil</i>	180		Khaţţâb al-Masîrî	
1	<i>hâşil</i>	120		Costandi l'épicier	
1	<i>hâşil</i>	200		Anţûn le Drogman	
1	<i>hâşil</i>	75		Gabriel al-Fiqî	
1	<i>hâşil</i>	200		Gûrgî al-Rûmî	
1	<i>hâşil</i>	180		Petro Mostita	
1	<i>arđiyya</i>	50	Hâgg	Alî Shabbûd	droit d'occupation de la cour de la <i>wikâla</i> .
1	<i>hâşil</i>	0			en ruine.
1	<i>hâşil</i>	0			
1	<i>hâşil</i>	0			
1	<i>hâşil</i>	0			
1	<i>hâşil</i>	0			
1	<i>hâşil</i>	0			
1	<i>hâşil</i>	0			en ruine ; avec latrines.
1	<i>hâşil</i>	0			en ruine, inoccupé.
*21		2 280	* Dont : 6 magasins en ruine ; 1 magasin en ruine, avec des latrines ; 1 magasin en ruine inoccupé		

ENTREPÔTS À L'EXTÉRIEUR DE LA WIKĀLA, ACTUELLEMENT LOUÉS

Nombre	Nature	PT	Occupé par		Localisation
1	<i>ḥâṣil</i>	300		Ibrâhîm Basîs	Côté sud, sur le Sûq al-Ṣayârîf
1	<i>ḥâṣil</i>	300		Evliyân	
1	<i>ḥâṣil</i>	325		Salomon (Sulaymân) al-Yahûdî	
1	<i>maṣṭaba</i>	90		Bakhûr Salâma	
1	<i>ḥâṣil/khazna</i>	0		Avraham (Ibrâhîm) Loria	À l'intérieur du Rab' al-Farârgiyya ; occupé illégalement, ne paie pas de loyer
1	<i>ḥâṣil/khazna</i>	0		Avraham (Ibrâhîm) Loria	
1	<i>ḥâṣil/ḥânût</i>	500		Moshe (Mûsâ) Argiel	À l'intérieur du Rab' al-Farârgiyya ; transformé en <i>ḥânût</i>
1	<i>ḥâṣil</i>	1 200		Tocchari	Sur Ḥârat al-Afrank
1	<i>ḥâṣil</i>	1 000		Terriacho	
1	<i>ḥâṣil</i>	1 200		Sava	
1	<i>ḥâṣil/bayt</i>	200	hoirie	Avraham (Ibrâhîm) Tilche	Sur Ḥârat al-Afrank ; magasin transformé en escalier pour servir un logement
11		5 115			

TOTAL DES BIENS LIBRES DE DROITS, LOUÉS PAR LE WAQF

Nombre	PT
32	7 395

Nombre	Nature	PT
6	Logements (<i>bayt</i>)	0
50	Magasins	8 995
2	Boutiques	325
58		9 320

♦ Biens dont les pas-de-porte et les droits de jouissance ont été confirmés par voie légale au profit de leurs occupants :

BOUTIQUES (HÂNÛT [SIC]) À L'INTÉRIEUR DE LA WIKÂLA

Nombre	Nature	PT	Occupé par		Références de l'acte	Durée*
1	<i>hâşil</i>	100	Sayyid	Muhammad Badr al-dîn	acte de la mi-muḥarram 1240	24
1	<i>hâşil</i>	100	hoirie	Ḥamdûnî, al-	acte du 22 <i>rajab</i> 1212	52
1	<i>hâşil</i>	100	Sayyid	Muhammad 'Agîba	acte du 13 <i>şafar</i> 1238	26
	<i>hâşil</i>	0		Avraham Torino	acte du 22 <i>şafar</i> 1255; <i>hikr</i> compris dans le loyer du magasin de Khawâga Novari	9
2	<i>hâşil</i>	150	hoirie	Badîşh	actes du 1 ^{er} muḥarram 1241 et du début <i>şafar</i> 1238	26
2	<i>hâşil</i>	150	Sayyid	Muhammad al-Gharbî	actes du début <i>jumâdâ</i> 1207 et du début muḥarram 1240	24
1	<i>hâşil</i>	75		Maḥmûd al-Barâd'î	acte du 27 <i>dhû al-qa'da</i> 1252	12
2	<i>hâşil</i>	100	Khawâga	Piolani	acte du 26 <i>jumâdâ</i> 1261	3
2	<i>hâşil</i>	100	hoirie	Muhammad Badîşh	actes du 18 <i>jumâdâ</i> 1238 et de la mi- <i>jumâdâ</i> 1264	26
1	<i>arç</i>	150	bey	Muhammad bey al-Izmirlî	acte	
1	<i>hâşil</i>	50	Awlâd	Maghribî, al-	acte du 21 <i>rajab</i> 1251	13
1	<i>hâşil</i>	75	hoirie	Muhammad Badîşh	acte du début <i>dhû al-qa'da</i> 1238	26
2	<i>hâşil</i>	25	Hâgg	Tâhir al-Giritlî	<i>inshâ'</i> 'alâ <i>hikr</i> ; acte du 26 <i>rajab</i> 1259	5
1	<i>hâşil</i>	30	Shaykh	Futûḥ Shihâb al-dîn	hérité de son père qui l'avait bâti; confirmé par constat (<i>bayyina</i>) du tribunal	
4	<i>hâşil</i>	700	efendi	Gubrân efendi al-Makhla'	acte du 6 muḥarram 1261 pour l' <i>iḥtikâr</i> des boutiques du Sûq al-Şayârîf et permis de construire du Majlis 'Ilmî réuni au Dîwân al-Dawârî au début de 1261	3
21		1 855	* La durée de l'occupation a été calculée par nos soins.			

ENTREPÔTS À L'EXTÉRIEUR DE LA WIKÂLA

Nombre	Nature	PT	Occupé par		Références de l'acte	Durée*
2	<i>ḥâṣil</i>	0	Shaykh	Futûḥ Shihâb al-dîn	acte du 27 <i>rajab</i> 1222 relatif à son <i>rab'</i>	42
1	<i>ḥâṣil</i>	150	hoirie	Alexandre Yani	ouvrant sur Ḥârat al-Afrank; bâti par lui, confirmé par constat du tribunal	
1	<i>ḥâṣil</i>	125	Awlâd	Maghribî, al-	sur Ḥârat al-Afrank; acte du 11 <i>dhû al-qa'da</i> 1250	14
2	<i>ḥâṣil</i>	150	hoirie	Milano al-Yahûdî	bâti par lui, confirmé par constat du tribunal	
1	<i>ḥâṣil</i>	87,5	Khawâga	Pardo (?)	acte du 6 <i>muḥarram</i> 1259; autrefois à Khawâga Mantosi	5
1	<i>ḥâṣil</i>	87,5	hoirie	Anṭûn al-Karyûnî	sur Ḥârat al-Afrank; acte du 1 ^{er} <i>rajab</i> 1195	69
8		750	* La durée de l'occupation a été calculée par nos soins.			

BOUTIQUES À L'INTÉRIEUR DE LA WIKÂLA

Nombre	Nature	PT	Occupé par	
2	<i>ḥânût</i>	25	Ḥâgg	Ṭâhir al-Giritlî

BOUTIQUES À L'EXTÉRIEUR DE LA WIKÂLA

Nombre	Nature	PT	Occupé par		Références de l'acte	Durée*
5	<i>ḥânût</i>	0		Gubrân al-Makhla'	Au Sûq al-Ṣayârif; même acte que celui cité <i>supra</i>	3
1	<i>ḥânût</i>	125	Awlâd	Maghribî, al-	Au Sûq al-Ṣayârif; acte du 11 <i>dhû al-qa'da</i> 1251	13
2	<i>ḥânût</i>	150	Sayyid	Muḥammad al-Maghribî	Au Sûq al-Ṣayârif; bâti par lui, confirmé par constat du tribunal	
1	<i>ḥânût</i>	125	Khawâga	Scarmânfe?	Acte du 18 <i>rajab</i> 1258	6
9		400	* La durée de l'occupation a été calculée par nos soins.			

RUBÛ‘ OUVRANT SUR L’EXTÉRIEUR DE LA *WIKĀLA* :
RAB‘ AL-FARĀRĠIYYA AL-KABĪR, AU SÛQ AL-ŞAYĀRIF,
OUVRANT AU NORD

Nombre	Nature	PT	Occupé par		Description	Références de l'acte	Durée*
1	<i>bayt</i>	50		Kattûra	1 salle donnant accès à 3 chambres, 1 cuisine, des latrines, 1 escalier conduisant à 1 chambre	Acte du 1 ^{er} <i>dhû al-qa'da</i> 1224	40
2	<i>bayt</i>	100		Bargritte	1) 1 salle donnant accès à 2 chambres, 1 troisième chambre, 1 cuisine, des latrines, 1 escalier conduisant à 2 chambres ; 2) 1 salle donnant accès à 2 chambres, 1 cuisine	2 actes du début <i>şafar</i> 1259	5
1	<i>bayt</i>	100		Maryse	1 salle, 3 chambres, 1 cuisine	Acte du début <i>dhû al-hijja</i> 1230	34
1	<i>nisf bayt</i>	75		Georges Vandewet et Manoli	1 salle donnant accès à 5 chambres, 1 escalier conduisant à 2 chambres	Acte du 4 <i>rajab</i> 1212	52
1	<i>bayt en ruine</i>	0	hoirie	‘Abd Allâh Boulard	2 chambres	Acte du début <i>jumâdâ</i> 1240	24
1		100	Khawâga	Piolani	6 chambres, 1 cuisine, 1 salle	Acte du 5 <i>şafar</i> 1259	5
2	<i>bayt</i>	250	Khawâga	Tossitza	1) 1 salle donnant accès à 3 chambres, 1 réserve, 1 cuisine 2) 2 salles, 4 chambres, 1 cuisine, avec l'étage	Acte du début <i>muḥarram</i> 1242	22
1	<i>bayt</i>	75		Yani et Costandi l'épicier	1 hall donnant accès à 3 chambres, 1 réserve, 1 cuisine	Acte du 15 <i>shawwâl</i> 1257	7
2	<i>bayt</i>	100		Avraham Loria	Ne formaient à l'origine qu'un seul logement ; 1) 1 salle, 1 chambre, 1 cuisine 2) 1 salle, 2 chambres, 1 cuisine	Acte du 23 <i>dhû al-qa'da</i> 1260	4
1	<i>bayt</i>	75		Zaccheto (Itzhak) Loria (autrefois à Avraham Tilche)	1 salle, 4 chambres, 1 cuisine	Acte du 15 <i>shawwâl</i> 1260	4
13		**1 025	* La durée de l'occupation a été calculée par nos soins ** <i>sic</i> : 925 en réalité				

RUBÛ' OUVRANT SUR L'EXTÉRIEUR DE LA *WIKĀLA* :
RAB' AL-MALLĀḤA AL-ṢAGHĪR, OUVRANT AU SUD

Nombre	Nature	PT	Occupé par		Description	Références de l'acte	Durée*
1	<i>bayt</i>	100		Angelo Barākha	1 salle donnant accès à 7 chambres, 1 cuisine	Acte du 25 <i>rabī'</i> 1225	39
1	<i>bayt</i>	100		Caprara	1 salle donnant accès à 5 chambres, 1 cuisine	Deux actes du 13 <i>ṣafar</i> 1259 et du 20 <i>rajab</i> 1260	5
1	<i>bayt</i>	75	hoirie	Al-Atram	1 salle, 4 chambres, 1 cuisine	Deux actes du 12 <i>ṣafar</i> 1218 et du 26 <i>rabī'</i> 1221	46
3		275	* La durée de l'occupation a été calculée par nos soins.				

RUBÛ' OUVRANT SUR L'EXTÉRIEUR DE LA *WIKĀLA* :
RAB' AL-MALLĀḤA AL-KABÎR, OUVRANT AU SUD

Nombre	Nature	PT	Occupé par		Description	Références de l'acte	Durée*
1	<i>nisf bayt</i>	50	<i>sharika</i>	Avraham Loria et hoirie Tilche	1 salle donnant accès à une chambre, 1 cuisine	Acte du 22 <i>ṣafar</i> 1255	9
1	<i>bayt</i>	100	hoirie	Boghos	Ancien, aujourd'hui à Khawâga Agamon, en ruine	Acte du 15 <i>muḥarram</i> 1262	2
1	<i>bayt</i>	75	hoirie	Anṭûn al-Zayyât	2 salles, 10 chambres, 1 cuisine	Acquis par lui pour avoir été construit par lui et avoir été validé par constat	
3		225	* La durée de l'occupation a été calculée par nos soins				

RUBÛ‘ OUVRANT SUR L’EXTÉRIEUR DE LA *WIKĀLA* :
LOGEMENTS (*BUYÛT*) OUVRANT SUR ḤĀRAT AL-ʾAFRANK

Nombre	Nature	PT	Occupé par		Description	Références de l'acte	Durée*
1	<i>bayt</i>	150		Piolani	en ruine	Acte du 11 <i>dhû al-qa'da</i> 1257	7
1	<i>bayt</i>	150		Lazari	2 entrepôts, 1 salle donnant accès à 10 chambres, 1 cuisine	Acte de <i>shawwâl</i> 1241	23
1	<i>bayt</i>	150	hoirie	Spiro et Berto	2 salles, 13 chambres, 1 cuisine	Acte du 30 <i>rajab</i> 1230	34
3		450	* La durée de l'occupation a été calculée par nos soins				

RUBÛ‘ OUVRANT SUR L’EXTÉRIEUR DE LA *WIKĀLA* :
RAB‘ DU CHEIKH FUTÛḤ SHIHĀB AL-DÎN, OUVRANT À L’EST

Nombre	Nature	PT	Occupé par		Description	Références de l'acte	Durée*
1	<i>bayt</i>	50	Shaykh	Futûḥ Shihâb al-dîn	1 salle, 2 chambres, 1 cuisine, 1 magasin (<i>majâz</i>) avec 2 chambres	Acte du 27 <i>shawwâl</i> 1222, relatif aux deux entrepôts	42
1	<i>bayt</i>	50			1 salle, 2 chambres, 1 cuisine, 1 magasin (<i>majâz</i>) avec 2 chambres		
1	<i>bayt</i>	50			1 salle, 2 chambres, 1 cuisine, 1 magasin (<i>majâz</i>) avec 2 chambres		
3		150	* La durée de l'occupation a été calculée par nos soins				

TOTAL DES IMMEUBLES (*RUBÛ‘*) OUVRANT SUR L’EXTÉRIEUR DE LA *WIKĀLA*

Nombre	PT
25	2 150

TOTAL DES BIENS DONT LES PAS-DE-PORTE ET LES DROITS DE JOUISSANCE
ONT ÉTÉ CONFIRMÉS PAR VOIE LÉGALE AU PROFIT DE LEURS OCCUPANTS

Nombre	Nature	PT
29	Entrepôts (<i>ḥâṣil</i>)	2 605
11	Boutiques (<i>ḥânûṭ</i>)	425
25	Logements (<i>buyûṭ</i>)	2 150
65		5 180

♦ Biens encore sous enquête

Nombre	Nature	PT	Occupé par	
1	<i>ḥâṣil</i>	100	hoirie	Muḥammad ben Razîn
1	<i>ḥâṣil</i>	75	Sayyid	Muḥammad al-Gharbî
1	<i>ḥâṣil</i>	100	Sayyid	Aḥmad al-Gharbî
1	<i>ḥâṣil</i>	75	hoirie	Ben Razzûq
1	<i>ḥâṣil</i>	0	hoirie	Blaise
	<i>ḥâṣil</i>	0	<i>sharika</i>	Tocchari et Avraham Loria, compris dans le loyer de l'entrepôt de Tocchari
1	<i>ḥâṣil</i>	100	hoirie	Şâlih b. Sha'bân
6		450		

ENTREPÔTS À L'EXTÉRIEUR DE LA WIKÂLA

Nombre	PT	Occupé par	
3	600		Piolani
3	60	sayyid	Ismâ'il Shûrbagî
6	660		

Nombre	Nature	PT	Description	Occupé par
1	<i>ḥikr</i>	100	de la Wikâlat al-Faransîs	Rose (Warda) la Française
1	<i>ḥikr</i>	375	du Sûq al-Tuggâr	ʿUmar Nasîb

BOUTIQUES À L'EXTÉRIEUR DE LA *WIKĀLA*

Nombre	PT	Occupé par	
1	175	Ḥāgg	'Alī al-Mahdawī, à la porte ouest de la <i>wikāla</i>
1	200		Épouse de Drovetti ; sur Ḥārat al-Afrank
2	100		Petro Bocchia
11	0	Shaykh	Sulaymān Pacha et son associé Lazarī ; compris dans le loyer de leurs logements
15	475		

LOGEMENTS À L'INTÉRIEUR DES *RAB'* OUVRANT SUR L'EXTÉRIEUR
DE LA *WIKĀLA* : *RAB'* AL-FARĀRGIYYA AL-KABĪR,
OUVRANT AU NORD SUR LE SŪQ AL-ṢAYĀRIF

Nombre	PT	Occupé par		Description
	175	<i>sharika</i>	Manoli le Grec et Georges Vandelwet	moitié d'un logement décrit plus haut
1	150		Korkûr	1 salle, 7 chambres, 1 cuisine
1	50		Maryse	1 salle, 4 chambres, 1 cuisine
2	375			

LOGEMENTS À L'INTÉRIEUR DES *RAB'* OUVRANT SUR L'EXTÉRIEUR
DE LA *WIKĀLA* : *RAB'* AL-FARĀRGIYYA AL-ṢAGHĪR,
DONNANT SUR LE SŪQ AL-ṢAYĀRIF

Nombre	PT	Occupé par		Description
1	75		Marco Loria ; anciennement à la hoirie Tilche	1 salle, 4 chambres, 1 cuisine

LOGEMENTS À L'INTÉRIEUR DES *RAB'* OUVRANT SUR L'EXTÉRIEUR
DE LA *WIKĀLA* : *RAB' AL-MALLĀḤA AL-KABÎR*, OUVRANT AU SUD

Nombre	PT	Occupé par		Description
1	75		Avraham Loria	1 salle donnant accès à 8 chambres, 1 cuisine
2	100		Fransis Genet	1) 1 salle, 4 chambres 2) 5 chambres, 1 cuisine
1	50	hoirie	Anṭûn al-Karyûnî	1 salle, 3 chambres, 1 cuisine
1	125	Khawâga	Piolani	à l'origine formait deux logements ; 15 chambres
	25	hoirie	Joseph Tilche et Avraham Loria	moitié d'un logement ; décrit plus haut
1	50		Mercenier	1 salle, 5 chambres, 1 cuisine
1	50		Dayr al-Afrank	1 salle, 2 chambres, 1 cuisine
7	450			

LOGEMENTS À L'INTÉRIEUR DES *RAB'* OUVRANT SUR L'EXTÉRIEUR
DE LA *WIKĀLA* : *RAB' AL-MALLĀḤA AL-ṢAGHÎR*

Nombre	PT	Occupé par		Description
3	150	Arslân aghâ et Ḥâgg Ibrâhîm Bâkîr		1) 2 chambres, 1 cuisine 2) 1 salle, 4 chambres 3) 1 chambre, 1 cuisine
1	100	Zaccheto (Itzhak) Loria		3 chambres, 1 salle, 1 cuisine
1	50	Istria al-Yahûdî		3 chambres, 1 cuisine
1	40	Feue Catharina Arslân la Française		2 chambres, 1 cuisine
6	340			

LOGEMENTS À L'INTÉRIEUR DES *RAB'* OUVRANT SUR L'EXTÉRIEUR
DE LA *WIKĀLA* : ḤĀRAT AL-AFRANK

Nombre	PT	Occupé par		Description
1	150	hoirie	Jospeh Tilche	1 entrepôt, 4 chambres, 1 cuisine
2	225		Giuseppe Pontorbo	1) (<i>sic</i>) 2) 4 chambres, 1 cuisine
1	150	Khawâga	Piolani	en ruine
3	250		Piolani et Nicolas Carra	1) 4 chambres, 1 cuisine 2) 3 chambres, 1 cuisine 3) 4 chambres, 1 cuisine
2	200		Rose, épouse Drovetti	1) 4 chambres, 1 citerne, 1 cuisine 2) 4 chambres, 1 cuisine
5	120	Shaykh	<i>Rab'</i> de Shaykh Sulaymân Pacha et de Khawâga Lazari	1) 5 chambres, 1 cuisine 2) 3 chambres, 1 cuisine 3) 4 chambres, 1 cuisine 4) 7 chambres, 1 cuisine 5) 8 chambres, 1 cuisine
14	1 095			

TOTAL DES BIENS ENCORE SOUS ENQUÊTE

Nombre	Nature	PT
11	Entrepôts (<i>ḥâṣil</i>)	1 210
31	Boutiques (<i>ḥânût</i>)	850
16	Logements (<i>buyût</i>)	2 235
58		4 295

GRAND TOTAL

Nombre	Nature	PT
91	Entrepôts (<i>ḥâṣil</i>)	12 810
29	Boutiques (<i>ḥânût</i>)	1 600
62	Logements (<i>buyût</i>)	4 385
182		18 795

Arrêté à la somme de dix-huit mille sept cent quatre-vingt quinze piastres, pour un total de cent quatre-vingt deux seulement et une *zâwiya* au milieu de la *wikâla*.

Ghislaine ALLEAUME, *Heurs et malheurs du legs d'un grand officier impérial : le waqf de Sinân Pacha (v. 1520-1596) à Alexandrie.*

Cette contribution retrace l'histoire de la fondation de Sinân Pacha à Alexandrie, entre la fin du XVI^e et le milieu du XIX^e siècle. Elle s'appuie sur une enquête diligentée conjointement par le tribunal du cadî et l'administration urbaine en 1846, pour remettre de l'ordre dans la gestion de la Wikâla Sinâniyya. En révélant la complexité des contrats de location liés à une institution commerciale de grande ampleur et l'intrication des droits qu'ils ouvrent à leurs tenanciers, elle permet d'éclairer les péripéties pouvant affecter la fondation charitable d'un grand officier impérial.

Ghislaine ALLEAUME, *Fortunes and Misfortunes of the Deed of a Grand Imperial Officer: the Waqf of Sinân Pasha (1520-1596) in Alexandria.*

This contribution traces the history of Sinân Pasha's foundation in Alexandria, from the end of the 16th century till the middle of the 19th century. Based on a judicial investigation carried out jointly by the Ottoman cadî court and the city authorities in 1846 aiming at restoring their control on the financial management of the Wikâla Sinâniyya, it reveals the complexity of rental agreements affecting such a large commercial institution and the intricacy of the rights they open up to their owners. Thus, it sheds new lights on the setbacks that could affect the destiny of the charitable deeds of a grand imperial officer.

LIRE ENTRE LES TOMBES : UNE GRANDE FAMILLE DE MORTS, LES HALIL HAMID PACHA-ZÂDE (1785-1918)

A ————— INTRODUCTION : MÉZAROLOGIQUES

u fil des sources, l'étude de la lignée du grand vizir Halil Hamid Pacha (1736-1785) m'a mené des généalogies et des *vakfiye* aux stèles funéraires¹. Dans un précédent article, j'ai reconstitué l'histoire funéraire d'un groupe de descendants inhumés autour de la tombe du fondateur éponyme et patrimonial de la famille, dans l'une des sections du cimetière de Karacaahmet, sur la rive asiatique d'Istanbul. J'ai retracé les modalités de constitution de l'espace funéraire en un lieu de mémoire ottoman ; j'ai décrit comment l'un des descendants, Celal Bükey (1895-1981), administrateur de la fondation pieuse (*vakıf*) instituée en 1783 et gérée depuis par la famille, avait initié une entreprise de restauration des tombes dans la seconde moitié des années 1970, pleinement inscrite dans le mouvement général de retour au passé impérial observé dans la Turquie contemporaine. J'ai raconté l'histoire d'un vieil homme, bercé, à la veille du trépas, du souvenir nostalgique de sa jeunesse ottomane, sou-

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¹ Cet article n'aurait pu être écrit sans l'aide généreuse de Nicolas Vatin qui a passé de longues heures à lire avec moi les épitaphes et à corriger mes translittérations et traductions. Je le remercie infiniment d'avoir attiré mon attention sur l'intérêt des sources mézarologiques pour l'histoire des grandes familles. Je remercie également Juliette Dumas pour son aide logistique au département du Deutsche Archäologische Institut (DAI) à Istanbul, Edhem Eldem pour ses précieux éclaircissements et corrections, Edith Ambros pour ses corrections métriques et Nicolas Michel pour sa relecture.

cieux de constituer une galerie épigraphique d'ascendants impériaux et de donner ainsi corps à une conscience dynastique prolongée sous le régime républicain. J'ai cru percevoir chez lui le désir de recréer les conditions d'un dialogue entre les vivants et leurs défunts, expression d'une culture funéraire islamique disparue, entretenue sous les Ottomans par une communauté des croyants qui se percevait comme indivisible².

Une fois ce lieu de mémoire identifié, il convient de le traiter comme un cimetière : il faut aller dans le détail des tombes, des stèles et des épitaphes ; il faut s'essayer à la pratique de la mézarologie. Ainsi désigne-t-on l'épigraphie funéraire ottomane, une discipline auxiliaire qui n'a pas l'importance qu'on lui reconnaît dans d'autres domaines des études historiques³. On comprend pourquoi : les ottomanistes ont tant de registres à consulter dans les archives publiques qu'ils en négligent l'étude des autres sources. Pourtant, depuis plus d'un siècle, les stèles funéraires font l'objet d'importants travaux de recensement entrepris par divers groupes de passionnés, d'érudits et de spécialistes⁴. Il y a trente ans, des historiens, tel H.-P. Laqueur, ont fait l'état de la question et signalé les ouvertures offertes par l'épigraphie ottomane⁵. Dans la foulée, H.-P. Laqueur s'est associé à un groupe de chercheurs animé par J.-L. Bacqué-Grammont, afin de conduire une opération collective de recensement, de descriptions et de propositions typologiques dans plusieurs cimetières d'Istanbul, mais aussi en Thrace ou en mer Noire. Des corpus funéraires importants et variés ont été constitués⁶. Puis le temps de la synthèse est venu : plusieurs articles et ouvrages ont paru qui ont amorcé l'inscription de l'épigraphie dans une histoire socioculturelle ottomane plus globale⁷ ; parallèlement, se sont multipliées les publications sur les complexes funéraires⁸, les mau-

² Olivier BOUQUET, « Le vieil homme et les tombes : références ancestrales et mémoire lignagère dans un cimetière de famille ottoman », *Oriens* 39/2, 2011, p. 331-365.

³ Pour nous en tenir à l'histoire de l'islam, citons en particulier la monumentale somme de Werner DIEM, Marco SCHÖLLER, *The Living and the Dead in Islam: Studies in Arabic Epitaphs*, 3 vol., Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 2004.

⁴ Dans les deux dernières décennies du XIX^e siècle, Mehmed Süreyya a recueilli quantité de données funéraires pour constituer son dictionnaire biographique (*SO* ; cf. *infra*, liste des abréviations).

⁵ Hans-Peter LAQUEUR, « Grabsteine als Quellen zur osmanischen Geschichte: Möglichkeiten und Probleme », *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 3, 1982, p. 21-44 ; Hans-Peter LAQUEUR, « Osmanische Grabsteine : bibliographische Übersicht », in *Travaux et recherches en Turquie : 1982*, Louvain, Peeters, 1983, p. 90-96.

⁶ Hüseyin TÜRKMEÑOĞLU (dir.), *Mezar-Mezarlık ve Mezartaşları Üzerine bir Bibliyografya Denemesi*, Ankara, Kültür Bakanlığı, 1989.

⁷ Erich PROKOSCH, *Osmanische Grabinschriften: Leitfaden zu ihrer sprachlichen Erfassung*, Berlin, Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1993 : recensement et classement de formules stéréotypées relevées sur les stèles ; Jean-Louis BACQUÉ-GRAMMONT, Aksel TIBET (dir.), *Cimetières et traditions funéraires dans le monde islamique, Actes du colloque international du CNRS, Istanbul, 28-30 sept. 1991*, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1996 ; VY ; EE.

⁸ Yaşar ERDEMİR, *Sırcalı Medrese : Mezar Anıtları Müzesi*, Konya, Konya Valiliği İl Kültür Müdürlüğü, 2002 ; Hüseyin KUTLU (dir.), *Kaybolan Medeniyetimiz : Hekimoğlu*

solées⁹, les tombes et leurs composantes¹⁰, les cimetières des groupes non musulmans¹¹; des comparaisons ont été esquissées avec les pratiques funéraires d'espaces plus éloignés, en Bosnie ou en Égypte par exemple¹².

À l'appui de cette historiographie funéraire en renouvellement constant, je propose de présenter les résultats de mon inventaire effectué au sein de l'enclos funéraire d'une grande famille, les Halil Hamid Pacha-zâde, en plus des données collectées jadis par H.-P. Laqueur : l'historien allemand a non seulement consacré à cette section un chapitre de son ouvrage classique (*HPLO*), mais il a également déposé au département de DAI à Istanbul les références détaillées de stèles des descendants¹³. J'ajoute quelques trouvailles (notamment des références de tombes) et propose la présentation (avec translittération, traduction, commentaires biographiques et précisions bibliographiques) de 40 stèles de parents, apparentés, clients et esclaves du grand vizir Halil Hamid Pacha¹⁴.

Le corpus est trop réduit pour qu'une étude systématique soit proposée qui éclairerait d'un jour nouveau des logiques d'ensemble observées ailleurs. Il s'agit surtout d'identifier les caractères particuliers d'un cimetière de famille, d'un espace de l'entre-soi dessiné par les vivants pour leurs défunts. C'est parce que les cimetières sont des lieux où dialogue une même communauté, par delà la mort, que l'on ne saurait comprendre cet ensemble funéraire sans le rapporter à la grande famille des vivants dont il est le produit. De même que l'on ne peut rendre compte de la signification des épitaphes sans les inscrire dans l'étude d'une « culture ottomane » (*EV*) dont elles sont le reflet, de même ne

Ali Paşa Câmîi Hazîresindeki Tarihî Mezar Taşları, Istanbul, Damla Yayınları, 2005 ; Ali Rıza ÖZCAN, Fevzi GÜNÜÇ, *Türk Kültür ve Medeniyet Tarihinde Fatih Külliyesi*, Istanbul, İstanbul Belediyesi, 3 vol., 2007 ; *EK*.

⁹ Hakkı ÖNKAL, *Osmanlı Hanedan Türbeleri*, Ankara, Kültür Bakanlığı, 1992.

¹⁰ H. Necdet İŞLİ, *Ottoman Headgears*, Istanbul, Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture Traditional Arts Directorate, 2009.

¹¹ Minna ROZEN, *Hasköy Cemetery : Typology of Stones*, Tel Aviv-Philadelphie, Diaspora Research Institute-University of Pennsylvania, 1994. Cf. également le compte rendu de Nicolas VATIN, « Art juif ou art ottoman ? Compte rendu de l'ouvrage de Minna Rozen, *Hasköy Cemetery : Typology of Stones* », *Turcica* 38, 1996, p. 361-368.

¹² Lubomir MIKOV, « Monuments funéraires anthropomorphes des musulmans en Bulgarie du Nord-Est », in BACQUÉ-GRAMMONT, TIBET (dir.), *op. cit.*, p. 189-198 ; Şeref BOYRAZ, *Türkiye'de Mezar Taşı Sözleri*, Ankara, Akçağ, 2003 ; Lütfi ŞEYBAN, « Mankalya Esmâ(Han) Sultan Câmîi Hazîresi Mezartaşı Kitâbeleri », *Belleten* LXXIV/270, 2010, p. 389-420 ; Haskan ; Nurcan BOŞDURMAZ, *Bosna Hersek Mezartaşları : Osmanlıdan Günümüze Saraybosna, Mostar, Livno ve Glamoç*, Haarlem, Türk ve Arap Dünyası Araştırma Merkezi, 2011 ; Nicolas VATIN, « À propos de quelques stèles "ottomanes" du XIX^e siècle au Caire », *Turcica* 41, 2009, p. 341-350.

¹³ Il me faut de nouveau remercier Hans-Peter Laqueur qui m'a transmis la liste exhaustive de ses références sur les stèles de l'enclos. Celles-ci sont également disponibles au département de DAI à Istanbul.

¹⁴ J'ajoute à ce corpus la stèle d'un autre descendant, Halil Hamid Bey, inhumé au cimetière de Fatih, sur la rive européenne.

peut-on comprendre les logiques d'identification qui s'y dessinent sans les rapporter aux noms tels qu'ils figurent dans les registres, les *secere* et les *vakfiye* ; les relations « identitaires » (*EV*) qui s'y déploient, sans reconstituer une part de l'univers de la « sentimentalité » cher à E. Eldem et des solidarités interindividuelles et familiales de descendants. Que l'on rappelle seulement qu'avant d'être des inhumés, les individus furent de leur vivant, pour la plupart d'entre eux, tour à tour ou conjointement, des descendants, des héritiers, des notables, des clients, des patrons, des conjoints, des parents, des chefs de famille, des membres de confrérie, en un mot, des Ottomans. Je tâcherai donc de croiser les données recueillies à partir des stèles et des épitaphes à l'étude d'autres archives administratives ou familiales¹⁵.

ENTRE-SOI FUNÉRAIRE :
À LA RECHERCHE DE LOGIQUES D'OCCUPATION

Nous nous trouvons au cimetière de Karacaahmet. De prestigieuses et anciennes dynasties y ont enterré leurs membres : les Mirza-zâde (1734), les Dürri-zâde (1736), les Atif-zâde (1742), les Taşçılar (1762)¹⁶. Si l'enclos Halil Hamid Pacha est d'une date un peu plus tardive, il a ceci de particulier d'accueillir six générations de défunts, jusqu'à la toute fin de l'Empire, avec une remarquable densité topographique et une assez complète représentation généalogique¹⁷. C'est la raison pour laquelle plusieurs descendants du grand vizir ont appelé cet espace le « cimetière de famille » (*aile kabristamı*)¹⁸. Cela dit, ce n'est pas parce qu'il fut érigé en lieu de mémoire familial cohérent et unifié sous la République que les ascendants ottomans l'avaient conçu comme tel, à partir d'un aménagement planifié. L'analyse des dates des stèles informe que les défunts y furent inhumés au gré des disparitions, en laissant des espaces libres de taille variable entre les tombes, perpendiculairement à la *kibla* (direction de la Mecque), selon l'usage¹⁹. En dehors de cette règle, des logiques d'occupation

¹⁵ C'est dans le même esprit que j'indique, pour chaque inhumé, des compléments biographiques et des références d'archives issus du dictionnaire prosopographique des descendants du grand vizir que je suis en train de constituer.

¹⁶ H. Necdet İŞLİ, « Karacaahmet mezarlığı », in İlhan TEKELİ, Semavi EYİCE (dir.), *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul, Kültür Bakanlığı-Tarih Vakfı, 2003 (1^{re} éd. : 1994), vol. 4, p. 447.

¹⁷ En comparaison, l'occupation des İbrahim Han-zâde dans les complexes de Sokollu Mehmed à Eyüp et Kadirga est plus ancienne (1585-1918), avec un étalement régulier sur plus de trois siècles (*ST II*, p. 44).

¹⁸ Lettre de Celal Bükey adressée à la VGMA, datée du 27 sept. 1975 (archives des descendants de Halil Hamid Pacha). Nous disposons de plusieurs études aussi bien sur les cimetières de famille que sur les inhumations groupées de membres de grandes familles dans les cimetières de quartier : *VY*, p. 75-78 ; *ST II*, p. 44-45 ; *ST VI*, p. 108-117 ; *ST VII* ; *EK*, p. 102-107 et p. 117-137.

¹⁹ Arent Jan WENSINCK, « Kibla. I », in Clifford E. BOSWORTH, Emeri Johannes VAN

semblent exister, mais sans qu'aucune ne prévale sur les autres ni ne s'impose à l'ensemble des inhumés. Surtout, si cet espace ne peut être compris sans les ressources d'une étude de la parenté, il ne faut pas le prendre comme un lieu de projection généalogique : d'une part, la généalogie est encore à cette époque, pour cette famille comme pour bien d'autres, une affaire de vivants pour les vivants et non de vivants en souvenir des morts²⁰ ; d'autre part, le lieu est conçu, à son origine, non seulement pour accueillir les descendants (les Halil Pacha-zâde) mais également les membres de la maison du grand vizir. C'est un espace d'entre-soi *post mortem*, où se retrouvaient des dignitaires, leurs clients et leurs épouses, et quelques esclaves²¹, double reflet des solidarités de vie et de l'imaginaire d'une même communauté que la mort ne séparait pas. Le cadre légal s'y prête : il est probable que le terrain appartenait au *vakıf* de Halil Hamid Pacha – comme souvent dans ce type de famille²² – et que les administrateurs, membres de la descendance en vertu des statuts de la *vakfiye*, avaient l'entière liberté d'y accueillir les dépouilles, en plus des concessions, sources de revenus appréciables²³. Cela dit, au fil des générations, la part de ces hors-famille se réduisit, comme si la maison de Halil Hamid Pacha s'était scindée en unités familiales séparées, au sein desquelles les nouveaux serviteurs et esclaves n'avaient plus leur place.

Partons de l'hypothèse que l'administrateur décidait – ou du moins qu'il orientait le choix – des emplacements. On note en effet que les deux premiers des inhumés de notre catalogue après le grand vizir (cf. *infra*) ont des tombes mitoyennes de la sienne. Précisons aussitôt qu'il s'agit de l'épouse et du fils aîné de ce dernier. Le degré de parenté est un autre facteur (cumulatif avec le précédent) à prendre en compte : mère, épouse, fils aîné et petits-fils sont enterrés au plus près du grand homme : outre la préservation du lien familial, on ne se prive pas de ce type de distinction *post mortem*. Ainsi Mehmed Arif, fils aîné du grand vizir et administrateur de sa fondation, est placé (cf. *infra*, Annexe I, n° 28) à la droite de son père (n° 25) et à proximité de ses fils (n°s 19, 24, 30) et de son épouse (n° 27), disparus avant lui, à l'instar de six autres membres de la famille. À l'évidence, la place lui a été réservée²⁴. Mais il nous faut considérer un autre facteur, tout aussi déterminant.

DONZEL, Bernard LEWIS, Charles PELLAT (dir.), *Encyclopédie de l'islam*, 2^e éd., Leyde-Paris, Brill-Maisonneuve et Larose, 1986, vol. V, p. 84-85.

²⁰ Olivier BOUQUET, « Comment les Ottomans ont découvert la généalogie », *Cahiers de la Méditerranée* 82, 2011, p. 297-324.

²¹ Sur la présence des serviteurs et *cariye* dans les cimetières de famille, cf. le cas des Kethüda-zâde (HPLO, p. 96).

²² VY, p. 83.

²³ Il faudrait consulter les registres du cadi d'Üsküdar pour faire la lumière sur les modalités d'acquisition ou de location de la parcelle. Sur ces questions, cf. VY, p. 5-8.

²⁴ Citons un cas comparable dans l'enclos d'une grande famille, les Taşköprü-zâde : la mère de Taşköprü-zâde Kemâl-ü-din, veuve d'Ahmed, parvient à préserver un emplacement pour elle-même auprès de son mari pendant quarante-cinq ans (VY, p. 21). Dans l'enclos des İbrahim Han-zâde, un *mütevelli* s'assure également une place auprès de sa mère et de son épouse, après avoir veillé à regrouper ses enfants (ST II, p. 46).

Prenons en effet le cas de Mehmed Nurullah Pacha, second fils de Halil Hamid Pacha, disparu deux ans après son frère aîné. On pourrait s'étonner de le voir enterré plus loin (n° 9), séparé de son père par quatre sépultures, il est vrai plus anciennes et d'un degré de proximité comparable (par ordre d'éloignement, la mère, un petit-fils, la fille, et l'épouse du grand vizir; n°s 23, 19, 16, 12) : Mehmed Nurullah aurait pu être enterré plus près de son père. Seulement, il aurait alors perdu un précieux avantage : celui d'être inhumé en bord de voie publique²⁵. Que l'on se rappelle que les Ottomans pensaient leurs stèles plus comme des monuments funéraires destinés à recueillir la *fâtîha* que comme des lieux de sépulture²⁶; la raison première d'une inhumation est que la prière puisse être prononcée par les vivants et que donc la stèle soit visible. Cette logique détermine les meilleures places : à une exception près (celle d'un petit-fils, Mehmed Asım, mais dont la stèle [n° 24], imposante, est très visible malgré tout), les premiers inhumés et les plus proches parents de Halil Hamid sont tous enterrés le long de la route. En revanche, un gendre de Halil Hamid, Mehmed Bey, est enterré à la fois loin de son beau-père et en retrait de la route (n° 7) : il est rappelé à son statut de pièce rapportée. Dans la mort, il figure comme serviteur de l'État et probablement comme serviteur du grand vizir : il est enterré non loin d'un autre protégé de Halil Hamid Pacha, *hacegân* comme lui, Mehmed Lebiba (n° 6)²⁷. Il en va différemment des belles-filles, mieux placées, soit près de la route (Şefike, n° 38), soit près du grand vizir (Ayşe Raife, n° 15) ; à la différence des gendres qui ne sont que des alliés – qui plus est de rang inférieur, comme dans le cas du précité Mehmed – les femmes sont devenues, de leur vivant, et demeurent, à leur mort, des membres à part entière de la famille. Ceci ne signifie pas qu'il aura été jugé indispensable d'enterrer toutes les épouses des hommes de la famille dans cet espace funéraire – elles ne sont que quatre dans ce cas –, ni que les hommes de la famille n'auront pas été enterrés ailleurs, aux côtés de leur épouse : Halil Hamid Beyefendi (n° 20), gendre impérial, est loin d'être une exception. On aura en revanche inhumé sur place quelques veuves, les filles décédées à un jeune âge

²⁵ Sur la disposition des cimetières en bord de voie publique ou des lieux de passage au sein d'un cimetière, cf. Nicolas VATIN, « Sur le rôle de la stèle funéraire et l'aménagement des cimetières musulmans d'Istanbul », in Abdeljelil TEMIMI (dir.), *Mélanges Professeur Robert Mantran*, Zaghouan, Centre d'études et de recherches ottomanes, morisques, de documentation et d'information, 1988, p. 296 ; VY, p. 41 et p. 44 ; ST VI, p. 100-116.

²⁶ EV, p. 11 ; VATIN, « Sur le rôle de la stèle funéraire », *art. cit.*, p. 295.

²⁷ Sur cette ambiguïté de la position de gendre, cf. Olivier BOUQUET, « The Sons in Law of the Ottoman Sultan in the 19th Century : the Imperial Damads », conférence, Istanbul, Institut français d'études anatoliennes, 1^{er} fev. 2010 (http://www.ifea-istanbul.net/website_2/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=584, consulté le 15 mars 2011). Cf. également EV, p. 156-157. Dans le cimetière des İbrahim Han-zâde à Eyüp par exemple, les tombes des filles de la famille mariées dans des milieux inférieurs sont présentes, à la différence de celles de leurs époux respectifs (ST II, p. 51-52).

et les tantes non mariées, un peu comme dans certains caveaux occidentaux.

Pour le reste, aucune logique ne s'impose qui avantagerait les hommes au détriment des femmes. Si elles sont reléguées à un second rang, dans la mort comme dans la vie, c'est plus par le texte de l'épithèque que par l'emplacement – on y reviendra plus bas²⁸. Quant à leurs stèles, elles sont encore plus variées et plus décorées que celles des hommes, tout aussi hautes, fichées sur de grandes dalles, parfois dotées de stèles de pied très décorées (Atiye, n° 33). Il faut ici éviter le contresens²⁹ : il s'agit moins de compenser *post mortem* un statut inférieur que d'exalter la puissance du groupe des vivants, des descendants du grand vizir, qui, par ce nom (Halil Hamid Pacha-zâde), signalent un prestige conservé et cultivé au fil des générations³⁰. Encore une fois, cette ligne des tombes face à la voie publique n'est aucunement conçue pour délimiter une séparation entre le monde des vivants et celui des morts ; ce qui se matérialise peu à peu, c'est une galerie de portraits épigraphiques à la gloire de ceux qui seront amenés à y figurer.

Decennie après decennie, cette logique s'épuise : les inhumations s'enchaînent et l'espace finit par être saturé, en sorte qu'après l'inhumation de Mehmed Ataullah (n° 36) en 1851, les descendants suivants sont placés plus au centre de l'enclos³¹. Cela dit, tout semble se passer comme si, pour que les stèles ne perdent pas en visibilité, elles étaient devenues plus monumentales, telle celle de Mehmed Asaf Celaledin Pacha (n° 22) qui atteint les 2 m. Il existe pourtant une autre route qui borde l'enclos, mais elle semble être moins privilégiée, car sans doute moins empruntée. C'est à cet endroit en effet que sont inhumés les clients, serviteurs et esclaves, intégrés à l'enclos certes, mais relégués, comme souvent, à des positions secondaires³². Cela dit, on y passe et des *fâtîha* y sont dites. Comment expliquer sinon qu'une seconde stèle, un monument donc, ait été ajoutée à la mémoire de Halil Hamid Pacha (n° 20)³³ ? Et l'on y passe

²⁸ Par opposition, les femmes du complexe de Sokollu Mehmed Pacha sont regroupées dans le fond du cimetière (ST II, p. 17) ; à Sinope, les femmes d'une famille de notables sont inhumées dans un cimetière périphérique, alors que les hommes ont leur tombe dans un lieu plus central (ST VI, p. 112).

²⁹ C'est souvent le cas (ST II, p. 69). Pour une étude détaillée de quelques stèles féminines, cf. EE, p. 142-151. E. Eldem et N. Vatin s'interrogent sur ce qu'il faut penser de cette différence de traitement entre les sexes (EV, p. 88-89).

³⁰ À ce sujet, cf. EV, p. 149.

³¹ On observe le même type d'évolution dans le cimetière de Seyyid Bilâl à Sinope : Kâvî-zâde Hüseyin Beg, un notable important de la ville, installe les tombes de sa famille sur une seule rangée, privilégiée car légèrement au dessus du chemin qui traverse le cimetière. Puis, à partir de 1845, la famille place ses morts dans la rangée inférieure, et dans les espaces vides, avant de passer à la terrasse supérieure (ST VI, p. 110-111). Pour une autre comparaison avec la saturation progressive d'un enclos funéraire, cf. le cas des Kethüda-zâde (HPLÖ, p. 102).

³² Sur les *cariye* ensevelies dans les parties reculées des cimetières, cf. ST II, p. 17.

³³ Certains inhumés ont droit à deux stèles (ST II, p. 13-14).

sans doute de plus en plus, car l'urbanisation progresse : c'est là que s'installent les descendants des dernières générations.

Puis il y a certainement quelque chose qui, dans cette microgéographie de l'implantation familiale, relève de liens plus subtils, plus difficilement perceptibles, je veux parler d'un mélange complexe de relations affectives, de solidarités internes et de malheurs de la vie : ce sont les stèles regroupées de Mehmed (n° 7), de son épouse Fatma (n° 5) et de leur fille Adile (n° 8), tous trois disparus la même année des suites de la peste³⁴ ; c'est, plus bas, le monument funéraire à la mémoire de Hamide (n° 2), stèle en colonne fichée sur la tombe de son fils, Mustafa Nazif (n° 1), disparu dix ans plus tard. Tantôt il peut s'agir de rapprochements organisés, tantôt de mises à l'écart délibérées : l'administrateur avait sans doute ses têtes ; il aura gardé vacantes les meilleurs places pour ceux qu'il appréciait au sein de la famille, descendants ou alliés, hommes ou femmes, autant qu'il aura voulu reléguer les indésirables en contrebas – le terrain est particulièrement pentu. Ou à l'inverse, il aura laissé à d'autres ce type de problèmes à ses yeux subalternes.

Sinon, que dire de plus³⁵ ? On sait que les Stambouliotes avaient le souci de leur mort et prévoyaient leur inhumation à l'avance ; mais ils ne prévoyaient pas tout et ne décidaient pas de tout. Sans compter que les stèles ont pu être déplacées³⁶ ; les détériorations au cours du temps ont conduit à des fichages hors des emplacements d'origine, surtout dans le cas des stèles qui n'étaient pas dotées de sarcophages ou dont la dalle avait été recouverte : la comparaison de mes photographies à celles de H.-P. Laqueur, prises un quart de siècle plus tôt, en témoigne ; et l'on trouve de curieux cas d'empiètement de tombes. Mais il y a des limites à la mobilité funéraire : ne déplace pas qui veut une dalle de marbre d'un bout à l'autre du cimetière³⁷. De fait, des stèles ont disparu et des tombes ont été recouvertes par la végétation et les détritiques, mais la structure d'ensemble ne semble avoir subi aucun bouleversement important³⁸. Au contraire, l'enclos a été restauré après 1975 et celui qui s'est occupé de l'opération, Çelik Gülersoy, était connu pour le souci qu'il avait de replacer, autant que possible, les stèles à leur position d'origine.

³⁴ Sur les regroupements funéraires de victimes de la peste, cf. ST VI, p. 120.

³⁵ Si des cas de rapprochement sont frappants qui recoupent des liens de parenté, il est difficile de mesurer la part de ce facteur pour la plupart des inhumations (ST II, p. 46-47).

³⁶ Par opposition, cf. les réaménagements effectués à la suite de destructions (ST IV, p. 7) ou d'incendies (ST VII, p. 248-250).

³⁷ ST VI, p. 10.

³⁸ Pour des cas de modification importante de la structure d'un cimetière, cf. ST VI, p. 108 ; ROZEN, *Hasköy Cemetery*, op. cit., p. 8.

 VARIATIONS TYPOLOGIQUES : *STELAE TURCICAE*

Mesures, description, translittération, traduction, proposition typologique : c'est le morceau de bravoure attendu de l'exercice mézarologique. Je pars du modèle de fiche constitué par H.-P. Laqueur. Je le rapporte autant que faire se peut au modèle général des *ST* dont il relève en partie, tout en y intégrant les propositions plus récentes et plus affinées de E. Eldem et N. Vatin. À noter que les fiches de H.-P. Laqueur ne sont pas systématiquement remplies, notamment pour ce qui est des profils : la raison en est que les relevés ont sans doute été effectués avant la mise au point de la nomenclature appliquée aux *ST*³⁹. Voici un exemple de fiche remplie par H.-P. Laqueur :

- | | |
|---------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1/ HHP I 2 | Référence de la stèle dans le classement mézarologique de H.-P. Laqueur. |
| 2/ Neg.Nr. : Kb 21981 | Référence du négatif conservé dans la collection photographique du département de DAI à Istanbul ⁴⁰ . |
| 3/ Maße : 235 x 44 | Mesure de la stèle ; dans certains cas, H.-P. Laqueur y ajoute l'indication de la mesure de la dalle ou du couvre-chef. L'enclos présente des types forts variés. Mais on compte plus de stèles de haute taille – certaines atteignent jusqu'à 2,30 m – que de petites stèles, plus rares dans la « haute société » ⁴¹ ; les plus petites sont plutôt celles des non-descendants, sauf dans le cas où elles sont enchâssées dans un sarcophage ⁴² . |
| 4/ Kopfbedeckung :
D-I | Il s'agit ici d'un renvoi à la typologie proposée par H.-P. Laqueur dans ses études sur les couvre-chefs ⁴³ . Douze stèles en sont dotées ⁴⁴ . Les stèles à colonne en sont dépourvues, comme c'est sou- |

³⁹ H.-P. Laqueur propose une première typologie dans *ST I* (p. 458-460), complétée dans *ST II* (p. 54-56).

⁴⁰ Pour une présentation de cette très riche collection, cf. <http://www.dainst.org/index.php?id=7549> (consulté le 10 mars 2011). Je cite systématiquement ces références pour chaque inhumé en début de section bibliographique.

⁴¹ *EV*, p. 83.

⁴² L'historiographie fait état d'une augmentation de la taille des stèles à compter du XVIII^e siècle, « du moins pour les milieux les plus aisés » (*EV*, p. 82). Cela dit, du fait de la baisse du prix du marbre, les milieux sociaux plus modestes peuvent désormais s'offrir des stèles de taille de plus en plus élevée (*EV*, p. 83).

⁴³ Hans-Peter LAQUEUR, « Die Kopfbedeckung im osmanischen Reich als soziale Erkennungszeichen, dargestellt anhand einiger Istanbul Grabsteine des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts », *Der Islam* 59/1, 1982, p. 80-92. Sur la généralisation de la stèle à couvre-chef, cf. *EV*, p. 81.

⁴⁴ Sans compter les stèles brisées dont on ne sait pas toujours si elles en étaient dotées.

- vent le cas⁴⁵. À l'exception du modeste bonnet féminin (*hotoz*) d'Adile et de celui plus imposant d'İzzet, les stèles féminines sont dépourvues de couvre-chef. Il faut dire que l'on en voit de moins en moins au XIX^e siècle et qu'ils disparaissent entièrement après 1890⁴⁶.
- 5/ Form : Il s'agit d'une première typologie proposée : H.-P. Laqueur distingue notamment des *rechteckige Stele* (stèles rectangulaires), des *tafelförmige Stele* (stèles présentant une plaque) et des *quadratische Stele* (stèles carrées)⁴⁷. Si cette rubrique est très rarement informée dans les fiches, c'est qu'elle est devenue obsolète, après la proposition dans *ST II* d'une typologie plus fine, fondée sur la notion de silhouette, forme générale de la stèle et de son décor, avec une distinction entre hommes (H-) et femmes (F-).
- 6/ Profil : A Ce critère est déterminé par la coupe horizontale de la stèle⁴⁸. Le profil A, la stèle en T selon la terminologie de *EV*⁴⁹, domine. Les stèles en colonne (profil G) sont moins nombreuses (8 cas)⁵⁰ : passées de mode dans les deux siècles précédents, notamment du fait de la difficulté de déchiffrer la graphie inscrite sur des surfaces convexes, elles sont de nouveau prisées dans les dernières décennies du XIX^e siècle⁵¹. Deux d'entre elles, datées de 1899 et de 1900, sont particulièrement décorées et surmontées d'une calotte à bulbe⁵².
- 7/ Fußstein : ja La stèle de tête est la partie principale – et dans certains cas unique – d'une tombe. On l'appelle ainsi car elle est censée être placée au dessus de la tête du défunt. Mais dans le cas où une dalle est posée sur le sol, une stèle de pied est fichée⁵³, ou bien sur un côté du sarcophage (cf. n° 28, par

⁴⁵ *EV*, p. 188-189.

⁴⁶ *EV*, p. 87 et p. 184-185.

⁴⁷ *ST I*, p. 460-462.

⁴⁸ On trouvera la typologie complète en *ST II*, p. 55.

⁴⁹ Sur ces stèles, cf. *EV*, p. 82 et p. 87.

⁵⁰ Ayşe Raife (n° 15), Fatma üz-Zehra (n° 21), Mehmed Asaf Celaledin (n° 22), Mehmed Ferid, Mehmet Mahir (n° 26), Mehmet Neşet Nurullah (n° 29), Mehmet Nurullah (n° 9), Mustafa Nazif (n° 1).

⁵¹ *EV*, p. 82.

⁵² Nos 15 et 22. Cf. *EV*, p. 83.

⁵³ Une pratique « très largement majoritaire », à en croire *EV*, p. 80.

- exemple). Les stèles de pied sont peu nombreuses (10 cas), mais certaines d'entre elles peuvent avoir disparu (3 cas possibles)⁵⁴.
- 8/ Deckplatte : ja Dalle : 22 tombes en sont dotées. Dans quelques cas, elle est le support distinct d'un sarcophage plus étroit.
- 9/ Datum : La date citée est celle du décès, précisée au jour
4 R 1233/11.2.1818 près (20 cas), au mois près (2 cas) ou réduite au millésime (13 cas)⁵⁵. La date de naissance n'est indiquée que dans deux cas, l'âge dans un seul cas (Fatma üz-Zehra II, n° 21), comme élément ajouté à l'évocation poétique d'une jeune fille disparue trop tôt⁵⁶.

Deux des styles calligraphiques habituels sont employés : *sülüs* et *ta'lik*⁵⁷. Dans leur majorité, les épitaphes sont gravées sur une seule face de la stèle et sont rarement reproduites sur la stèle de pied, s'il y en a une⁵⁸. Pour la plupart d'entre elles, les tombes sont d'excellente facture, enrichies de très belles décorations, surtout dans le cas des épitaphes féminines⁵⁹. Toutes les stèles sont en marbre, et du plus beau⁶⁰. La mort coûtait cher, mais de moins en moins à partir de la seconde moitié du XVIII^e siècle⁶¹. En outre, le *vakıf* était important et la famille puissante ; elle avait de quoi honorer l'ensemble des proches. Si les stèles des *cariye* sont de forme assez grossière, celles des clients et de leurs épouses sont d'une qualité comparable à celles des membres de la lignée : de même que les épitaphes ne doivent pas être conçues comme les marqueurs abso-

⁵⁴ On peut faire cette hypothèse dans le cas d'Adile (n° 8), Fatma üz-Zehra II (n° 21) et İsmail Nazif.

⁵⁵ C'est une différence avec les registres de personnel administratif du XIX^e siècle : la date de décès figure très souvent au jour près.

⁵⁶ L'âge est d'autant plus indiqué qu'il est peu élevé (*ST II*, p. 23 ; *EV*, p. 224).

⁵⁷ Jusqu'à la fin du XIX^e siècle, l'art funéraire ne connaît que trois types de graphie (*nesih*, *sülüs* et *ta'lik* ; *EV*, p. 202). Sur la question des styles, cf. Uğur DERMAN, « Mezar Kitâbelerinde Yazı San'atımız », *Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu Belleteni* 49/328, 1975, p. 36-47.

⁵⁸ Comme pour la plupart des stèles (*EV*, p. 23-24 ; *ST II*, p. 56).

⁵⁹ Ce sont principalement les stèles féminines qui sont couvertes de décors sculptés voyants, voire monumentaux, pour pallier en partie l'absence de couvre-chef (*EV*, p. 88-89).

⁶⁰ Sur l'usage dominant du marbre : *EV*, p. 80 ; Nicolas VATIN, « Notes sur l'exploitation du marbre et l'île de Marmara Adası (Proconnèse) à l'époque ottomane », *Turcica* 37, 2000, p. 307-362. Après un « boom » observé à Galata dans les années 1730, le marbre devient un « produit de consommation courante » dans la première moitié du XIX^e siècle (Jean-Louis BACQUÉ-GRAMMONT, « Remarques sur l'exploitation du marbre à l'époque ottomane », in TEMIMI (dir.), *Mélanges, op. cit.*, p. 33). N. Vatin rejoint ce constat pour ce qui est de la première moitié du XVIII^e siècle (VATIN, « Notes », *art. cit.*).

⁶¹ *VY*, p. 36-37.

lus d'un univers social caractérisé par l'instabilité des conditions et la fluctuation des statuts⁶², de même ni la nature de la stèle, ni le prix du marbre ne rendent parfaitement compte du degré atteint dans l'échelle des prestiges, encore moins du rang occupé dans la famille. Semblables aux portraits d'ancêtres alignés dans les antichambres des grandes demeures, elles ont plus de points en commun, comme pièces juxtaposées d'un même ensemble, que de différences (par ailleurs réelles dans le monde social *ante mortem*) internes à la famille. Cela dit, elles se ressemblent d'autant plus qu'elles sont chronologiquement rapprochées : on sait qu'il arrivait souvent qu'une stèle fût taillée sur le modèle d'une autre située à proximité, et que des formes préconstituées étaient proposées dans les ateliers sur lesquelles il ne restait plus à graver que l'épithaphe⁶³. Les mézarologues ont identifié des cas remarquables de stèles jumelles, pourtant décalées chronologiquement⁶⁴. Prenons ici le cas d'Ayşe Raife (n° 15) : elle disparaît trois mois et demi après son beau-père, Mehmed Asaf Celaledin (n° 22). Les deux tombes, presque voisines, sont quasi identiques ; les textes présentent des similitudes stylistiques⁶⁵ et des données de même nature ; ainsi la précision, très particulière à cette époque, de la date de naissance. Cependant, la proximité la plus grande ne saurait conduire à la mise en commun des épithaphe, fait assez rare sur lesquels les spécialistes s'interrogent⁶⁶. C'est un cimetière de famille certes, mais dont chaque membre est individualisé.

DES ÉPITHAPHE BIEN OTTOMANES

Le corpus est trop réduit pour songer à une étude systématique et quantitative. En revanche, quelques traits notables se distinguent qui méritent d'être rapportés à ce que nous savons de l'épithaphe ottomane musulmane. Plusieurs éléments rappellent ainsi que nous sommes dans un cimetière stambouliote (usage de *hüvel-hallâk el-bâki* ; développe-

⁶² Les cimetières sont aménagés selon « une hiérarchie sociale assez souple » (*ST II*, p. 18).

⁶³ *VY*, p. 34.

⁶⁴ Cf. deux cas de stèles jumelles, fichées sur la même dalle à quelques centimètres seulement, celles d'un oncle et de son neveu (*EE*, p. 168-169) et celles de deux fils du sultan déchu Murad V (*EE*, p. 159). Sur la question des stèles de parents fichées sur une même dalle, cf. *ST II*, p. 46.

⁶⁵ Sur l'usage du même style dans plusieurs épithaphe d'une même famille, cf. *EV*, p. 199.

⁶⁶ H.-P. Laqueur cite le cas d'un père et de sa fille, pourtant inhumés à plus de dix ans d'écart, dont l'épithaphe est commune. Cela dit, il suggère que la tombe se rapporte au père car elle est surmontée d'un fez (*HPLO*, p. 93). E. Eldem cite un cas comparable pour un couple, avec un décalage d'inhumation de plus de dix ans (*EE*, p. 170-171).

ment de l'appel à la *fâtiha* par des formules en *rızâen-li-llâh*⁶⁷ ; d'autres que nous sommes dans un cimetière de la haute société : les dignitaires sont présents en grand nombre – ce qui rejoint la dimension stambouliote – de même que les stèles de type « identitaire »⁶⁸ qui leur sont souvent associées. Le style est des plus simples : nul « charabia envahissant »⁶⁹ ; nul développement de formes poétiques observées dans bien des cimetières à partir du XVIII^e siècle⁷⁰. L'usage de la première personne est limité à quelques rares formules stéréotypées. Pour un débutant en mézarologie, c'est un terrain idéal : l'identification individuelle est aisée. On pense à la thèse de la continuité turque d'une sobriété du style peu déclamatoire, énoncée en son temps par feu L. Bazin⁷¹. Les formules stéréotypées semblent être plus accentuées encore⁷². Et ce sont les plus simples que l'on trouve (*merhûm ve mağfûr*⁷³ plus que leurs variantes, très rares).

La structure du formulaire est tout aussi classique⁷⁴ :

- L'*invocation à Dieu* apparaît dans 21 cas, toujours en début d'épigraphie comme il se doit, sur une seule ligne⁷⁵, parfois dans un cartouche plus étroit ou distingué des suivants, parfois en début de texte ; dans 16 cas, sous la forme simple *hüve-l-bâkî*, qui commence à prendre de l'importance dans la dernière décennie du XVIII^e siècle et représente 40 % des stèles à *incipit* jusqu'à la fin de la période ottomane⁷⁶. Une seule variation (*hüvel-hallâk el-bâkî*), observée dans 5 cas, laisse supposer l'effet d'une mode urbaine⁷⁷.
- L'*appel à la fâtiha* apparaît en fin de stèle avant la date, comme c'est presque toujours le cas, le plus souvent sur une ligne séparée, symétrique de l'invocation, avec presque systématiquement une formule du type *ruhîna içün* et ses variantes⁷⁸. Elle est omise dans 4 épi-

⁶⁷ EV, p. 125.

⁶⁸ Il s'agit des « épitaphes traitant uniquement de l'identité du défunt, agrémentée bien sûr, des éléments de base que constituent l'invocation, la bénédiction, l'appel à la *fâtiha* et la date » (EV, p. 162). Ne correspondent pas à ce type les épitaphes des stèles n^{os} 6, 8 et 15.

⁶⁹ EV, p. 37.

⁷⁰ EV, p. 163-164.

⁷¹ Louis BAZIN, « Persistances préislamiques et innovations dans les stèles funéraires ottomanes », in Gilles VEINSTEIN (dir.), *Les Ottomans et la mort : permanences et mutations*, Leyde, Brill, 1996, p. 30-32.

⁷² Sur la diplomatique des inscriptions, cf. HPLO, p. 68-81 ; EV, p. 9-24.

⁷³ Il s'agit de l'« élément quasi systématique d'un formulaire stéréotypé » (EV, p. 41).

⁷⁴ On retrouve les cinq parties distinguées dans EV, p. 12 et p. 162.

⁷⁵ EV, p. 139.

⁷⁶ EV, p. 63. Cf. également les données de H.-P. Laqueur sur le cimetière d'Edirnekapi (HPLO, p. 70).

⁷⁷ EV, p. 64.

⁷⁸ Sur cette question, cf. EV, p. 50 sqq.

taphes⁷⁹ : dans 3 cas, c'est un héritage, assez rare, du formulaire arabe, du type *haza-l-kabr* (« ceci est la tombe de... »⁸⁰).

- La *bénédictio* n'est jamais omise⁸¹.

Les épitaphes sont d'une longueur moyenne qui correspond aux données enregistrées par *EV*. Aucun lien n'est à signaler entre la longueur du texte et le statut de l'inhumé, pour ce qui concerne les membres de la famille⁸² (tabl. I). En revanche, les 4 esclaves ont des épitaphes de quatre lignes.

Tableau I

Nombre de lignes	Corpus*	Moyennes <i>EV</i> (après 1800)
1-5	4	18 %
6-10	25	66 %
11-20	3	22 %

* Je n'inclus pas la seule épitaphe, celle de Halil Hamid Pacha, qui date d'avant 1800, pour m'adapter à la chronologie proposée par *EV* (p. 85). Plusieurs épitaphes, brisées, ne sont pas informées.

QUESTIONS D'IDENTIFICATION

Un titre usuel turc figure sur chaque épitaphe⁸³. C'est l'usage dans le monde funéraire comme dans bien d'autres sources. Exception étant faite d'un esclave, ce qui ne surprend pas. Par opposition, les trois esclaves répertoriées sont désignées comme *kadın*, ce qui n'étonne pas non plus. Deux d'entre elles sont inhumées à quelques dizaines de centimètres de

⁷⁹ Ayşe Raife (n° 15), Mehmed Asaf Celaledin (n° 22), Mehmed Ferid, Mustafa Nazif (n° 1, pour lequel le début de la *fâtiha* apparaît). Sur l'absence de la *fâtiha*, cf. *EV*, p. 56-57.

⁸⁰ À la différence près que le groupe nominal figure en fin d'épitaphe. Sur l'adoption ottomane d'énonciations épigraphiques arabes, cf. *EV*, p. 17-18, p. 134, p. 295. Sur une application de ce formulaire dans un ensemble de tombes familiales, cf. VATIN, « À propos de quelques stèles », *art. cit.*, p. 346.

⁸¹ E. Prokosch (*Osmanische Grabinschriften*, *op. cit.*, p. 41) note qu'elle manque extrêmement rarement. E. Eldem et N. Vatin ne sont pas de cet avis : 40 % des stèles de leur corpus en sont dépourvues ; à partir du milieu du XVIII^e siècle, la bénédiction est citée très souvent ; dans la seconde moitié du XIX^e siècle, son usage régresse (*EV*, p. 41).

⁸² Ceci correspond aux données de *EV*, p. 140.

⁸³ Ceci est conforme aux données d'ensemble de H.-P. Laqueur (83 % des femmes ; 93 % des hommes dans l'échantillon de 1885 noms de *HPLO*, p. 73) et de *EV* (p. 26-27). Sur l'usage des titres dans les archives administratives du XIX^e siècle, cf. Olivier BOUQUET, *Les Pachas du sultan : essai sur les agents supérieurs de l'État ottoman (1839-1909)*, Louvain, Peeters, 2007, p. 113-116.

la seconde stèle de Halil Hamid Pacha. Est-ce le signe de leur importance au sein de la maison du grand vizir, voire du partage de son lit ?

Les hommes sont beys ou *beyefendi*. Ce sont de « grands personnages »⁸⁴, des dignitaires importants pour la plupart d'entre eux. Ces titres sont tout à fait interchangeables, le second étant sans doute plus solennel : Mehmed Arif Beyefendi (n° 28) figure très souvent dans les registres administratifs sous le titre de bey – que l'on ne croie pas qu'un *alim* de haut rang soit automatiquement efendi⁸⁵ ; le fait d'être fils de pacha en fait généralement un *beyefendi* ; de même Halil Hamid Beyefendi (n° 20), en tant que *damad* impérial et membre du Conseil d'État, porte certainement le grade de *bâlâ* et donc le titre de bey⁸⁶. On compte quatre efendis. Ils sont d'un rang plus modeste, *a fortiori* en cas de décès en début de carrière. Les pachas ont les titres qui correspondent à leur rang, ici de vizir, et que l'on ne saurait omettre. Les femmes sont presque toutes *hanım*, ce qui correspond à la fois à la majorité des cas étudiés par *EV* et à la plupart des femmes « appartenant à de grandes familles »⁸⁷. Une exception laisse rêveur : la noble mère du grand vizir est *kadınefendi*, titre impérial, nous disent les dictionnaires, porté par les épouses du sultan⁸⁸. Faut-il y lire la projection d'une vision dynastique – avérée dans d'autres sources liées à cette famille⁸⁹ ? À moins qu'il ne s'agisse plus simplement d'une variante de *hanımevendi*, sur le modèle de *beyefendi*⁹⁰.

Les informations biographiques sont peu nombreuses. Les Ottomans ont suivi le modèle des épitaphes arabes : plusieurs auteurs y voient l'ef-

⁸⁴ *EV*, p. 27.

⁸⁵ Il est inexact de dire que « la distinction entre efendi et bey, en turc, se réduit en fin de compte à une distinction entre religieux et laïque, le premier terme étant employé essentiellement pour des hommes de religion et d'éducation religieuse, le dernier pour des militaires et aussi des civils » (Bernard LEWIS, « Efendi », in Bernard LEWIS, Charles PELLAT, Jochen SCHACHT [dir.], *Encyclopédie de l'islam*, 2^e éd., Leyde, Brill, 1963, vol. II, p. 704).

⁸⁶ Plusieurs employés de grade *bâlâ* sont aussi désignés par le terme *efendi* (BOUQUET, *op. cit.*, p. 114).

⁸⁷ *EV*, p. 28. Mohammed Djinguiz (« Les titres en Turquie », *Revue du monde musulman* 3, 1907, p. 250) tient que le terme *kadın* est attribué « aux femmes musulmanes mariées du peuple ». E. Eldem et N. Vatin signalent qu'il arrive, mais rarement, qu'il soit porté par des membres féminins de grandes familles (*EV*, p. 28) ; et l'on voit ici que c'est également le cas de *cariye*.

⁸⁸ Sir James W. REDHOUSE, *Türkçe-İngilizce Sözlük*, Istanbul, Sev, 1997, p. 577 ; Mehmed Zeki PAKALIN, « Kadın Efendi », in Mehmet Zeki PAKALIN, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*, Istanbul, Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1993 (rééd.), vol. 2, p. 126-127.

⁸⁹ La seule *kadınefendi* qui apparaît dans le corpus de *EV* semble en effet alliée à l'une des plus grandes familles qui soient, les İbrahim Han-zâde : il s'agit d'une *saraylı*, épouse du *mütevelli* du *wakıf* de Sokollu Mehmed Pacha, décédée en 1246, et dont la stèle se trouve dans le cimetière des Sokollu à Eyüp (SME B 12). Je remercie N. Vatin pour cette précision.

⁹⁰ En contrebas de l'enclos, on trouve la tombe d'une autre *kadınefendi*, inhumée en 1230.

fet du principe de l'égalité islamique des croyants devant la mort⁹¹. Au XIX^e siècle pourtant, le texte funéraire se fait porteur d'un discours plus personnalisé, parfois plus riche biographiquement ou plus marqué par une forme de sentimentalité⁹². Les Halil Hamid Pacha-zâde ne prennent pas part à ce changement. L'indication que l'on rencontre le plus est celle du lien familial, au début du groupe nominal⁹³. Les stèles en disent souvent plus sur les ascendants, surtout lorsqu'ils ont accédé à des postes importants, que sur les inhumés. Et quand il s'agit de femmes, tout se passe comme s'il n'y avait tout simplement rien à dire en dehors du rattachement à l'ascendant (grand-père, père), descendant (dans le cas de la mère du grand vizir) ou époux auquel une partie de l'épithaphe est réservée⁹⁴. Dans cette haute société, les descendantes ne sauraient être des « professionnelles » des harems⁹⁵. Et il est encore trop tôt pour les voir mener la vie d'artiste ou de scientifique de plusieurs de leurs descendantes au XX^e siècle. La période 1750-1850 serait en revanche marquée, selon E. Eldem et N. Vatin, par une emprise croissante de la référence masculine sur l'identité féminine⁹⁶. On comprendrait difficilement les modalités référentielles qui en sont le support si l'on concevait la stèle moins comme un élément de l'espace funéraire que comme une pièce d'identité généalogique : sur l'épithaphe d'Ayşe Raife (n° 15), il est question, non de son mari ou de son père, mais de son beau-père ; le problème n'est pas que le père ou le mari ne soit pas mentionné – encore une fois, Ayşe Raife est inhumée en tant que membre de la famille des Halil Hamid Pacha-zâde, quel que soit le degré de parenté qui l'y rattache ; il est que le beau-père le soit. On peut imaginer qu'il aurait acquis une position supérieure à celle de son fils ; on ajoutera surtout qu'il est mort la même année que sa bru, à proximité de laquelle il est enterré⁹⁷ : le texte de l'épithaphe, en partie identique, est un rappel de la *fâtîha* que le lecteur de la stèle viendrait de prononcer, à deux pas, pour Mehmed Asaf Celaleddin (n° 22), autant qu'une invitation à le lire s'il ne l'a pas déjà fait. Les stèles se répondent les unes aux autres ; et c'est cela qui compte plus que l'emplacement : c'est la raison pour laquelle la stèle de Mustafa Nazif Bey (n° 1) mentionne son grand-père, présent dans le cimetière et parvenu à la haute fonction de *kazasker*, plutôt que ses parents, absents de l'enclos.

⁹¹ DIEM, SCHÖLLER, *The Living*, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 10 ; *EV*, p. 12.

⁹² *EV*, p. 171-174.

⁹³ *EV*, p. 32.

⁹⁴ Sur les épithaphe des femmes écrasées par l'identité de leur mari ou de leur père, cf. *EV*, p. 150-153 ; *EE*, p. 144-145 ; sur celles qui font état de relations indirectes à des personnages importants, cf. *EE*, p. 142.

⁹⁵ Pour reprendre le terme de *EV*, p. 150. On trouvera deux exemples de stèles aussi détaillées qu'imposantes de *cariye* impériales aux carrières accomplies dans *EE*, p. 148-151.

⁹⁶ *EV*, p. 150-156.

⁹⁷ Sur ces impasses de l'identité, cf. *EV*, p. 156-157.

Cependant, deux modes d'identification prédominent. D'abord, la mention de la qualité de dignitaire. Nous avons bel et bien affaire à une famille d'État⁹⁸. Les fonctions qui sont mentionnées sont celles que l'on trouve dans les sources administratives⁹⁹ : en général, le titre le plus élevé, éventuellement la fonction la plus élevée. Les grands oulémas de la famille donnent leur stature à voir, mais avec retenue¹⁰⁰ ; il arrive même que la fonction signalée ne soit pas la plus élevée atteinte dans la carrière¹⁰¹. Quand on est allé haut (*kazasker* de Roumélie) ou que l'on vient de haut (fils de grand vizir), la distinction ottomane consiste à faire simple, à faire bref¹⁰². En revanche, un intendant aux fourrages cite cette fonction en sus de son grade de *hacegân* – je ne dirais pas que ce grade est toujours cité parce qu'il est prestigieux, possibilité envisagée par *EV*, mais parce qu'au contraire il l'est infiniment moins que celui détenu par la personne à laquelle il est fait référence dans l'épithaphe, à savoir le grand vizir lui-même¹⁰³ ; un Mehmed Neşet Nurullah (n° 29) signale, d'autant plus qu'il fut membre du Conseil supérieur des ordonnances judiciaires, qu'il n'a rien fait ensuite pendant trente ans, jusqu'à sa mort.

Seconde identification dominante, la référence à l'ancêtre éponyme. Tout comme le *vakıf*, le cimetière de Halil Hamid Paşa porte bien son nom : le grand vizir est cité sur toutes les stèles de ses descendants, mais aussi de ses esclaves, clients, épouses de ses descendants et de ses clients. Dans de nombreux cas, la référence rend inutile la mention de tout autre lien de parenté : Ahmed Ağa (n° 35) est cité sous la seule fonction qui le rattache au grand vizir. Mais ce n'est pas toujours le cas : son épouse

⁹⁸ Olivier BOUQUET, « Les Halil-Hamid Paşa-zâde : une famille d'État, de l'Empire ottoman à la République turque », intervention lors de la journée d'études de l'Institut d'études de l'islam et des sociétés du monde musulman intitulée « Servir l'État en Turquie : la rationalisation des institutions en question », EHESS, Paris, 5 déc. 2008.

⁹⁹ Dans *EV* (p. 142), on lit que la stèle des *hacegân-i divan-i hümayûn* « ne manque jamais de faire état de la fonction prestigieuse » ; je me permets de préciser qu'en 1843 (date de la référence), ce rang est bien moins prestigieux qu'au XVIII^e siècle et qu'il est autant cité dans les sources administratives *ante mortem* que dans les sources funéraires.

¹⁰⁰ Dans deux cimetières stambouliotes d'oulémas de très haut niveau des XVIII^e-XIX^e siècles (ST VII, p. 279-297), de même que dans le corpus de *EV* (63 % des oulémas, p. 164), les épithaphe sont en majorité purement « identitaires » et la plupart des autres sont rédigées au moyen de quelques formules stéréotypées courantes (*EV*, p. 20 et p. 164). Cependant, les oulémas « n'hésitent pas à faire étalage des attributs et titres qui leur étaient conférés » (*EV*, p. 142). Je n'observe pas ici d'étalage comparable.

¹⁰¹ Sur l'épithaphe de Mehmed Raşid (n° 19), son père, Mehmed Arif, est cité comme cadi du Caire, alors qu'il a atteint le poste supérieur de *kazasker* de Roumélie.

¹⁰² Edhem ELDEM, « Urban Voices from Beyond : Identity, Status and Social Strategies in Ottoman Muslim Funerary Epitaphs in Istanbul (1700-1850) », in Virginia H. AKSAN, Daniel GOFFMAN (dir.), *The Early Modern Ottomans : Remapping the Empire*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2007, p. 247-249.

¹⁰³ *EV*, p. 142. Du reste, les auteurs le reconnaissent ailleurs lorsqu'ils notent que « la longueur de la titulature était inversement proportionnelle à l'importance de la fonction » (*EV*, p. 143).

Fatma Hanım (n° 34) cite le grand vizir en tant que patron de son époux – c'est bien ce lien qui lui vaut d'être enterrée dans l'enclos. Mais il a été jugé utile de citer en plus un pacha ascendant.

Les autres références sont variables : le nom du père n'est pas toujours cité. Première hypothèse : le nom du grand-père est plus prestigieux, et c'est alors le chef de famille et l'administrateur en exercice du *vakıf* qui figure ; c'est le cas d'une grande partie des petits-enfants de Mehmed Arif (n°s 1, 29, 32, 36), qui semble être, de la disparition de son père à sa propre mort, une référence patriarcale associée à la figure du grand homme ; dans le cas de Mehmed Nebil (n° 32), à l'évidence disparu jeune, la position du père n'est pas encore assez élevée pour que son nom soit mentionné. Seconde possibilité : le défunt est rattaché à la famille par sa mère. Tout se passe comme si, pour être intégralement de la famille, il fallait être d'une ascendance patrilinéaire. C'est une hypothèse que je tire de l'observation du mode de désignation de l'administrateur du *vakıf*¹⁰⁴. Celle-ci relève de trois conditions fixées dans l'acte de fondation : l'aîné des descendants a la priorité ; les femmes ont exactement les mêmes droits que les hommes ; il faut être apparenté à la famille par le père.

Si l'on ne trouve qu'un seul cas de véritable citation généalogique¹⁰⁵, on observe tout de même des transferts ou des reports d'identité complémentaires. La référence de l'individu s'efface parfois derrière celle d'un ascendant¹⁰⁶ ou se reporte sur une descendante : ce n'est pas sur la stèle de Mehmed Pacha (n° 7) que sa qualité de neveu d'un autre grand vizir est signalée, c'est sur celle de sa fille Adile (n° 8). Cela dit, l'important est d'être rattaché à Halil Hamid Pacha – on l'a dit. Inutile donc, pour les extérieurs, de s'embarrasser de références locales, à moins d'évoquer un ascendant particulièrement prestigieux (le grand vizir Alaiyeli el-hac Mehmed Pacha, par exemple)¹⁰⁷. L'ancêtre éponyme se révèle être, d'ailleurs, avant tout pour les femmes, un pourvoyeur suffisant d'identité. Dans les documents administratifs liés au *vakıf*, ces dames figurent autrement, souvent sous leur *nasab*, car l'administration de l'État se soucie des vivants, en particulier des ayants droit, selon une logique identificatoire fort différente de la manière dont les vivants eux se soucient de l'identité de leurs morts.

De même, les noms sont loin d'être cités de manière complète – Halil, pour Halil Hamid ; Arif pour Mehmed Arif. C'est le propre d'une majo-

¹⁰⁴ BOUQUET, « Comment les Ottomans », *art. cit.*

¹⁰⁵ Sur la rareté de l'usage de *nasab* détaillés, cf. Olivier BOUQUET, « *Onomasticon Ottomanicum* : identification administrative et désignation sociale dans l'État ottoman du XIX^e siècle », *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée* 127, 2010, p. 220-221. Les généalogies sont « rarissimes » dans les épitaphes (*EV*, p. 30).

¹⁰⁶ N. Vatin (« Sur le rôle », *art. cit.*, p. 293) repère le phénomène : effacement derrière le père, un fils (s'il a mieux réussi), un frère, un oncle, un gendre ou un beau-père.

¹⁰⁷ Les lieux d'origine géographique sont rarement indiqués sur les stèles (*ST II*, p. 24).

rité de sources ottomanes¹⁰⁸ ; seulement, ce qui joue ici relève tantôt de la gestion de l'espace scripturaire de la stèle, tantôt d'un souci de métrique. Cela dit, les *ism* et *mahlas* cités sont assez nombreux pour que l'on puisse identifier des pratiques d'enjambement onomastiques (Mehmed *Nurullah* Pacha et son petit-fils Mehmed Neşet *Nurullah* Bey, Zeyneb et sa petite-fille) ou de transmission indirecte (Fatma üz-Zehra et sa petite-nièce, Mehmed Asim et son petit-neveu). Ces modes de transmission semblent correspondre à une conscience d'appartenance au lignage qui transparaît encore davantage à la lecture des généalogies¹⁰⁹.

PRÉSENTATION DES ÉPITAPHES

En matière de translittération et de traduction, j'applique le système proposé par *EV*, l'ouvrage de référence sur l'épithaphe ottomane¹¹⁰. En revanche, hors de ces registres particuliers, je cite les noms tels qu'ils apparaissent sous leur forme actuelle¹¹¹.

Un mot sur la présentation retenue : un classement alphabétique n'offre pas grand intérêt pour un corpus réduit, donc facilement maniable. Un classement par date de décès aurait permis de suivre davantage l'histoire du cimetière. Cependant, le catalogue ci-dessous est destiné à offrir un cadre d'analyse associé à d'autres pour dessiner, au fil des études, le portrait d'une grande famille. Or c'est la clé générationnelle qui, pour l'heure, me semble offrir le cadre le plus précis à la compréhension des logiques d'identification et des formes de solidarité qui structurent la descendance de Halil Hamid Pacha. C'est donc celle que je retiens. Je distingue en un groupe à part les serviteurs, esclaves et autres clients : les descendants leur réservent une place particulière, encore dans les premières décennies, mais la séparation entre les *ahfad* et alliés et les autres inhumés l'emporte sur une commune appartenance à un *household* ou un groupe de solidarité.

J'essaie, autant que faire se peut, de rattacher les stèles aux typologies et modèles proposés par la littérature mézarologique ; mais je ne néglige pas que cette même littérature insiste sur le caractère hybride d'une grande partie des stèles, en dépit de phénomènes de mode clairement observés¹¹².

¹⁰⁸ Olivier BOUQUET, « *Onomasticon Ottomanicum* -II- Le voile de l'identité », in Nathalie CLAYER, Erdal KAYNAR (dir.), *État et société à la fin de l'Empire ottoman*, Louvain, Peeters, à paraître en 2012.

¹⁰⁹ BOUQUET, « Comment les Ottomans », *art. cit.*

¹¹⁰ Ce système de transcription permet à la fois de retrouver les caractères ottomans et d'appliquer l'harmonie vocalique actuelle à des stèles construites à une époque où l'harmonie archaïque n'avait plus cours ; avec quelques exceptions précisées dans *EV*, p. IX-X.

¹¹¹ J'applique ici le système proposé dans BOUQUET, *op. cit.*, p. XVI-XVII.

¹¹² *EV*, p. 92.

Liste des abréviations

- BOA : Archives de la Présidence du Conseil, Istanbul.
- DH : Yılmaz ÖZTUNA, *Devletler ve Hânedanlar -II- Türkiye (1074-1990)*, Ankara, Kültür Bakanlığı, 2005 (3^e éd.)¹¹³.
- EE : Edhem ELDEM, *İstanbul'da Ölüm : Osmanlı-İslam Kültüründe Ölüm ve Ritüelleri*, Istanbul, Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi, 2005.
- EV : Edhem ELDEM, Nicolas VATIN, *L'Építaphe ottomane musulmane, XVI^e-XX^e siècles : contribution à une histoire de la culture ottomane*, Louvain, Peeters, 2007.
- EK : Edhem ELDEM, Günay KUT, *Rumelihisarı Şehitlik Dergahı Mezar Taşları*, Istanbul, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınevi, 2010.
- Haskan : Mehmed Nermi HASKAN, *Yüzyıllar Boyunca Üsküdar*, Istanbul, Üsküdar Belediyesi, 2001, 3 vol.
- HPLO : Hans-Peter LAQUEUR, *Osmanische Friedhöfe und Grabs-teine in Istanbul*, Tübingen, E. Wasmuth, 1993.
- Muradoğlu : Abdullah MURADOĞLU, *Reformun Dervişleri*, Istanbul, Bakış, 2001.
- ÖG : Ali Rıza ÖZCAN, Fevzi GÜNÜÇ, *Türk Kültür ve Medeniyet Tarihinde Fatih Külliyesi*, Istanbul, İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları, 2007, 3 vol.
- SO : Mehmed SÜREYYA, *Sicill-i Osmânî*, Westmead, Gregg, 1971, 4 vol.
- ST I : Jean-Louis BACQUÉ-GRAMMONT, Hans-Peter LAQUEUR, Nicolas VATIN, « *Stelae Turcicae -I- Küçük Aya Sofya* », *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 34, 1984, p. 441-539.
- ST II : Jean-Louis BACQUÉ-GRAMMONT, Hans-Peter LAQUEUR, Nicolas VATIN, *Stelae Turcicae -II- Cimetières de la mosquée de Sokollu Mehmed Paşa à Kadirga Limanı, de Bostancı Ali et du türbe de Sokollu Mehmed Paşa à Eyüb*, Tübingen, E. Wasmuth, 1990.
- ST III : Jean-Louis BACQUÉ-GRAMMONT, Nicolas VATIN, « *Stelae Turcicae -III- Le musée en plein air de Şile* », in Jean-Louis BACQUÉ-GRAMMONT, Barbara FLEMMING, Macit GÖKBERK, İlber ORTAYLI (dir.), *Türkische Miszellen : Robert Anhegger Festschrift*, Istanbul, Isis Press, 1987, p. 45-61.
- ST IV : Jean-Louis BACQUÉ-GRAMMONT, Nicolas VATIN, « *Stelae Turcicae -IV- Le cimetière de la bourgade thrace de Karacaköy* », in Jean-Louis BACQUÉ-GRAMMONT, Thierry ZARCONI, Edhem ELDEM, Frédéric HITZEL, Michel TUCHSCHERER (dir.), *Anatolia Moderna II : Derviches et cimetières ottomans*, Paris, Maisonneuve, 1991, p. 7-27.

¹¹³ Les éditions successives n'ont pas suffi à y corriger un grand nombre d'erreurs.

- ST VI: Jean-Louis BACQUÉ-GRAMMONT, Nicolas VATIN, « *Stelae Turcicae* -VI- Les stèles funéraires de Sinope », *Anatolia Moderna* III, 1992, p. 105-207.
- ST VII: Jean-Louis BACQUÉ-GRAMMONT, Semavi EYİCE, Nathalie CLAYER, Thierry ZARCONI, « *Stelae Turcicae* -VII- Deux cimetières du quartier de Fındıklızaade à Istanbul: Molla Gürani et Piri Mehmed Paşa », *Anatolia Moderna* V, 1994, p. 233-318.
- Uzunçarşılı: İsmail Hakkı UZUNÇARŞILI, « Sadrazam Halil Hamid Paşa », *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 5, 1935, p. 213-267.
- VGMA: Archives de la direction générale des Fondations pieuses (*Vakıf Genel Müdürlüğü Arşivleri*), Ankara.
- VY: Nicolas VATIN, Stéphane YERASIMOS, *Les Cimetières dans la ville: statut, choix et organisation des lieux d'inhumation dans Istanbul intra muros*, Istanbul-Paris, Institut français d'études anatoliennes-Maisonnewe et Larose, 2001.

LE GRAND VIZIR, SA MÈRE ET SON ÉPOUSE

Halil Hamid Pacha (n° 25)

Stèle 1 : stèle (204 x 44 cm) de profil A, de style *sülüs*, fichée dans une dalle grossière (65 x 50 cm, cf. *infra*, Annexe III, fig. 2). C'est la plus importante des deux stèles, sans doute celle qui correspond au lieu d'inhumation. Couvre-chef de type H (45 x 44 x 34 cm), *kallavi*, distinctif des grands vizirs¹¹⁴. Au pied de la stèle, on retrouve une partie du sarcophage et la stèle de pied de Mehmed Asım.

Stèle 2 : stèle (191 x 37 cm) de profil A, de style *sülüs* ; elle se situe à 7 m environ de la précédente. Comme elle est de moindre importance et moins bien située, on peut faire l'hypothèse qu'il s'agit d'un monument funéraire. On sait qu'une épitaphe n'indique pas toujours un lieu d'inhumation – l'existence d'inscriptions funéraires apposées à des fontaines en témoigne¹¹⁵ ; et les cas existent de stèles multiples pour un même défunt¹¹⁶. La stèle a subi les dommages de la construction du mur de l'hôpital. Elle a été de nouveau fichée en terre, mais appuyée contre le mur. On note un décor floral de part et d'autre de l'invocation. Couvre-chef de type H (42 x 29 x 18 cm). Le texte est exactement le même pour les deux stèles.

Translittération : Hüve-l-bākī / merhūm ve mağfūr / el-muhtāc ilā rahmeti / rabbihi-l-ğafūr şadr-ı / sâbık Halil Hamid / Paşanın rūhı için / el-fātiha sene 1199 / 17 fi C.

¹¹⁴ Sur ce type de couvre-chef, cf. LAQUEUR, « Die Kopfbedeckung », *art. cit.*, p. 90-91 ; *HPLO*, p. 132-133.

¹¹⁵ *EV*, p. 11.

¹¹⁶ *EV*, p. 11 ; *ST II*, p. 14.

Traduction : Ô Lui, l'Éternel ! La *fâtiha* pour l'âme de l'ancien grand vizir, de celui qui jouit de la miséricorde et du pardon et qui a besoin de la miséricorde du Dieu de pardon, Halîl Hamîd Pacha. Le 17 C 1199 [27 avr. 1785]¹¹⁷.

Bibliographie : stèle 1, HHP I 11 (Neg.Nr. : R 24438); stèle 2, HHP III 16 (Neg.Nr. : R 24443)¹¹⁸.

Zeyneb Kadın Efendi (n° 23)

Tombe : dalle ; stèle de tête (170 x 50 cm) de style *sülüs* ; profil E ; stèle à rinceaux, avec volutes à extrémités arrondies et décor floral stylisé dans le champ supérieur¹¹⁹ ; stèle de pied (159 x 40 cm ; cf. *infra*, annexe III, fig. 2).

Translittération : Hüve-l-hallâk el-bākî / şadr-ı esbak Halîl Hamîd Paşa / vâlidesi merhûme ve mağfûrun lehâ / el-muhtâc ilâ rahmeti rabbihi-l-ğafûr / 'işmetlû Zeyneb Kadın Efendi¹²⁰ / hâzretleriniñ rûhına fâtiha / 5 Ca 1219.

Traduction : Ô Lui, le Créateur Éternel ! / La *fâtiha* pour l'âme de Son Excellence la vertueuse Zeyneb Kadın Efendi. Elle est la mère de l'ancien grand vizir Halîl Hamîd Pacha. Elle jouit de la miséricorde, qu'il lui soit pardonné ; elle a besoin de la grâce de Son Seigneur qui pardonne. Le 5 Ca 1219 [12 août 1804].

Compléments biographiques : elle est la fille d'Abdullah Ağa. Elle a pour mari el-Hac Mustafa Efendi. Un historien d'Isparta la dit *Ispartalı*. Son fils lui fait profiter des revenus du *vakıf* : il alloue notamment une somme de 10 piastres, afin que soit prononcées pour elle, pendant un jour de la semaine, les cinq prières, dans la mosquée Kılıç Ali Pacha d'Istanbul. En 1794, elle ajoute au *vakıf* un moulin à eau dans le village de Sukar qui dépend du district d'Isparta. En 1794 également, un document atteste qu'elle réside dans un *konak* qui appartient au *vakıf* dans le quartier d'Emin Bey, à côté de l'ancienne *Darphane*.

Bibliographie : HHP I 10 (Neg.Nr. : R 24453) ; *HPLO*, p. 104-105 ; BÖCÜZÂDE SÜLEYMAN SAMİ, *Kuruluşundan Bugüne Kadar Isparta Tarihi*, Istanbul, Serenler Yayını, 1983, p. 77 ; Uzunçarşılı, p. 245 ; VGMA : d. 629, n° 242, s. 264 (19 B 1208) ; d. 628, n° 289.

¹¹⁷ Les formules les plus simples, comme ici *merhûm* et *merhûm ve mağfûr*, constituent près de 70 % des bénédictions de 1750 à 1849 (EV, p. 41).

¹¹⁸ La bibliographie consacrée à Halil Hamid Pacha est très riche. Je m'en tiens à quelques références : İsmail H. UZUNÇARŞILI, « Sadrazam Halil Hamid Paşa », *Türkiyat Mecmuası* V, 1935, p. 213-267 ; Kemal BEYDİLİ, « Halil Hamid Paşa », in Azmi ÖZCAN, *Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul, Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1997, vol. 15, p. 316-318 ; Suha UMUR, « Sadrazam Halil Hamid Paşa », *Mimar Sinan* 69, 1988, p. 18-21 ; Latife ULUSAN, *Halil Hamid Paşa ve Zamanı*, Mémoire de Licence, İstanbul Üniversitesi, 1945-1946 ; Türedi TÖTÜNCÜ, « Halil Hamid Paşa Vakfiyesi ve Isparta Kütüphanesi », *Türk Kütüphaneciler Derneği Bülteni* XX/2, 1971, p. 86-92 ; Fikret SARICAOĞLU, *Kendi Kalemimde bir Padişahın Portresi -I- Abdülhamid (1774-1789)*, Istanbul, Tarih ve Tabiat Vakfı Yayınları, 2001.

¹¹⁹ Type F VII (ST II, p. 82-83). Il s'agit d'un type « luxueux » (ST VI, p. 122).

¹²⁰ Sur la valeur sociale du titre *kadın*, cf. EV, p. 28.

Ayşe Hanım (n° 12)

Tombe : dalle imposante (287 x 128 cm). Stèle de tête (202 x 53,5 cm), de profil E et de silhouette de type F VII¹²¹ ; épitaphe de style *ta'lik*. On note une décoration florale particulièrement stylisée dans le champ supérieur, à trois niveaux ; le niveau inférieur, qui entoure l'invocation, est surmonté de feuilles d'acanthé ; le niveau supérieur est élégamment décoré de roses. La stèle de pied (195 x 37 cm), anépigraphe, est dotée d'un sommet à bulbe ; sur la face qui donne sur la voie publique, est gravée une représentation florale entrelacée avec vase. Cette tombe est la plus imposante des membres féminins de la famille. Sans doute faut-il y voir la marque du statut unique de la défunte, à la fois épouse officielle du grand vizir et première administratrice du *vakıf* après la mort de celui-ci.

Translittération : Hüvel-bākī / şadr-ı â'zam-ı esbak / cennet-mekân¹²² Halîl Hamîd / Pâşâ merhûmuñ halîle-i / muhteremeleri merhûme / ve mağfürun lehâ Hâce şerîfe¹²³ / 'Â'îşe Hanım Efendi / rûhı için el- / fâtiha / sene 1232.

Traduction : Ô Lui, l'Éternel ! La *fâtiha* pour l'âme de Hâce şerîfe 'Â'îşe Hanım Efendi, celle qui jouit de la miséricorde, qu'il lui soit pardonné. Elle est la vénérable épouse de l'ancien grand vizir Halîl Hamîd Pâşâ, celui qui jouit de la miséricorde et qui repose au Paradis. En l'an 1232 [1816-1817].

Compléments biographiques : dans les sources, elle est citée comme étant la fille de el-hac Halil Ağa. Dans la *vakfiye*, il est disposé qu'elle prendra la succession de son mari comme administratrice (*mütevelli*) à la mort de celui-ci. Un *arzuhal* signé de sa main en 1790 confirme qu'elle occupe les fonctions d'administratrice des *vakf* d'Istanbul et « d'ailleurs » (*gayrideki*)¹²⁴.

Bibliographie : HP I 7 (Neg.Nr. : R 24454) ; BOA : C.EV 522/26375 ; C.BL 1261 ; C. ML 1471 ; *HPLO*, p. 104-105 ; TÛTÛNCÛ, *art. cit.*, p. 91 ; Uzunçarşılı, p. 245.

DEUXIÈME GÉNÉRATION

Mehmed Arif Beyefendi (n° 28)

Tombe : sarcophage (215 x 66 x 80 cm, cf. infra, annexe III, fig. 2 et 5a) décoré d'un même motif sur les quatre faces, une représentation symétrique de deux arcs et carquois avec, dans chacun d'eux, trois flèches. En 1839, il est bien trop tôt pour y voir un dérivé des armoiries ottomanes, en partie dotées de ces symboles, mais formalisées seulement à partir des années 1880¹²⁵. Selon ÖG,

¹²¹ *ST II*, p. 83.

¹²² On retrouve cette expression dans plusieurs bénédictions dans la suite, parfois accompagnée de « firdevs-âşiyân » ; elle correspondrait à une mode stambouliote en cours pas seulement dans la haute société (*EV*, p. 45).

¹²³ Uzunçarşılı lit le groupe nominal Hatice Şerife. C'est inexact.

¹²⁴ C.EV 522/26375 (1204 *Ca* 29).

¹²⁵ Je remercie E. Eldem de m'avoir éclairé à ce sujet.

un tel motif signalerait simplement la qualité d'archer de l'inhumé¹²⁶. Un motif végétal, plus développé sur les longueurs du sarcophage, entoure l'ensemble. Le sarcophage repose sur une dalle de dimension supérieure. Stèle de tête (158 x 37 cm), de style *ta'lik*, de profil C ; couvre-chef de type I-. Sur le verso de la stèle, on lit le même texte, destiné aux passants de la rue, côté nord-est. Stèle de pied (146 x 33 cm) surmontée d'un bulbe, décorée, côté rue.

Translittération : Hüve-l-bākī / şud[ū]r 'izām / ze[v]i¹²⁷ el-fiḥāmdan / rābi'an Rūmelī / şada[r]etinden munfasıl / cennet-mekān / Halīl Ḥamīd Paşa-zāde / merḥūm ve mağfūrun [l]eh / re'is'ü-l-'ulemā 'Ā[r]if / Beg Efendiniñ / rūḥi iḥūn el-fātiḥa / 1255 Ca 19.

Traduction : Ô Lui, l'Éternel ! La *fātiḥa* pour l'âme de 'Ārif Beg Efendi, qui jouit de la miséricorde et du pardon. Grand juge, qui est doté de renommée, démis de ses fonctions de *kazasker* de Roumélie, occupées pour la quatrième fois, doyen des oulémas, il est fils de Halīl Ḥamīd Paşa qui repose au Paradis. Le 19 Ca 1255 [30 juil. 1839]¹²⁸].

Compléments biographiques : né en 1769¹²⁹. Fils aîné de Halil Hamid Pacha. Il est marié à İzzet Hanım, inhumée à ses côtés ainsi que trois de ses enfants. Il est le second administrateur du *vakıf* après le décès de sa mère. Il entre dans la carrière religieuse en 1782 (21 L 1196). Il a environ 14 ans à la mort de son père. Mais les clients et soutiens de celui-ci l'aident à franchir tous les échelons de la hiérarchie : *müderis*, *kaza-i havass-i refia* en 1801 (1 M 1216). Il est mis en disponibilité en mai 1802 (1 M 1217). Il est cadi d'Égypte en 1807-1808 (1222), puis de Médine en octobre 1808 (15 Ş 1223¹³⁰), avec un *arpalık* (domaine foncier) de 500 piastres. On le repère cadi d'Istanbul en mai 1814 (1 C 1229) ; il obtient le rang *İstanbul* en mai 1815 (1 C 1230) avec deux *arpalık*, l'un de 900 piastres à Adapazarı, l'autre de 100 piastres à Gelibolu. Il est promu au rang *Anadolu* en mai 1816 (10 C 1231), avec *arpalık* à Mihaliç. Il est nommé *kazasker* d'Anatolie en janvier 1817 (1 Ra 1232), révoqué en septembre 1818 (1 Za 1233). Il est nommé *kazasker* de Roumélie en février 1821 (1 Ca 1236), avec les *arpalık* suivants : Birgi, Güzelhisar, Gümüllcine, Menemen, Bayındır, Mihaliç ; de nouveau, en 1826 (L 1240), 1831 (C 1247) et 1838 (M 1254)¹³¹. Il compte parmi les auteurs de la *fetva* qui autorise la suppression des janissaires en 1826. Il est nommé doyen des oulémas quelques temps avant son décès ; il n'aurait pas eu le temps de prendre ses fonctions. Il a la réputation d'un homme de sciences au bon caractère. Son *yalı* est situé à Akıntıburnu ; c'est là qu'il accueille sa fille Fatma üz-Zehra et son gendre Ismail Pacha lorsqu'ils sont de passage à Istanbul.

¹²⁶ ÖG II, p. 66.

¹²⁷ On retrouve cette formule sur l'épithaphe de Şefike Hanım.

¹²⁸ Uzunçarşılı indique 1836. C'est inexact.

¹²⁹ Les arbres généalogiques indiquent 1185 (avec des erreurs de correspondance en calendrier chrétien). La date que je retiens est celle de SO. Cela dit, les sources proposent des correspondances contradictoires en calendrier *hicri*. DH cite par exemple 1771.

¹³⁰ Et non Ca 1223, comme l'indique SO.

¹³¹ Dans un document (C. ADL 68/4055 daté de 23 N 1254/11 déc. 1838), il est dit que ses fonctions sont prolongées de quatre mois.

Bibliographie : HHP I 12 (Neg.Nr.: R 24452); BOA : I. MTZ (05) 1/19; C. ADL 68/4055; C.EV 389/19701; C.EV 389/19723; C.EV 390/19773; C.ML 67/3078; DH, p. 679; Arzu GÜLDÖŞÜREN, *19. YY.'ın İlk Yarısında Tarik Defterlerine Göre İlmiye Ricali*, Mémoire de Maîtrise, Istanbul, Marmara Üniversitesi, 2004, p. 100-102; Haskan, p. 747; HPLO, p. 105-106; Muradoğlu, p. 75; SO III, p. 272¹³²; Uzunçarşılı, p. 245; VY, p. 62-63 (sur l'emplacement des tombes de *kazasker*); Michael WINTER, « Cultural Ties between Istanbul and Ottoman Egypt », in Colin IMBER, Keiko KIYOTAKI (dir.), *Frontiers of Ottoman Studies : State, Province and the West*, Londres, I. B. Tauris, 2005, vol. 1, p. 187-202; VGMA : *defter* n° 630/2, p. 1076, n° 681; *kayıt* n° 7136/1.

Mehmed Nurullah Pacha (n° 9)

Tombe : stèle de tête (167 x 32 cm), de style *ta'lik*. Profil H. La dalle a été déplacée sur quelques centimètres. Stèle de pied (150 cm de hauteur) de même forme, anépigraphie et sans décoration.

Translittération : Hüve-l-bākī / merhūm ve mağfūr ilā rahmeti / rabbihi-l-gāfūr / Ḥalīl Ḥamīd Paşa-zāde / kudemā-yı vüzerā-yı 'izāmdan / Muḥammed Nūrullāh Paşa / merhūmuñ ve kāffe-i ümmet-i Muḥammed / ervāhları¹³³ için el-fātiha / 1257.

Traduction : Ô Lui, l'Éternel ! La *fātiha* pour l'âme de Muḥammed Nūrullāh Pacha, qui jouit de la miséricorde, et de l'ensemble des musulmans. Il fait partie des vizirs éminents et supérieurs. Il est le fils de Ḥalīl Ḥamīd Pacha, qui jouit du pardon et de la miséricorde et [qui souhaite] la grâce de son Seigneur qui pardonne. 1257 [1841-1842].

Compléments biographiques : né en 1775-1776¹³⁴. Il a pour enfants Mehmed Cemalettin Pacha, Ayşe, Hibetullah et Galib Bey. Orphelin à l'âge de 10 ans environ, il étudie en *medrese* et devient *müderres*. Nommé *cadi* de Galata (1810-1811/1225), il est élevé au grade *Bursa*. Coureur de jupons, il aurait été contraint de quitter la judicature¹³⁵. Il devient *mirülümra* et doit séjourner à Edirne. Promu *mirimiran* (1813/1228), il est cité comme *mutasarrıf* de Karesi en octobre 1813¹³⁶. À cette date, lui sont affectées des fermes fiscales relevant de ce *liva*¹³⁷, à la suite de la demande de moyens nécessaires à l'administration des sujets et des militaires qu'il a adressée au grand vizir¹³⁸. Il est nommé à la direction des *sancak* d'Eğriboz et de Karlieli, avec le titre de vizir, en

¹³² Les dates de grades citées sont souvent contredites par les données produites par Güldöşüren.

¹³³ Barbarisme repéré par EV, p. 53.

¹³⁴ 1189 H. selon les généalogies familiales.

¹³⁵ Muradoğlu, p. 81. Sur les scandales qui entourent certains oulémas qui vivent dans la volupté, cf. Mouradgea D'OHSSON, *Tableau général de l'Empire ottoman*, Istanbul, Isis Press, 2001, vol. 3-4, p. 234, avec l'exemple de Damad-zāde Murad Molla.

¹³⁶ C.ML 104/4614 (29 L 1228).

¹³⁷ C.DH 219/10941 (29 Z 1255).

¹³⁸ HAT 535/26315 (3 L 1228).

octobre 1814¹³⁹. En mars 1816, il est signalé comme *mutasarrıf* de Hüdavendigâr. À ce poste, il reçoit les fermes fiscales de Bergama¹⁴⁰. Il aurait ensuite occupé les fonctions de gouverneur de Karesi et de Kocaali (signalé en janvier 1816)¹⁴¹. Il devient intendant des mines (cité à cette fonction en novembre 1817¹⁴² et en octobre 1818¹⁴³). En décembre 1817, il reçoit en *iltizam* annuel 5 des 8 parts de la *mukataa* de la *karye* de Garka¹⁴⁴, dans la *nahiye* de Yörük, située près de Malatya. En janvier 1820, il est nommé *mutasarrıf* de Kocaali et de Hüdavendigâr¹⁴⁵. Il ne prend visiblement pas ses fonctions, mobilisé sur un autre front, celui du règlement de l'insurrection d'Ali de Tepedelen. On le retrouve à Avlonya début février où il lui est ordonné de ne pas se rendre à Yanya, comme cela était prévu, semble-t-il¹⁴⁶. En août 1820, il est chargé d'organiser le retrait de Muhtar Pacha, fils du précité Ali (qui a abandonné son père)¹⁴⁷, et de ses troupes d'Avlonya; et à cette fin, il est nommé *mutasarrıf* d'Avlonya¹⁴⁸. Il semblerait que Muhtar Pacha doive aussi quitter Berat, où Nurullah Pacha doit ensuite se rendre¹⁴⁹. Entre août 1821 et décembre 1823, il est engagé dans la défense de l'île de Lemnos¹⁵⁰. En août 1825, il est nommé *mutasarrıf*¹⁵¹ des *sancak* d'Ankara et de Çankırı. En août 1826, il est nommé à la tête de l'*eyalet* d'Adana et du *sancak* d'Uzeyr¹⁵². On l'y trouve encore en janvier 1827¹⁵³. En janvier 1828, il est autorisé à composer une unité militaire locale de 500 hommes¹⁵⁴. À la fin de l'année 1828, il est nommé *muhafız* de Zıştovi¹⁵⁵. Il s'y occupe surtout de défense militaire. En mai 1830, une note est adressée au grand vizir au sujet de la nécessité de

¹³⁹ C.DH 230/11459 (14 *Za* 1229). Ceci vient infirmer la date de 1823 (*M* 1239) proposée par *SO* pour l'accession au vizirat. Mais comme dans un autre document il est cité comme *muhafız* d'Eğriboz en décembre 1814 et comme oncle de Mehmed Asım (HAT 743/35190 [29 *Z* 1229]), qui se trouve être en effet son neveu, il n'y a pas de confusion possible : nous retenons 1814 comme date de promotion au grade de vizir.

¹⁴⁰ C.DRB 58/2855 (3 *M* 1232).

¹⁴¹ C.BH 233/10809 (11 *S* 1231).

¹⁴² AT 564/27692 (29 *Z* 1232).

¹⁴³ AT 564/27691 (29 *Z* 1232).

¹⁴⁴ C.ML 773/31547 (14 *S* 1233).

¹⁴⁵ C.DH. 48/2357 (29 *Ra* 1235).

¹⁴⁶ HAT 397/20923 (23 *R* 1235).

¹⁴⁷ Au sujet des fils d'Ali Pacha, cf. Hamiyet SEZER, « Tepedelenli Ali Paşa'nın Oğulları », *Tarih Araştırma Dergisi* 1995, p. 155-164.

¹⁴⁸ HAT 399/20998 A (9 *Za* 1235).

¹⁴⁹ HAT 399/20998 (27 *Za* 1235).

¹⁵⁰ C.AS 284/11815 (29 *Za* 1236); C.AS 840/35832 (11 *B* 1237); C.AS 636/26798 (25 *R* 1239).

¹⁵¹ HAT 473/23153 (29 *Z* 1240). Dans *SO*, il est signalé comme *mutasarrıf*; dans un autre document du BOA (HAT 676/33012 O, 29 *Z* 1240), il est *vali*. Les deux termes sont à l'époque interchangeables.

¹⁵² C.DH 99/4913 (15 *M* 1242). Il passe une nuit par le village de Mucur. Il est rapporté qu'il n'a commis aucune exaction (HAT 510/25030 C, 19 *S* 1242).

¹⁵³ C.AS 509/21246 (21 *C* 1242).

¹⁵⁴ HAT 732/34759 A (29 *Z* 1243).

¹⁵⁵ HAT 711 34030 A (11 *C* 1244).

le relever de ses fonctions¹⁵⁶. Je n'ai plus d'information ensuite. Selon *SO*, il finit ses jours à Istanbul. Il a la réputation d'un homme habile et épicurien.

Remarques : c'est un administrateur territorial au parcours dense et complet, figure du vizir pré-tanzimatien, qui administre et pacifie les *domaines* à l'avant-veille des *Tanzimât*.

Bibliographie : HHP I 6 (Neg.Nr. : R 24466) ; BOA¹⁵⁷ ; *DH*, p. 679 ; *Haskan*, p. 747 ; *HPLO*, p. 105-106 ; *Muradoğlu*, p. 81 ; *SO* IV, p. 587 (une grande partie des dates sont contredites par les documents du BOA) ; *Uzunçarşılı*, p. 245.

Fatma Hanım (n° 5)

Tombe : style *süliis*. Profil E. Silhouette de style V II¹⁵⁸. Ornementation luxueuse qui s'élève très au dessus de l'inscription, à deux niveaux de décors floraux, séparés par un petit surplomb¹⁵⁹. Cette stèle présente une grande ressemblance avec celle de sa sœur Zeyneb (n° 16). Lors d'une visite en mars 1996, H.-P. Laqueur ne l'a pas retrouvée. Seule subsiste ce qui semblait être la stèle de pied (151 x 35 cm), à 2,5 m en contrebas de la stèle de son époux.

Translittération : [...] Halîl Hamîd Paşa dâmâdı / h'âcegân divân-i hümayûndan / merhûm ve mağfûr [...].

Traduction : [...] Gendre de Halîl Hamîd Pacha, qui compte parmi les *hacegân* du divan impérial et jouit du pardon et de la miséricorde [...].

Compléments biographiques : son mari et sa fille Adile meurent la même année, tous trois de la peste, semble-t-il.

Bibliographie : HHP III 7 (Neg.Nr. : R 24.467) ; *Haskan*, p. 745 ; *HPLO*, p. 104-106 ; *Uzunçarşılı*, p. 245.

Zeyneb Hanım (n° 16)

Tombe : dalle ; stèle de tête très haute (223 x 51 cm) de style *süliis* ; profil E ; type F VII. Ornementation luxueuse qui s'élève très au dessus de l'inscription¹⁶⁰, avec un décor floral stylisé déployé sur trois niveaux : sur le niveau inférieur, figure un appel à la *şefahat* en forme de *tuğra*¹⁶¹, à la place de l'invocation, entourée de trois petites palmes et de quelques feuillages

¹⁵⁶ HAT 1080/43972 (3 Z 1245).

¹⁵⁷ La documentation au BOA sur son activité d'administrateur territorial est très riche ; je n'en intègre qu'une partie.

¹⁵⁸ Synthèse des silhouettes VII 1 (« décor floral stylisé dans le champ supérieur ») et VII 3 (entablement) (*ST II*, p. 83-84).

¹⁵⁹ Sur ce type d'ornementation, cf. *EV*, p. 92.

¹⁶⁰ *EV*, p. 92.

¹⁶¹ On le trouve reproduit dans Mehmet Zeki Kuşoğlu, *Mezar Taşlarında Huve'l-bâki*, Istanbul, Renkler Matbaacılık, 1984, p. 56. Sur l'évolution de la *tuğra* vers un rôle purement ornemental, cf. Gilles VEINSTEIN, « La *tuğra* ottomane », in Anne-Marie CHRISTIN (dir.), *L'Écriture du nom propre*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 1998, p. 160-162.

(cf. *infra*, annexe III, fig. 5b et 5c) ; le niveau intermédiaire est distingué par un petit surplomb¹⁶² et 4 corbeilles de fruits ; le niveau supérieur à rinceaux présente une corbeille de fruits plus grande, dominée d'une petite feuille d'acanthé¹⁶³. Cette stèle ressemble à celle de sa sœur Fatma, moins élaborée.

Translittération : Merhûm ve cennet-mekân firdevs-âşiyân / Şadr-ı esbak Halîl Hamîd Paşanıñ / kerîmesi olan merhûme ve mağfûre / Zeyneb Hanımıñ rûhına fâtiha / 1221.

Traduction : La *fâtiha* pour l'âme de Zeyneb Hanım, qui jouit de la miséricorde et du pardon, fille de l'ancien grand vizir Halîl Hamîd Pacha, qui jouit de la miséricorde, qui réside et demeure au Paradis. 1221 [1806-1807].

Compléments biographiques : H.-P. Laqueur fait l'hypothèse qu'elle serait morte jeune et célibataire – sans doute parce que l'époux n'est pas nommé. Mais selon un arbre généalogique des descendants, elle aurait eu une fille, prénommée Zehra.

Bibliographie : HHP I 8 (Neg.Nr. : R 24465) ; *Haskan*, p. 745 ; *HPLO*, p. 104-105 ; Uzunçarşılı, p. 245.

TROISIÈME GÉNÉRATION

Adile Hanım (n° 8)

Tombe : c'est une stèle (150 x 65 cm) d'un marbre blanc issu des carrières de Marmara, particulièrement coûteux, unique dans notre corpus¹⁶⁴. On reconnaît une stèle à épaulettes, à bords droits¹⁶⁵, de style *süliis*, de profil A, surmontée d'une coiffure *hotoz*, de moins en moins utilisée, mais que l'on retrouve encore sous cette forme dans les années 1810-1820¹⁶⁶, décorée d'une fleur à trois pétales. Au bas, sur les côtés, on note un motif décoratif un peu maladroit. Entre l'époque de la photographie de H.-P. Laqueur et ma première visite en janvier 2009, la stèle a subi une rotation de 180° dont j'ignore la cause. La dalle (150 x 65 cm) dans laquelle elle est enchâssée semble avoir été légèrement déplacée ; elle chevauche en effet, sur quelques centimètres en longueur, celle de Mehmed Pacha (n° 7 ; cf. *infra*, annexe III, fig. 4a).

Translittération : Hüve-l-bākî / lutf ile meskenimiz kıl yâ Hudâ bâğ-ı cinân / rāzıyım emrine yâ Rabb eyledim teslîm-i cān¹⁶⁷ / almadım dünyâ murâdın¹⁶⁸

¹⁶² Type VII 3 (*ST II*, p. 84).

¹⁶³ Type F VII 2 c (*ST II*, p. 84). L'association de 4 corbeilles de fruits, au niveau intermédiaire, et d'une corbeille plus grande, au niveau supérieur, est un thème de la période : on le retrouve sur une stèle à Fatih datée de 1804 (*ÖG III*, p. 228).

¹⁶⁴ Je remercie N. Vatin pour cette information.

¹⁶⁵ Silhouette de type F I 9a (*ST II*, p. 72).

¹⁶⁶ *EV*, p. 185. On trouvera un support de coiffe de même type daté de la même année dans *EK*, p. 316, de 1825 dans *EE*, p. 142, de 1819 dans *ÖG III*, p. 249.

¹⁶⁷ Formule stéréotypée n° 68, repérée par *EV* (p. 336) à Istanbul en 1800-1820, période de l'inhumation. L'expression *teslîm-i cān* renvoie à la vie elle-même, reçue de Dieu, que le défunt abandonne (*EV*, p. 267-268).

¹⁶⁸ « Murâd almamak » (ne pas obtenir son désir) est une formule stéréotypée (*EV*, p. 231 et p. 241).

bî-murād oldum bugün / vére cennetde murādım¹⁶⁹ baña hallāk-ı cihân / dâr-ı dünyâda gezerken gül gibi nâzik¹⁷⁰ tenim / ânsızın geldi vebâ¹⁷¹ hiç vermedi âh âmân¹⁷² / şadr-ı esbak ‘Alâ’iyeli el-hâc Muḥammed / Paşa yeğeni maktûl Ḥalîl Paşa / dāmâdı Es-seyyîd Muḥammed Beg Efendiniñ / kerîmesi merhûme¹⁷³ Şerîfe ‘Âdile / Hanımın rûhına fâtiha¹⁷⁴ / 15 Z 1227.

Traduction : Ô Lui, l'Éternel ! Par Ta grâce, fais ma résidence, Ô Seigneur, du jardin du Paradis. Je consens à Tes ordres, je rends l'âme. Je n'ai pas tiré ce que j'attendais du monde ; aujourd'hui, je n'ai plus d'espoir. Qu'il exauce mes vœux au Paradis, le créateur du monde. Alors que mon corps délicat, pareil à une rose, baguenaudait dans ce monde, tout à coup, la peste s'est abattue. Hélas ! Hélas ! Il ne [m]'a pas fait grâce. La *fâtiha* pour l'âme de Şerîfe ‘Âdile Hanım, celle qui jouit du pardon, fille de Es-seyyîd Muḥammed Beg Efendi, gendre de Ḥalîl Pacha, [qui fut] exécuté, et neveu de l'ancien grand vizir ‘Alâ’iyeli el-hâc Muḥammed Pacha. Le 15 Z 1227 [19 déc. 1812].

Remarques : il faut noter la mention (unique dans notre corpus) de la cause de la mort, la peste de 1812, une épidémie dévastatrice, qui aurait également emporté son père Mehmed et sa mère Fatma¹⁷⁵. Il s'agit d'une stèle « formulaïque », pour reprendre la terminologie de EV – la seule du corpus avec celle de Mehmed Lebiba Efendi (n° 6) : un sixain est inséré de la l. 2 à la l. 7 ; il s'agit de vers de 15 syllabes, caractérisés par un agencement de la rime en *aabaca*¹⁷⁶. C'est également la seule stèle du corpus (toujours à l'exception de celle de Mehmed Lebiba Efendi), où le défunt parle en son nom. La seconde partie de l'épithaphe est d'un registre différent : l'hommage au souvenir de la jeune défunte se transforme en monument à la mémoire de trois de ses ascendants, au point que l'identité du père est plus précise sur l'épi-

¹⁶⁹ EV, p. 232.

¹⁷⁰ Du même champ lexical que l'adjectif *nâzenin* (délicat), souvent associé au trépas d'une jeune femme, et à la rose, métaphore de beauté corporelle (EV, p. 227 et p. 229).

¹⁷¹ Forme similaire chez une autre victime de la peste tombée quelques mois plus tard : « dâr-ı dünyâda gezerdim bir zamân nâgehân geldi vebâ » (EE, p. 200).

¹⁷² Pour une comparaison avec une formule stéréotypée sur les épidémies comme cause de décès, cf. EV, p. 253 et p. 332, n° 48.

¹⁷³ Sur l'accord au féminin de *merhûm* et *mağfûr*, très fréquent dans les épithaphe du corpus, cf. EV, p. 45.

¹⁷⁴ Sur cette expression et ses variantes, cf. EV, p. 50.

¹⁷⁵ Les auteurs de ST I (p. 450) repèrent nettement l'impact de l'épidémie de 1812 dans leurs corpus. À ce sujet, cf. Comte Antoine-François ANDRÉOSSY, *Constantinople et le Bosphore de la Thrace pendant les années 1812, 1813 et 1814 et pendant l'année 1826*, Paris, T. Barrois et B. Duprat, 1828. Daniel Panzac (*La Peste dans l'Empire ottoman, 1700-1850*, Louvain, Peeters, 1985, p. 359) cite le chiffre de 100 000 victimes. Il évoque une vague d'extension en 1813-1819 (*ibid.*, p. 605 ; repérée à Sinope dans ST VI). H.-P. Laqueur propose une estimation supérieure encore, entre 150 000 et 250 000 morts (HPLO, p. 84). Si le terme de peste est mentionné dans l'épithaphe d'Adile, il ne figure pas dans celles de ses parents. Ce silence ne surprend pas : dans le corpus de EV (p. 253), 6 épithaphe sur 60 qui concernent l'année 1812 nomment la maladie ; dans celui de H.-P. Laqueur, 8 sur 86 (HPLO, p. 84) ; H.-P. Laqueur explique ce silence comme l'effet d'une crainte superstitieuse (*idem*). Dans le cimetière de Sinope, la mention explicite de la peste est en proportion bien plus élevée (ST VI, p. 120).

¹⁷⁶ Sur l'usage des sixains, cf. EV, p. 100.

taphe de sa fille que sur sa propre épitaphe. Il faut enfin noter la transmission du statut chérifien (père *seyyid*, fils *şerife*) selon des usages bien analysés par R. Kılıç¹⁷⁷.

Bibliographie : HP II 8 (Neg.Nr. : R 24482) ; *Haskan*, p. 745 ; *HPLO*, p. 104-106.

Fatma üz-Zehra Hanım

Tombe : la stèle de tête, de style *süliis*, est entourée d'un ruban torsadé ; elle a été brisée. H.-P. Laqueur indique que le fragment inférieur de la stèle (77 x 43 cm) se trouve à terre, encore fixé au mur frontal du sarcophage (hauteur totale du fragment : 137 cm). Sont également au sol d'autres fragments du sarcophage et de la stèle de pied. H.-P. Laqueur n'a pas retrouvé de couvre-chef. Mes visites n'ont rien donné de plus.

Translittération : [...] / Mısır vālisi Muḥammed 'Alī Paşa-zāde / İsmā'ıl Paşa ḥalīlesi / cennet-mekān merḥūme ve maḡfūrun lehā / Faṭımat'üz-Zehrā Hanım rūḥı için fātiḥa / fi 10 L sene 1274 / ketebeḥu Muḥammed Rif'at.

Traduction : [...] La *fātiḥa* pour l'âme de Faṭımat'üz-Zehrā Hanım, celle qui repose au Paradis, qui jouit du pardon, qu'il lui soit pardonné. Elle est l'épouse d'İsmā'ıl Pacha, fils du gouverneur général d'Égypte, Muḥammed 'Alī Pacha. Le 10 L de l'année 1274 [24 mai 1858]. Muḥammed Rif'at (l') a noté¹⁷⁸.

Éléments biographiques : elle est la fille de Mehmed Arif Bey¹⁷⁹ et l'épouse d'Ismail Pacha, fils du *vali* d'Égypte, Muhammed Ali Pacha. Elle a eu un fils avec lui, Ömer Bey (mort en 1816) et a adopté une fille d'origine tcherkesse du nom de Bezmi. Elle serait appelée Mısırlı Hanım à Istanbul et Gelin Hanım en Égypte – marque de sa qualité de « pièce rapportée ». Elle aurait fait la connaissance de son futur époux, alors qu'elle se trouvait au Caire avec son père Mehmed Arif, cadı en 1807-1808. Ils se seraient pris de passion l'un pour l'autre. Lors de leurs passages à Istanbul, ils séjournent dans le *yalı* familial de Mehmed Arif à Akıntıburnu. La mort de son époux lui aurait causé un grand et long chagrin que le *vali* aurait essayé de soulager par tous les moyens. À cela s'ajoute la guerre entre le *vali* et la Sublime Porte qui empêche Fatma üz-Zehra de voir sa famille pendant de longues années et cause des difficultés lors de la liquidation de la succession de son père en 1839¹⁸⁰. Une fois la paix instaurée en 1841, elle peut revenir à Istanbul, avec sa fille ; elle s'installerait dans le *yalı* d'Akıntıburnu. En 1854-1855, elle est citée comme administratrice du *vakıf*¹⁸¹.

¹⁷⁷ Rüya KILIÇ, *Osmanlıda Seyyidler ve Şerifler*, Istanbul, Kitap Yayınevi, 2005 ; Rüya KILIÇ, « Sayyids and Sharifs in the Ottoman State : on the Borders of the True and the False », *Muslim World* 96/1, 2006, p. 24-26.

¹⁷⁸ Il s'agit sans doute du lapicide.

¹⁷⁹ Plusieurs arbres généalogiques de la famille se trompent sur le nom de son père (Sadullah Efendi). Les documents familiaux de Rükiye Kuneralp (que je remercie ici) indiquent qu'elle serait la sœur de Bamba Kadın, 3^e épouse d'Ahmed Tosun Pacha, un autre fils de Muhammed Ali né en 1793 et mort à Rosette en 1816. Je n'en ai aucune confirmation.

¹⁸⁰ MTZ (05) 1/19 (07 § 1255).

¹⁸¹ A.DVN 106/77 (daté de 1271).

Bibliographie : HHP II 21 (D-DAI-IST-KB 22.002; stèle de tête); HHP I 19 (KB 22.004; partie de sarcophage); BOA : MTZ (05) 1/19; A.DVN 106/77; *DH*, p. 680; *Muradoğlu*, p. 76-77; *SO* III, p. 272; arbre généalogique des khédives (collection personnelle de R. Kuneralp).

Hamide Hanım (n° 2)

Tombe : stèle située en contrebas de l'ensemble familial, à l'extrémité sud-est de l'enclos, contre le mur de l'hôpital. La stèle en colonne (hauteur : 140 cm), de style *ta'lik*, est fichée sur la tombe de son fils, Mustafa Nazif. Il s'agit probablement d'un monument : Hamide fut, semble-t-il, inhumée ailleurs, dix ans auparavant.

Translittération : Hüve / Halîl Hamîd Paşa-zâde / 'Ârif Begiñ kerîmesi / ve merhûm Naẓîf Begiñ vâlidesi / merhûme ve mağfûrun lehâ Hamîde / Hanım Efendi rûhî içün / 1271.

Traduction : Ô Dieu ! Pour l'âme de Hamîde Hanım Efendi, celle qui jouit de la miséricorde, qu'il lui soit pardonné, mère de Naẓîf Beg Efendi, qui jouit de la miséricorde, fille de 'Ârif Beg, fils de Halîl Hamîd Pacha. 1271 [1864-1865].

Mehmed Asaf Celaleddin Pacha (n° 22)

Tombe : dalle (259 x 124 cm); stèle de tête (hauteur : 198 cm), en colonne (profil G) de style *ta'lik* sur le même modèle que celle de sa belle-fille, Ayşe Raife (n° 15), inhumée à deux stèles de là (cf. *infra*, annexe III, fig. 3); elle est très richement décorée; l'épithaphe est entourée d'une guirlande de feuilles d'acanthé, surmontée d'une calotte à bulbe; au bas, 6 épaisses feuilles d'acanthé excurvées entourent la colonne. La stèle de pied est de même taille (hauteur : 190 cm) et de même décoration, dotée également de la même calotte, mais anépigraphie et sans guirlande. Fait exceptionnel dans la section, un texte est inscrit sur la dalle. On reconnaît là un phénomène de doublement de l'épithaphe, de plus en plus fréquent dans les dernières décennies du XIX^e siècle : en plus d'une épithaphe classique et biographique en stèle de pied, vient s'ajouter une présentation qui chante les louanges du défunt en des termes plus poétiques, parfois sur la stèle de pied ou sur une autre partie de la tombe¹⁸².

Translittération : Şadr-ı â'zâm-ı esbağ merhûm / Halîl Hamîd Paşa-zâde / vûzerâ-yı 'uzâmdan Nûrullâh / Paşa merhûmuñ mağdûmu / şeyhü-l-harem-i esbağ vezîr / Cemâle-d-dîn Paşa-zâde / ecille-i neferâtdan ve müşîrân-i / 'izâm-i şaltanat-i seniyye'den / yâver-i ekrem-i hazret-i pâdişâhî / Muḥammed Âsaf Celâle-d-dîn / Paşanıñ ârâmgâh-i edebiyesidir / vefâtı 13 şabân sene 1317 7 şevvâl sene 1252 veladeti.

Traduction : C'est le lieu de l'éternel repos de Muḥammed Âsaf Celâle-d-dîn Pacha, qui compte parmi les illustres soldats et maréchaux du sultanat élevé.

¹⁸² *EV*, p. 198.

Aide de camp de Sa Majesté impériale, il est fils du vizir Cemāle-d-dīn Pacha, ancien gouverneur de la ville et de la province de Médine, fils de Nurullāh Pacha qui fait partie des vizirs et qui jouit de la miséricorde, fils de l'ancien grand vizir Ḥalīl Ḥamīd Pacha, qui jouit du pardon. Né le 7 *şevvāl* de l'an 1252 [14 jan. 1837] et mort le 13 *şabān* de l'an 1317 [16 déc. 1899].

Dalle : style *ta'lik*.

Translittération¹⁸³ :

1. Bir vezīr oğlu müşīr eyledī 'azm-i ukbā¹⁸⁴
Bizi terk¹⁸⁵ étđi te'eşşürle dirigā hayfā
2. İstikāmetde şadākatde şebāt eyleyerek
Dem-be-dem eyledi taḥşīl rızā-yı mevlā
3. Gözi yāşlı nice öksüzleri şād étđi sezā
Nāmına dēnse ebb-i müşfik-i pāk-i fuḳarā
4. Öyle bir zāt idi kim şa'sa'a baḥş olmışdı
Neyyir-i fīnetine pertev-i āhlāk-i Hüdā
5. Keremī Ḥātim-i Ṭāy¹⁸⁶ nāmını ṭayy étmişdi
Ezelī zīnet-i mu'tādī idi bezl ü 'aṭā
6. Ārāma ḳalbiniñ 'ulvīyetine¹⁸⁷ başka delīl
Ḥaḳḳına 'arż-ı 'ibādetde idi şübḥ ü mesā
7. Meş'al-i merḳadıdır encüm-i envār-efşān
Şaçıyor pertevini ḳabrine fevkinde semā
8. Bu kitābe yazılır ḳabrine¹⁸⁸ elbette Celāl
'Azm-ı gülzār-i cinān eyledi Āşaf Paşa

Traduction :

1. Un *muşīr* fils de vizir s'est mis en route vers l'au-delà.
Il nous a abandonnés dans la peine. Hélas ! Hélas !
2. Persévérant dans la droiture et la charité,
d'instant en instant, il a récolté l'approbation du Seigneur.
3. Il a dignement fait le bonheur de nombre d'orphelins en pleurs,
on l'appellerait [de justesse] le père des pauvres d'une pure tendresse.
4. Tel était cet homme qu'il lui avait été donné de briller,
qu'à son caractère lumineux [avait été donnée] la splendeur des vertus de Dieu.
5. Sa générosité avait effacé le nom de Ḥātim-i Ṭāy,
depuis toujours sa gracieuse coutume était de dépenser et de donner.

¹⁸³ Je remercie vivement E. Ambros qui a procédé aux corrections (pour la translittération comme pour la traduction) du texte poétique qui suit. Les notes de bas de page reprennent ses remarques ainsi que celles de N. Vatin que je remercie également.

¹⁸⁴ Terme peu employé sur les stèles funéraires (EV, p. 277).

¹⁸⁵ Terme très souvent employé pour désigner la mort comme abandon (EV, p. 273-274).

¹⁸⁶ Il faut lire Ṭay au lieu de Ṭāy. Le mètre demande un raccourcissement. On voit ici qu'il ne s'agit pas d'un poète de haute qualité.

¹⁸⁷ Le 'ayn est ignoré comme consonante pour une raison métrique. Cette irrégularité ne pose guère problème puisque les Ottomans ne prononçaient pas vraiment le 'ayn. Elle était relativement courante chez les poètes de qualité moyenne.

¹⁸⁸ Littéralement « lieu d'inhumation », très souvent employé dans les épitaphes (EV, p. 293), mais peu dans notre corpus.

6. Ne cherche pas d'autre explication à la sublime [supériorité de] son cœur ;
matin et soir, il adressait ses prières à Son Dieu.
7. Les brillantes étoiles sont le flambeau de son tombeau ;
elles répandent leur lueur sur la tombe au-delà du ciel.
8. Cette inscription est écrite nécessairement sur sa tombe Ô Celâl :
Aşaf Pacha s'est mis en route vers la roseraie du Paradis.

Remarques : poésie de mètre *remel* : fe'ilātün (fā'ilātün) – fe'ilātün – fe'ilātün – fe'ilün (fa'lün). Forme : *naẓm* (non pas dans le sens de poésie, mais au sens de forme de poésie). Contrairement aux apparences, il n'y a pas de chronogramme : le compte de la valeur numérique du dernier hémistiché donne 1009, ce qui ne correspond pas à la date effective. On ne note aucune faute métrique grave, seulement quelques irrégularités. Le texte est le seul du corpus qui corresponde à l'épithaphe « parlante¹⁸⁹ ». La part belle est faite aux activités du défunt en faveur des orphelins. J'ignore s'il en est l'auteur ou si la famille a loué les services d'un professionnel. En tout cas, il faut noter le caractère lâche et flexible de la composition, illustration de la thèse de *EV* selon laquelle la signification des vers importe moins que « l'accumulation phonétiquement harmonieuse d'images banales et sans rapport entre elles¹⁹⁰ ».

Compléments biographiques : il est le fils de Mehmed Cemaleddin Pacha. Selon les généalogies de la famille, il aurait pour enfants Cemal, Behire, Fatma üz-Zehra et Mehmed Salih Bey. Il a pour belle-fille Ayşe Raife Hanım – j'ignore à ce jour le nom de son mari. Ancien élève de l'École militaire, aide de camp du sultan. Il est membre de la Commission d'inspection militaire, au moins depuis octobre 1883¹⁹¹. Inspecteur des forteresses de la Méditerranée et de la mer Noire, il est cité à l'occasion de plusieurs missions d'inspection effectuées en Méditerranée en 1886. Il remet un ensemble de photographies au souverain sur les forteresses des Dardanelles en avril 1888. Il est promu au grade de maréchal en octobre 1892¹⁹². Il est envoyé à la Mecque fin 1893, afin d'inspecter les travaux entrepris dans le cadre des œuvres du sultan¹⁹³. Il s'y rend à bord du navire *Izmir*¹⁹⁴. Du Hedjaz, il envoie un rapport au milieu de l'année 1894 contre le *vali* Ratib Pacha, lequel est révoqué¹⁹⁵. Un soir qu'il est de garde au Palais, il est empoisonné. La raison du meurtre et l'identité du responsable n'ont jamais été divulguées¹⁹⁶.

Bibliographie : HHP II 12 (Neg.Nr. : R 24480) ; BOA : Y.PRK.ASK 31/18 ; Y.PRK.ASK 31/23 ; Y.PRK.ASK 32/81 ; Y. PRK.BŞK 17/54 ; Y.MTV 32/25 ;

¹⁸⁹ Je reprends la typologie de *EV* (p. 161-162) pour renvoyer aux stèles qui vont au-delà de l'énumération des titres et fonctions du défunt.

¹⁹⁰ *EV*, p. 109-110.

¹⁹¹ MAD.d. 10647 (29 Z 1300) : ce document cite son traitement de membre de la *Tensikat-i askeriye teftiş komisyonu*.

¹⁹² İ.TAL 7/1310 R 014 (7 R 1310)). Et non en 1891, comme l'indique *Muradoğlu*, p. 69-70.

¹⁹³ Y.A. HUS 286/30, 04 C 1311 ; Y.A. HUS 287/36, 17 C 1311.

¹⁹⁴ İ.HUS 20/1311 B-41, 16 B 1311.

¹⁹⁵ Y.PRK.UM 30/22 (01 M 1312).

¹⁹⁶ T. Toros indique 1901 au lieu de 1899 (cf. *infra*, Bibliographie).

İ.TAL 7/1310 R 014; DH.MKT 1445/76; DH.MKT 1920/94; DH.MKT 2003/110; Taha TOROS, *O Güzel İnsanlar*, İstanbul, Aksoy Yayıncılık, 2000, p. 103; *SO* IV, p. 790; *HPLO*, p. 105 et p. 107; Uzunçarşılı, p. 245.

Mehmed Asım Beyefendi (n° 24)

Tombe : dalle ; stèle (hauteur : 205 cm) de profil C, avec un double texte, de style *ta'lik*, identique recto verso. La stèle est intégrée au sarcophage (75 x 63 cm). Aujourd'hui, ne subsiste du sarcophage que la base de la face antérieure, support de la stèle, décorée d'un vase avec deux anses, chargé de grappes de raisin, symbole de vie et de fertilité¹⁹⁷. La stèle de pied s'est écroulée à proximité de la stèle de Halil Hamid Pacha. Le couvre-chef est de type X-1 ou fez *mâhmûdi*¹⁹⁸. À peine imposé aux vivants, on sait que le fez apparaît au sommet des stèles ; celui-ci est d'un volume imposant (34 x 24 cm) car encore distinctif à l'époque¹⁹⁹.

Translittération : Ser bevvâbân-ı dergâh-ı 'âlî / şadr-ı Rûm esbak Halîl Hamîd / Paşa-zâde mîr Mehmed 'Ârif / Efendi hazretleriniñ / mañdûm-i mûkerremleri merhûm / ve mağfûrun leh Muhammed 'Âşım / Beg Efendi rûhı için el-fâtîha / Sene 1251.

Traduction : La *fâtîha* pour l'âme de Muhammed 'Âşım Beg Efendi, qui jouit de la miséricorde et du pardon, chef des portiers de la cour impériale, fils de Son Excellence le Seigneur Mehmed 'Ârif Efendi, *kazasker* de Roumélie, fils de l'ancien grand vizir Halîl Hamîd Pacha. En l'an 1251 [1835-1836].

Compléments bibliographiques : il serait né en 1803²⁰⁰. Il est marié à Ayşe, fille de son oncle Mehmed Nurullah Pacha. Celle-ci, disparue un an plus tard selon un arbre généalogique, n'est pas inhumée dans l'enclos. Lorsqu'il est commis au secrétariat de la Correspondance (*mektubi*) de la Sublime Porte, Mehmed Asım est également représentant mandaté (*kethüda*) de son oncle et beau-père, alors gouverneur général. Il devient *silahşor-i hassa* et *kapıcıbaşı* en décembre 1814. Dans le *hatt* qui le promeut, il est cité comme fils du cadi d'Istanbul et neveu du *muhafız* d'Eğriboz²⁰¹. On le retrouve avec le même grade de *kapıcıbaşı* (à moins d'une possible homonymie) en août 1830²⁰². Promu ensuite au rang de *hacegân*, il est également fermier de l'impôt à Avlonya.

Bibliographie : HHP II 15 (Neg.Nr. : R 24.442); BOA : C.ML 495/20104; HAT 743/35190; DH, p. 680; *Haskan*, p. 747; *HPLO*, p. 104; *SO* III, p. 283; Uzunçarşılı, p. 245.

¹⁹⁷ La vigne est citée dans le Coran, aux côtés des palmiers, des oliviers, des grenadiers et des dattes (*Coran*, 6, 99). Motif identique à celui reproduit dans *ÖG* II, p. 73.

¹⁹⁸ Cf. un exemple de même type en 1830 dans *ÖG* II, p. 255.

¹⁹⁹ Selon *EV*, p. 185.

²⁰⁰ *DH*, p. 680.

²⁰¹ HAT 743/35190 (29 Z 1229).

²⁰² C.ML 495/20104 (29 S 1246).

Mehmed Hamid Beyefendi (n° 30)

Tombe : stèle de tête de profil A (221 x 42 cm), de style *ta'lik*; dalle (285 x 133 cm). Silhouette proche du type I 6²⁰³. Double couvre-chef D-1, avec collerette (sur le même modèle que celui de Mehmed Bey et Mehmed Lebiba, également *hacegân*). Stèle de pied sans inscription, mais dotée du côté visible de la rue d'un riche motif végétal entrelacé, à l'évidence un rosier planté dans un vase.

Translittération : Hüve-l-bâkî / şâbîkâ şadr-ı Rûmeli / Halîl Paşa-zâde / 'Ârif Beg Efendiniñ / maḥdûm 'âlî kâdrî / enderûn-i hümâyûn maḥrec / h'âcegân-i divân-i hümâyûndan / merḥûm ve mağfürun leh / Muḥammed Ḥamîd Beg Efendi / rûhı için el-fâtiha / 1237.

Traduction : Ô Lui, l'Éternel ! La *fâtiha* pour l'âme de Muḥammed Ḥamîd Beg efendi, celui qui jouit de la miséricorde et du pardon, fils de 'Ârif Beg Efendi, ancien *kazasker* de Roumélie et fils de Halîl Pacha, de sublime stature, *hacegân* du divan impérial, membre des services extérieurs du Palais. En l'an 1237 [1821-1822].

Bibliographie : HHP I 13 (Neg.Nr. : R 24460); *Haskan*, p. 746; *HPLO*, p. 105-106; *SO* II, 257; *Uzunçarşılı*, p. 245.

Mehmed Raşid Beyefendi (n° 19)

Tombe : stèle de tête (155 x 38 cm) de profil C; épitaphe de style *ta'lik*. Anciennement brisée en sa partie supérieure, la stèle avait été recollée, sans doute lors de la rénovation du cimetière, dans les années 1970; elle est de nouveau à terre, un morceau au pied de la tombe de Mehmed Asaf Celaeddin Pacha, l'autre non loin de celle de Fatma üz-Zehra. Un sarcophage (188 x 55 x 69 cm) avait été identifié par H.-P. Laqueur; il n'existe plus. L'épitaphe apparaît aussi au verso de la stèle. On reconnaît sur la photographie de H.-P. Laqueur un turban d'*alim*²⁰⁴.

Translittération : Hüve-l-bâkî / Halîl Ḥamîd Paşa-zâde / 'Ârif Beg Efendiniñ / maḥdûmî mevâlî-i 'izâmdan / sâbîkâ Misr-i Kâhire kâḍısı / merḥûm ve mağfürun leh Muḥammed Râşid / Beyefendi rûhı için / el-fâtiha / sene 1250 13 Ş.

Traduction : Ô Lui, l'Éternel ! La *fâtiha* pour l'âme de Muḥammed Râşid Beg Efendi, qui jouit de la miséricorde, qu'il lui soit pardonné, descendant de Halîl Ḥamîd Pacha, fils de 'Ârif Beg Efendi, mollah de rang supérieur et ancien cadi du Caire. Le 13 Ş 1250 [14 déc. 1834].

Compléments biographiques : il serait né en 1210. Son père est Mehmed Arif Bey. Münire est son épouse. Il a pour enfants Mehmed Ataullah Bey, Mehmed Nebil, Baha, Mehmed Şefik, Feride, Rıza et Saide. C'est un religieux, de grade *havass-i refîa* en septembre 1828 (29 S 1244), *müderres* en 1829-1830 (1245), *Eyüb* en 1248 (1832-1833)²⁰⁵. Il meurt avec le grade de *Mısır* selon *SO* et *İstanbul* selon une généalogie familiale.

²⁰³ *ST* II, p. 59.

²⁰⁴ On le retrouve par exemple dans *ÖG* II, p. 178, mais un demi-siècle plus tard.

²⁰⁵ *DH* cite 1829.

Bibliographie : HHP I 9 (Neg.Nr. : R 24439 ; R 24440) ; BOA : C.ADL 68/4055 ; SO II, p. 354, *DH*, p. 680 ; GÜLDÖŞÜREN, *op. cit.*, p. 384 ; Uzunçarşılı, p. 245.

QUATRIÈME GÉNÉRATION

Fatma üz-Zehra Hanım (n° 21)

Tombe : dalle. Stèle de tête (hauteur : 146 cm) en colonne sans décoration, de style *ta'lik*. La stèle de pied a disparu.

Translittération : Şadr-ı esbak-ı merhûm / Halîl Hamîd Paşa / ahfâdından Âşaf / Paşanın kerîmesi / olub henüz on yedi / yaşında iken 'âzim-i 'âlem-i / bekā olan Faîmat' / üz-Zehrâ Hanımıñ rûhı için / rızâ'en li-llâh el-fâtiha / sene 1302 12 Z.

Traduction : La *fâtiha* pour le contentement de Dieu et pour l'âme de Faîmat' üz-Zehra Hanım, fille de Âşaf Pacha, l'un des petits-fils de l'ancien grand vizir, Halîl Hamîd Pacha, qui jouit du pardon. Elle était à peine dans sa 17^e année, lorsqu'elle s'est rendue dans le monde de l'éternité. Le 12 Z 1302 [21 sept. 1885].

Remarques : on notera la sobriété de la mention de la jeunesse prématurée de la défunte (le seul âge de décès mentionné dans tout le corpus), alors que le style funéraire ottoman dispose d'un riche répertoire de formulations à ce sujet²⁰⁶. On le mesure en partie à la lecture de l'épithaphe d'Adile.

Bibliographie : HHP III 15 (Neg.Nr. : R 24475) ; *HPLO*, p. 105-107.

Mehmed Ataullah Beyefendi (n° 36)

Tombe : dalle, sur laquelle se trouve une partie de ce qui pourrait être la stèle de pied ; stèle de tête (170 x 37,5 cm), de style *ta'lik* ; couvre chef : I-? ; profil : A.

Translittération : Hüve-l-bākî / Anađolu pāyesi olub / sābıkā Mîsr-i Qāhire kādîsı / Halîl Hamîd Paşa-zāde 'Ârif / Beg hafîdi merhûm ve mağfûr / el-muhtâc ilâ rahmeti rabbihi-l-ğafûr / Muḥammed 'Atâullâh Beg Efendi / rûhı için el-fâtiha / fi 27 M sene 1268.

Traduction : La *fâtiha* pour l'âme de Muḥammed 'Atâullâh Beg Efendi, celui qui jouit de la miséricorde et du pardon, celui qui a besoin de la miséricorde du Seigneur qui pardonne, petit-fils de 'Ârif Beg, fils de Halîl Hamîd Pacha, ancien juge du Caire, de rang *Anađolu*. Le 27 M de l'année 1268 [21 nov. 1851].

Compléments biographiques : il est souvent nommé Ata Bey dans les arbres de la famille. Il est né en 1809-1810 (1224). Son père est Mehmed Raşid Bey. Il épouse une fille de Mehmed Hamdullah Efendi, de la grande famille d'oulémas Arab-zāde. Ses enfants cités dans les généalogies sont Derviş Pacha, Arif Bey, Behcet Bey, Atif Pacha, Fitnat Hanım, Rifat Bey, Mehmed Rıza Efendi et Atiye. Il obtient le grade *müderriş* en 1823-1824 (1239). Il est mollah au

²⁰⁶ *EV*, p. 105-108.

Caire nommé début 1842 (Z 1257). À son retour, il est mollah de la Mecque. En mars 1850, il est nommé cadı de Keşan²⁰⁷. Élevé au grade *İstanbul* (25 sept. 1847/15 L 1263), il est membre du Conseil de l'instruction (*meclis-i maarif*) et *kazasker* d'Anatolie (déc. 1849-janv. 1850/S 1266). C'est un poète, réputé pour son éloquence et son excellent caractère.

Bibliographie : HHP I 17 (Neg.Nr. : R 24458) ; BOA : C. ADL 56/3378 ; İ.MTZ (05) 1/19 ; DH, p. 561 et p. 680 ; *Haskan*, p. 747 ; SO III, p. 481 ; HPLO, p. 105-106.

Mehmed Nebil Efendi (n° 32)

Tombe : stèle fichée en terre ; de taille minuscule (65 x 21 cm). Cela dit, il n'y a pas de corrélation entre l'âge du décès et la taille de la stèle²⁰⁸. Le texte de l'épithaphe figure sur les deux côtés de la stèle. Couvre-chef : F-VI. Profil : C. Style *ta'lik*.

Translittération : Hüve-l-bākī / şadr-ı Rûm ma'ālî-mersûm / Halîl Hamîd Paşazâde / Muḥammed 'Ârif Beg Efendi / ḥafîdî merḥûm ve mağfûrun leh / cennet-mekân firdevs-âşiyân / mîr Muḥammed Nebîl Efendi / rûhı içün rızâ'en li-llâh fâtiḥa / 1241.

Traduction : Ô Lui, l'Éternel ! La *fâtiḥa* pour le contentement de Dieu et pour l'âme du Seigneur Muḥammed Nebîl Efendi, dont les affaires importantes sont le lot quotidien, petit-fils de Muḥammed 'Ârif Beg Efendi, [ce dernier] *kazasker* de Roumélie et fils de Halîl Hamîd Pacha. Il réside et repose au Paradis et jouit de la miséricorde et du pardon. 1241 [1825-1826].

Complément biographique : le nom du père n'est pas indiqué ; il s'agit de Mehmed Raşid.

Bibliographie : HHP I 14 (Neg.Nr. : R 24-451) ; *Haskan*, p. 747 ; HPLO, p. 105-106.

Mehmed Neşet Nurullah Bey (n° 29)

Tombe : stèle en colonne, de style *ta'lik*, fichée sur un sarcophage. L'épithaphe est entourée d'une guirlande de feuilles d'acanthe ; au bas, également un motif de feuilles d'acanthe. La tombe a été détruite, peut-être lors des travaux de construction du mur de l'hôpital. On retrouve la stèle à terre, en deux morceaux entre les tombes d'Ayşe Raife et de Fatma üz-Zehra.

Translittération : Hüve-l-bākī / şadr-ı esbak Halîl / Hamîd Paşa aḥfâdından / 'Âsım Beg zâde / mülğâ meclis-i vâlâ / a'zâsından / Nûrullâh Beg / rûhına fâtiḥa / 23 Ş 1315.

²⁰⁷ C. ADL 56/3378 (27 R 1266).

²⁰⁸ Nicolas VATIN, « Réaction de la société ottomane à la mort de ses “jeunes” d'après les épithaphe », in Klaus KREISER, François GEORGEON (dir.), *Enfance et jeunesse dans le monde musulman*, Paris, Maisonneuve et Larose, 2007, p. 176. Cf. également EV, p. 223.

Traduction : Ô Lui, l'Éternel ! La *fâtiha* pour l'âme de Nûrullâh Beg, membre du Conseil supérieur dissous, fils de 'Âsim Beg, descendant de l'ancien grand vizir Halîl Hamîd Pacha. 23 Ş 1315 [23 juil. 1897].

Compléments biographiques : il serait né en 1825. Il est le fils de Mehmed Asım et a pour épouse Refia ; les généalogies lui attribuent plusieurs enfants : Hikmet, Mustafa, İzzet, Arif, Halil Hamid et Mehmed Asım. Sa carrière est modeste : il n'a ici à rappeler que sa participation à une institution centrale de la période des *Tanzimât*, mais disparue depuis plus de trente ans avant sa mort. En août 1846, il est signalé comme greffier au secrétariat de la Correspondance de la Sublime Porte, à l'instar de son frère Raif ; il obtient alors le 3^e grade, en même temps que ce dernier est promu au 4^e grade²⁰⁹. Il est membre du Conseil de l'agriculture, puis du Conseil supérieur des ordonnances judiciaires (*meclis-i vâlâ*). Il y obtient le 1^{er} grade, avant d'être démis de ses fonctions lors de la suppression du Conseil en 1868. Il vit ensuite du produit de ses domaines fonciers.

Bibliographie : HHP III 18 (Neg.Nr. : R 24478) ; BOA : İ.DH 59/2907 ; C.DH 129/6435 ; C. BLD 78/3858 ; DH, p. 680 ; HPLO, p. 105-106 ; SO IV, p. 871 ; Uzunçarşılı, p. 245.

Mustafa Nazif Beyefendi (n° 1)

Tombe : tombe située en contrebas de l'ensemble familial, à l'extrémité sud-est de l'enclos, contre le mur de l'hôpital. Deux stèles, toutes deux en colonne, sont fichées sur la dalle ; l'une (hauteur : 148 cm), orientée au nord-est, de style *ta'lik*, est celle du défunt ; l'autre (n° 2 ; hauteur : 140 cm), à l'autre extrémité de la dalle, est dédiée à sa mère, Hamide, inhumée ailleurs.

Translittération : Halîl Hamîd Paşa-zâde / 'Ârif Begiñ ħafîdi / şudûr-i 'izâm'dan merhûm / ve mağfûr Es-seyyîd Muştafâ / Naẓîf Beg Efendi rūhı içün²¹⁰ / 1281.

Traduction : Pour l'âme de Es-seyyîd Muştafâ Naẓîf Beg Efendi, qui jouit de la miséricorde et du pardon, [ce dernier] *kazasker*, petit-fils de 'Ârif Beg, fils de Halîl Hamîd Pacha. 1281 [1864-1865].

Compléments biographiques : on le trouve également cité sous le nom d'Ahmed²¹¹. Il est rattaché à Halil Hamid Pacha par sa mère, Hamide Hanım. Il aurait pour enfants Mehmed Ferid, Zehra, Nafiz, Daniş, İsmail et Mehmed Mahir. Il est *müderris* auprès de Hatice Sultan, lorsqu'il est nommé cadi de Sofya en novembre 1843 (13 L 1259). Au début de l'année 1847 (Ş 1263), il est nommé cadi à Damas avec le grade *Mekke*. En décembre 1852 (20 S 1269), il est nommé *naib* à Monastir²¹². Promu au grade *İstanbul* en juin-juillet 1855 (L 1271), il devient cadi d'Istanbul en avril-mai 1860 (L 1276). Il obtient le grade *Anadolu* en juin-juillet 1860 (Z 1276) et un *nişan* peu après (M 1277).

²⁰⁹ C.DH 129/6435.

²¹⁰ Absence de *fâtiha*, même si une place semble avoir été prévue à sa mention.

²¹¹ *Binbir Gece Masalları*, trad. Alim Şerif Onaran, Istanbul, Afa, 1992, vol. 1, p. 8.

²¹² A.MKT.NZD 66/27 (20 S 1269).

Il entre au Conseil de l'éducation (*meclis-i maarif*) à la fin de 1863 (C 1280)²¹³. Il serait le premier auteur d'une traduction turque des *Mille et une nuits* publiée en quatre volumes ; il en existerait une autre édition en six volumes. Aucune des deux n'est datée ; on sait seulement que l'œuvre a paru sous le règne du sultan Abdülaziz (1861-1876).

Bibliographie : HHP III 3a (Neg.Nr. : R 24469/70) ; BOA : C.ADL 22/1328 ; A.DVN.MHM 30/97 ; *Haskan*, p. 748 ; *HPLÖ*, p. 105-106 ; *Muradoğlu*, p. 77 ; *SO* IV, p. 565-566 ; *Uzunçarşılı*, p. 245.

CINQUIÈME GÉNÉRATION

Halil Hamid Beyefendi (n° 20)

Tombe : cimetière de Fatih, devant le *türbe* de Münire Gülistu Sultane, dans lequel est situé le *kalfa* de son épouse²¹⁴. Sarcophage (150 x 290 x 35 cm) ; stèle de tête (210 x 35 cm) avec épitaphe de style *ta'lik* ; stèle de pied (180 x 30 cm). *ÖG* fait l'hypothèse que le lapicide de l'épitaphe serait Sami.

Translittération : Küllü nefsin zâi'ikat'ü-l-mevt / dāmād-i ḥazret-i şehriyārī / şūrā-yı devlet a'zāsından / ve şadr-ı esbak merhūm / Ḥalīl Ḥamīd Paşa ahfādından / Nūrullāh Beg-zāde merhūm / ve mağfūrun leh Ḥalīl Ḥamīd Beg / Efendiniñ rūhı için fātiha / fī *R* sene 1306.

Traduction : Tout homme goûtera la mort²¹⁵. La *fātiha* pour l'âme de Ḥalīl Ḥamīd Beg Efendi, qui jouit de la miséricorde, qu'il lui soit pardonné. Gendre impérial, il compte parmi les membres du Conseil d'État et fait partie des descendants de l'ancien grand vizir Ḥalīl Ḥamīd Pacha qui jouit du pardon. Il est fils de Nūrullāh Beg qui jouit du pardon. *R* de l'an 1306 [déc. 1888-janv. 1889].

Compléments biographiques : né en 1854²¹⁶. Fils de Mehmed Neşet Nurullah. Après une scolarité suivie à l'école de langues du Palais, il entre à la chambre de Traduction. Son statut de *damad* impérial (il est le beau-frère du souverain Abdülhamid II) lui vaut d'entrer au Conseil d'État, comme c'est souvent l'usage²¹⁷. Il se remet difficilement de la disparition de son épouse Behice dont il était très épris. Il tombe malade lors d'un séjour en Europe. Il rentre à Istanbul et y meurt.

Bibliographie : *DH*, p. 270 ; *SO* II, p. 257 ; *Muradoğlu*, p. 77-79 (nombreuses erreurs) ; *VY*, p. 113 ; *ÖG* II, p. 288 et p. 293.

²¹³ Son cousin Mehmed Atallah Bey y siège une décennie plus tôt.

²¹⁴ Sur les *damad* du sultan honorés du privilège d'être inhumés dans les complexes impériaux, cf. *VY*, p. 91.

²¹⁵ Formule d'invocation célèbre (*Coran*, III, 185), repérée dans le corpus d'épitaphes de *EV*, p. 61. Cf., à ce sujet, *HPLÖ*, p. 71.

²¹⁶ *DH*, p. 270.

²¹⁷ BOUQUET, « The Imperial Damads », *art. cit.* ; sur le Conseil d'État comme lieu d'accueil des rejetons de dynasties, cf. BOUQUET, *op. cit.*, p. 228 et p. 344.

Mehmed Asım Bey (n° 11)

Tombe : marquée par une esthétique archaïsante orientaliste ; sarcophage ; stèle de tête style *ta'lik*. Le sommet a été endommagé : aucune coiffe n'apparaît. Appuyée sur le sarcophage, repose une stèle fichée à l'envers, qui était à terre du temps des photographies de H.-P. Laqueur (HHP III 13 ; Neg.Nr. : Kb 21998) et que je n'ai pas encore identifiée.

Translittération : Hüve-l-ḥallāk el-bākī²¹⁸ / şadr-ı esbak Ḥalīl Ḥamīd / Paşa āḥfādından Nūrullāh Beg-zāde / rütbe-i bālā ricālinden merḥūm Muḥammed / 'Āşım Begiñ rūḥı içün rızā'en / li-llāh fī 29 sene 1336 *Ẓa* fātiha.

Traduction : Ô Lui, le Créateur Éternel ! La *fātiha* avec le contentement de Dieu et pour l'âme de Muḥammed 'Āşım Beg, qui jouit de la miséricorde. Il est descendant de l'ancien grand vizir Ḥalīl Ḥamīd Pacha. Fils de Nūrullah Beg, il est haut dignitaire de grade *bālā*, le 29 *Ẓa* 1336 [5 sept. 1918].

Compléments biographiques : il serait né en 1846-1847 (1263). Il est le fils de Mehmed Neşet Nurullah Bey. Il aurait comme enfants Naciye et Zehra. C'est le dernier membre de la famille à être enterré dans le cimetière. Il est indiqué dans les généalogies comme huitième administrateur du *vakıf*.

Bibliographie : HHP II 10 (Neg.Nr. : R 24446) ; *DH*, p. 680 ; *SO* IV, p. 690 ; *HPLO*, p. 105-106.

Mehmed Ferid Bey

Tombe : stèle en colonne, de style *ta'lik*. Elle reposait à l'horizontale sur son sarcophage lors de son identification par H.-P. Laqueur. Sans doute, lors des travaux de construction du mur de l'hôpital, la dalle du sarcophage de la sépulture adjacente (que je ne suis pas parvenu à identifier) a-t-elle été renversée sur la stèle, à tel point qu'elle la recouvre aujourd'hui complètement.

Translittération : Şadr-ı esbak Ḥalīl / Ḥamīd Paşa zāde / şudūr-i 'izāmdan Naẓīf / Beg maḥdūmı Muḥammed / Ferīd Begiñ ḳabridir / 10 *M* sene 1318.

Traduction : Ceci est la tombe de Muḥammed Ferīd Beg, fils de Naẓīf Beg, [ce dernier] *kazasker*, qui compte parmi les descendants de l'ancien grand vizir Ḥalīl Ḥamīd Pacha. 10 *M* de l'an 1318 [10 mai 1900].

Compléments biographiques : né à Istanbul en 1834 (*N* 1249). Il est le fils de Mustafa Nazif Bey. Il étudie l'arabe et le persan auprès d'instructeurs, mais la seule langue qu'il cite dans sa fiche de service est le turc. Dans sa dixième année (fin 1843), il entre dans la carrière religieuse avec un traitement de 380 piastres, carrière qu'il dit quitter en septembre 1847, lors de son entrée comme employé surnuméraire au secrétariat de la Correspondance de la Sublime Porte, mais avec le grade d'*alim* (*rüüs-i hümayun*). En janvier 1861, il dirige une *nahiye* sous l'autorité du *sancak beyi* d'Izmir, avec des revenus de 2 000 piastres. En juillet de cette même année, il est relevé de ses fonctions et rejoint son bureau d'origine. En début d'année 1868, il est nommé *kaymakam* du *kaza* de Menemen avec un traitement de 1 660 piastres, puis en avril-

²¹⁸ Sur cette invocation, cf. *EV*, p. 64.

mai de la même année *kaymakam* du *kaza* de Ödemiş avec un traitement de 2 500 piastres. Dénis de ses fonctions pour cause de maladie à l'automne, il devient vice-président de la cour de cassation d'Izmir, avec un traitement de 2 000 piastres en mai-juin 1869. Nommé *kaymakam* du *kaza* de Turgudlu, dans la juridiction du *sancak* de Saruhan, avec un traitement de 2 500 piastres, en août-septembre 1871, réduit de 125 piastres en janvier 1872, il est relevé de ses fonctions au cours de l'été 1873 et rentre à Istanbul. En février 1874, il est adjoint au cadastre de la municipalité d'Istanbul, avec un traitement de 2 500 piastres, avant d'être nommé en mai suivant au poste de conservateur de la monnaie et des archives de l'administration postale nouvellement créée. Devenu directeur de l'administration postale en juillet 1878, avec un traitement de 3 000 piastres, augmenté à 3 500 piastres en janvier 1880, puis réduit à 3 150 piastres en mars 1880, de nouveau augmenté à 3 400 piastres en mars 1889 et à 3 500 piastres en mars 1893, il est élevé successivement au 2nd grade de la 2^e classe en mai 1888, au 2nd grade de la 1^{re} classe en août 1894, au 1^{er} grade de la 2^e classe fin 1896-début 1897.

Bibliographie : HHP III 17 (Neg.Nr. : Kb 21997) ; BOA : DH. SAID 26/49 ; *Haskan*, p. 748 ; *HPLO*, p. 105-106 ; Uzunçarşılı, p. 245.

Mehmed Mahir Bey (n° 26)

Tombe : stèle en colonne, de style *ta'lik*, fichée sur une dalle, qui n'a conservé que sa partie inférieure. Je n'ai pu la retrouver. H.-P. Laqueur signale qu'elle a été déplacée.

Translittération : [...] zāde ḥafidi Naẓīf / Beg maḥdūmı ḥ^vacegān / Muḥammed Māhir Beg rūḥı içün / el-fātiḥa / sene 1259.

Traduction : La *fātiḥa* pour l'âme de Muḥammed Māhir Bey, ḥ^vacegān et fils de Naẓīf Bey [...]. En l'an 1259 [1843-1844].

Compléments biographiques : H.-P. Laqueur considère qu'il est le fils de Mustafa Nazif Bey. Mais les proximités chronologiques de carrière invitent à la prudence : le fils est signalé ḥ^vacegān au moment où le père devient *müderres*. Par ailleurs, je ne trouve pas trace de Mehmed Mahir dans les arbres généalogiques dont je dispose.

Bibliographie : HHP X 2 (Neg.Nr. : R 24472) ; *Haskan*, p. 747 ; *HPLO*, p. 105-106.

CONJOINTS ET CONJOINTES

Atiye Hanım (n° 33)

Tombe : dalle ; stèle de tête (188 x 36 cm) ; profil A ; style *ta'lik* ; bords ondulés²¹⁹, mais avec une gerbe tenant lieu de coiffure, à branches tombantes rejo-

²¹⁹ Sur le modèle de la silhouette IX 5 B (*ST II*, p. 86).

gnant des épaulettes²²⁰ ; l'ensemble est surmonté d'un sommet à bulbe²²¹. Cette ondulation des parois verticales est un motif de décoration que l'on observe à partir du début jusqu'à la fin du XIX^e siècle²²². On le retrouve, avec un profil différent pour la stèle de Şefike : stèle de pied (176 x 33 cm) anépigraphie, d'une taille comparable, à bords rectilignes, très décorée.

Translittération : Hüve-l-bākī / müderrisîn-i kırāmdan / Ḥalīl Ḥamīd Paşa / zāde ḥāfidi / 'Aṭāullāh Begiñ / ḥalīlesi merḥūme / ve mağfürun lehā 'Aṭiye / Ḥanım rūḥı içün / fātiḥa / 1256 *Ca*.

Traduction : Ô Lui, l'Éternel ! La *fātiḥa* pour l'âme de 'Aṭiye Ḥanım, épouse de 'Aṭāullāh Beg, qui compte parmi les professeurs illustres. Il est le petit-fils du fils de Ḥalīl Ḥamīd Pacha, qui jouit de la miséricorde, qu'il lui soit pardonné. *Ca* 1256 [juil. 1840].

Bibliographie : HP I 15 (Neg.Nr. : R 24459) ; *Haskan*, p. 747 ; *HPLO*, p. 105-106.

Ayşe Raife Hanım (n° 15)

Tombe : dalle (221 x 114 cm). Stèle de tête (hauteur : 192 cm) de style *ta'lik*, très richement décorée ; au bas, 6 épaisses feuilles d'acanthé incurvées entourent la colonne, selon un motif à la mode au tournant du siècle²²³ ; l'épithaphe est entourée d'une guirlande de feuilles d'acanthé, surmontée d'une calotte à bulbe. La stèle de pied (hauteur : 180 cm), anépigraphie et sans décoration, est dotée de la même calotte. Cette tombe est conçue sur le même modèle que celle d'Asaf Celaledin Pacha (cf. *infra*, annexe III, fig. 3).

Translittération : Şadr-ı [e]sbaḳ Ḥalīl / Ḥamīd Paşa aḥfādından / ve ecille-i müşirān-i / saltanat-i senīyyeden yāver-i ekrem-i / ḥazret-i pādīşāhī / Āşaf Celāle-d-dīn / Paşanın gelini 'Ā'īşe Ra'īfe Ḥanımnıñ āramgāh-ı ebediyyesidir / velādeti sene 1288 vefātı sene 1317 *zül-hice* 2.

Traduction : Ceci est le lieu de repos éternel de 'Ā'īşe Ra'īfe Ḥanım, belle-fille de Āşaf Celāle-d-dīn Pacha, maréchal de haut rang du sultanat élevé, aide de camp de Sa Majesté Impériale. Elle est née en 1288 [1871-1872] et décédée le 2 *zül-hice* 1317 [2 avr. 1900].

Compléments : la tombe est conçue sur le modèle de celle de son beau-père, Mehmed Asaf Celaledin Pacha, sans doute parce que la défunte est inhumée quelques mois plus tard. On peut supposer que la famille a groupé les commandes auprès des marbriers. Le texte de l'épithaphe est peu ottoman : il fait de la stèle un seul monument. On pourrait parler d'un retour à un type de formulaire arabe, presque totalement disparu, n'était la référence au repos éternel²²⁴.

²²⁰ Proche du type de silhouette F X 2 (*ST II*, p. 87).

²²¹ Cf. silhouette F VIII, (*ST II*, p. 84).

²²² *EV*, p. 88. Mais souvent les cartouches sont inclinés. Cf. un cas comparable, d'une date voisine (1838) dans *EE*, p. 138 ; *ÖG III*, p. 246, stèle de 1849.

²²³ On en trouvera de nombreux exemples pour la période 1890-1910 dans *ÖG II*, p. 174, p. 183 et p. 202 ; *ÖG III*, p. 42-47 ; *EK*, p. 167-168.

²²⁴ *EV*, p. 295. Je remercie N. Vatin pour ces précisions.

Bibliographie : HHP II 12 (Neg.Nr. : R 24.480) ; *Haskan*, p. 748 ; *HPLO*, p. 105 et p. 107.

İzzet Hanım (n° 27)

Stèle : stèle de pied de style *sülüs* et stèle de tête, de part et d'autre d'une dalle (200 x 70 cm), à 115 cm à gauche de la tombe de Halil Hamid Bey. Le sommet de la stèle est décoré d'un ensemble de feuilles d'acanthé en forme de coquillage. Elle est surmontée d'un *hotoz* volumineux, à deux niveaux. La stèle de pied, anépigraphie, est conçue sur le même modèle.

Translittération : Hüve-l-bākī / hālā şadr-ı Rūmelī / Halil Paşa-zāde / 'Arīf Beg Efendiniñ / halileleri²²⁵ merhūme / el-ḥacce 'İzzet²²⁶ Hanım / rūhı için el-fātiha / sene 1247.

Traduction : Ô Lui, l'Éternel ! La *fātiha* pour l'âme de el-ḥacce 'İzzet Hanım, qui jouit du pardon, épouse de 'Arīf Beg Efendi, fils de Halil Pacha et, à l'heure actuelle, *kazasker* de Roumélie. En l'an 1247 [1831-1832].

Bibliographie : HHP II 16 (Neg.Nr. : R 24441) ; *Haskan*, p. 747 ; *HPLO*, p. 105-106.

Mehmed Beyefendi (n° 7)

Tombe : dalle parallèle à celle de sa fille, Adile, qui la recouvre sur une largeur d'une vingtaine de centimètres (cf. *infra*, annexe III, fig. 4a). Épitaphe de style *sülüs*. Stèle (174 x 34 cm) de profil A et de silhouette proche du type I 6 (cartouches réguliers, l'inférieur étant d'une taille réduite)²²⁷. La coiffe est d'une forme D-I, avec collerette, souvent associée aux *hacegân* du divan : celles de Mehmed Hamid et de Mehmed Lebiba, de même rang, sont identiques.

Translittération : Hüve-l-bākī / Halil Hamid Paşa dāmādī / ḥ^vacegân-ı divân-i hümâyūndan / emîn-i giyâh merhūm ve mağfūr / el-muhtâc ilâ rahmeti rabbihi-l-ğafūr / Es-seyyid Muḥammed Beg Efendi / rūhı için el-fātiha / fi 1227 C.

Traduction : Ô Lui, l'Éternel ! La *fātiha* pour l'âme de Es-seyyid Muḥammed Beg Efendi, celui qui jouit de la miséricorde et du pardon et a besoin de la grâce de Son Seigneur qui pardonne, gendre de Halil Hamid Pacha, intendant aux fourrages et *ḥ^vacegân* du divan impérial. En C 1227 [juin-juillet 1812].

Compléments biographiques : il est le mari de Fatma Hanım et le père d'Adile, emportés la même année par une épidémie de peste dévastatrice²²⁸. Il est *hacegân* du divan, *kapıcıbaşı* et intendant aux impôts (*başbakı kulu*) en 1808-1809 (1223), *mir-i alem* en 1811-1812 (1226), intendant aux fourrages à son décès.

²²⁵ Pluriel de majesté.

²²⁶ *Haskan* transcrit İffet. Il s'agit bien d'İzzet.

²²⁷ *ST II*, p. 59.

²²⁸ Hypothèse de H.-P. Laqueur. En effet, il est fait référence à la peste dans l'épitaphe d'Adile.

Bibliographie : HHP II 7 (Neg.Nr. : R 24.437 ; R 24445) ; *DH*, p. 679 ; *HPLO*, p. 104-106 ; LAQUEUR, « Die Kopfbedeckung », *art. cit.*, p. 84 ; *SO IV*, p. 279 ; Uzunçarşılı, p. 245.

Şefike Hanım (n° 38)

Tombe : dalle ; stèle de tête (150 x 40 cm) de style *ta'lik* ; profil E ; silhouette de type F IX ²²⁹, le plus luxueux en usage « au XIII^e siècle de l'Hégire » ²³⁰. Ornement de feuillage avec extrémité projetée en avant, avec « palmette rayonnante » ²³¹ ou « palme » ²³² dont le bout de tige est recourbé ²³³. Il faut noter l'élégance de l'ondulation des parois verticales, un motif de décoration que l'on retrouve pour la stèle d'Atiye avec un profil différent ²³⁴.

Translittération : Hüve-l-bākī / müderrisîn-i kirâm-i zevî i-l-ihtirâmdan / Halîl Hamîd Paşa-zâde hafîdî / Muhammed Şefîk Begîñ halîle-i muhteremeleri / merhûme ve mağfûrun lehâ Şefike / Hanımıñ rûhı içün el-fâtîha / Kâmil fî 15 L 1252 1274.

Traduction : Ô Lui, l'Éternel ! La *fâtîha* pour l'âme de Şefike Hanım, celle qui jouit de la miséricorde, qu'il lui soit pardonné. Elle est l'épouse vénérable de Muhammed Şefîk Bey, professeur illustre et homme respectable, petit-fils du fils de Halîl Hamîd Pacha. Kâmil 15 L 1252 [22 janv. 1837] 1274 [1857-1858].

Remarques : H.-P. Laqueur note la curiosité qu'est l'inscription d'une seconde date (1274) et du mot « Kâmil » ; il pourrait s'agir de la signature du lapicide.

Compléments biographiques : le mari dont il est question est Mehmed İbrahim Şefik, fils de Mehmed Raşid.

Bibliographie : HHP I 18 (Neg.Nr. : R 24456/57) ; *Haskan*, p. 747 ; *HPLO*, p. 105-106.

Ayşe Nazife Hanım (n° 13)

Tombe : stèle de style *ta'lik* ; décoration latérale ; la stèle a été fichée entre celles d'Ayşe Raife et de Mehmed Asım ; il est difficile de déterminer s'il s'agit de son emplacement d'origine, ce d'autant que la partie supérieure de la stèle a été brisée.

Translittération : [...] ve mağfûrun lehâ 'Â'îşe / Naẓîfe Hanım rûhı içün ve kâffe-i / ehl-i imân ²³⁵ içün fâtîha / 27 Zâ sene 1260.

²²⁹ *ST II*, p. 84.

²³⁰ *ST VI*, p. 122. On rencontre ce type de décor tout au long du XIX^e siècle (*EV*, p. 92).

²³¹ Sur le modèle du type F IX 5d (*ST II*, p. 86).

²³² *EV*, p. 92.

²³³ On trouve un motif comparable dans *ÖG II*, p. 276.

²³⁴ La fragilité de sa structure n'en favorise pas la conservation ; son élégance tient à une très faible épaisseur par rapport à une hauteur importante (*ST VI*, p. 122).

²³⁵ Formule stéréotypée qui désigne l'ensemble des membres de la communauté des croyants (cf. *EV*, p. 53).

Traduction : La *fâtiha* pour l'âme de 'Ā'īşe Nāzīfe Hānım, qui jouit de la miséricorde, et pour l'ensemble de la communauté des croyants. Le 27 Zā de l'an 1260 [8 déc. 1844].

Compléments biographiques : H.-P. Laqueur la cite parmi les Halil Hamid Pacha-zāde, car l'emplacement central de la stèle laisse penser qu'elle était de la famille ou liée à elle. Cela dit, ce lien est impossible à déterminer. Elle ne figure pas dans les arbres généalogiques en ma possession.

Bibliographie : HHP II 11 (Neg.Nr. : R 24.481) ; HPLO, p. 105 et p. 107 ; *Haskan*, p. 747²³⁶.

CLIENTS, SERVITEURS ET LEURS ÉPOUSES

Ahmed Ağā (n° 35)

Tombe : stèle fichée en terre, de style *sülüs* ; coiffe : F-V²³⁷.

Translittération : Hüve-l-ḥallāk el-bākī²³⁸ / sulṭān 'Abd'ü-l-Ḥamīd ḥān tābe / serāhu²³⁹ ḥazretleriniñ şadr-ı ā'zamlarından / Ḥalīl Ḥamīd Paşa / cāmeşuy²⁴⁰ ağası dergāh-i 'ālī / müteferriḳa gediklülerinden merḥūm ve / mağfūr el-muḥ-tāc ilā raḥmeti rabbihi / -l-ğafūr Zā'im Aḥmed Āğā'nın / rūḥı için fātiḥa / 23 Ra²⁴¹ 1235.

Traduction : Ô Lui, le Créateur Éternel ! La *fâtiha* pour l'âme de Zā'im Āḥmed Āğā, celui qui jouit de la miséricorde et du pardon et a besoin de la grâce de Son Seigneur qui pardonne. Issu du corps des *müteferriḳa*, il est gardien du linge de Ḥalīl Ḥamīd Pacha, grand vizir de Sa Majesté le sultan 'Abd'ü-l-Ḥamīd ḥān. Que la terre du tombeau lui soit plaisante. 23 Ra 1235 [10 janv. 1820].

Bibliographie : HHP III 21 (Neg.Nr. : R 24449) ; *Haskan*, p. 746 ; HPLO, p. 107.

İsmail Nazif Efendi

Tombe : dalle ; stèle de tête (150 x 31 cm) de style *sülüs* ; couvre-chef : I ; profil : A ; il est peu probable qu'il y ait eu une stèle de pied selon H.-P. Laqueur. Je n'en ai retrouvé aucune trace.

Translittération : Hüve-l-bākī / Ḥalīl Ḥamīd Paşa imāmı / faḥrū-l-müderrisīn merḥūm / ve mağfūr ilā raḥmeti rabbihi- / l-ğafūr el-ḥāc İsmā'ıl / Nāzif²⁴² Efendi rūḥı için / el-fātiḥa / 17 N 1218.

²³⁶ Il la cite sous le nom de Ayşe Nefise. Mais c'est une erreur.

²³⁷ LAQUEUR, « Die Kopfbedeckung », *art. cit.*, p. 89-90.

²³⁸ Sur cette invocation, cf. EV, p. 64.

²³⁹ EV, p. 17 et p. 296.

²⁴⁰ *Haskan* note *çamegūyi*, forme persane dont dérive *çamaşır*.

²⁴¹ La mention de la date est actuellement dissimulée : la stèle est enterrée ; *Haskan* indique Ca ; je préfère m'en remettre à H.-P. Laqueur qui indique Ra.

²⁴² *Haskan* lit Nafiz. C'est inexact.

Traduction : Ô Lui, l'Éternel ! La *fâtiha* pour l'âme de el-ḥāc İsmā'il Naẓîf Efendi, imam de Ḥalîl Ḥamîd Pacha, gloire des *müderriş*. Il jouit du pardon et de la miséricorde et [souhaite] la grâce de son Seigneur qui pardonne. 17 N 1218 [1^{er} janv. 1804].

Bibliographie : HHP I 20 (Neg.Nr. : R 24476) ; *Haskan*, p. 745 ; *HPLO*, p. 107.

Fatma Hanım II (n° 34)

Tombe : stèle de tête (162 x 49 cm) fichée en terre (cf. *infra*, annexe III, fig. 6a) ; épitaphe de style *sülûs* ; comme motif décoratif principal, un vase avec anses, rempli de fruits.

Translittération : Merhûm Zîştovî 'Alî Paşa-zâde / kerîmesi ve dergâh-ı 'âlî gediklû- / -lerinden şadr-ı esbak Ḥalîl Ḥamîd / Paşa çamâşır âğâsı / Âḥmed Âğânî ḥalîlesi merhûme / Fâtma Ḥanım rûhı içün el-fâtiḥa / gurre-i § 1210²⁴³.

Traduction : La *fâtiha* pour l'âme de Fâtma Ḥanım, qui jouit de la miséricorde. Elle est la fille de Zîştovî 'Alî Pacha-zâde et l'épouse d'Âḥmed Ağa, gardien du linge de l'ancien grand vizir Ḥalîl Ḥamîd Pacha et *gediklû* à la cour impériale. Gurre-i § 1210 [10 fév. 1796].

Bibliographie : HHP II 18 (Neg.Nr. : R 24447) ; *Haskan*, p. 744.

Mehmed Lebiba Efendi (n° 6)

Tombe : stèle fichée en terre, en contrebas de la seconde stèle du grand vizir, le long du mur de l'hôpital. Épitaphe de style *sülûs*. Silhouette proche du type I-6²⁴⁴. Couvre-chef de type D-I, avec turban et collerette, propre aux *hacegân*, tels Mehmed (n° 7) et Mehmed Hamid (n° 30).

Translittération : Hüve-l- ḥallâk el-bâkî²⁴⁵ / baḳmayîñ çeşm-i başıretle mezârım tâşına / añlamaz ḥalîm benim tâ gelmeyince bâşına²⁴⁶ / merhûm ve mağfûr şadr-ı / sâbîḳ Ḥalîl Ḥamîd Paşa / kâ'ini²⁴⁷ ḥ'âcegân-ı divân-i hümâyûndan / sâbîkâ çavuşlar kâtibi el-ḥāc Muḥammed / Lebîbâ Efendi rûhı içün / el-fâtiḥa / 27 B 1217.

Traduction : Ô Lui, le Créateur Éternel ! Ne regardez pas la pierre de ma tombe d'un œil avisé : on ne comprend pas mon sort tant que l'on n'est pas devant. La *fâtiha* pour l'âme de el-ḥāc Muḥammed Lebîbâ Efendi, beau-frère de l'ancien grand vizir, Ḥalîl Ḥamîd Pacha, qui jouit de la miséricorde et du pardon. Il est membre des *h'âcegân* du Divan impérial et ancien secrétaire des *h'uissiers*. 27 B 1217 [23 nov. 1802].

²⁴³ Cette date est de *Haskan* ; je ne parviens pas à la lire.

²⁴⁴ *ST II*, p. 59.

²⁴⁵ Sur cette invocation, cf. *EV*, p. 64.

²⁴⁶ Formule stéréotypée par laquelle le défunt livre son propre exemple aux yeux des vivants : « baḳmayan çeşm-i 'ibretle mezârım tâşına / bilmez aḥvâlîm tâ gelmeyince bâşına » (n° 17, *EV*, p. 325, p. 248 ; identifiée à Istanbul pour la période 1710-1830).

²⁴⁷ Le lapicide a commis une faute : au lieu de *فانى*, il a écrit *فأنى*.

Remarque : stèle « formulaïque », avec insertion d'un distique dans lequel l'inhumé parle en son nom²⁴⁸. C'est l'un des rares cas d'adresse directe aux vivants du corpus, ici sous la forme d'une leçon ('*ibret*) à tirer du caractère périssable de la condition humaine²⁴⁹.

Bibliographie : HHP III 6 (Neg.Nr. : R 24473) ; *Haskan*, p. 744 ; *HPLO*, p. 104-105 ; *SO IV*, 87.

Necibe Hanım (n° 31)

Tombe : stèle de style *sülüs*, aujourd'hui brisée et à terre. H.-P. Laqueur évoque l'existence d'une dalle – si elle existe, elle est aujourd'hui enterrée – et s'interroge sur l'existence d'une stèle de pied.

Translittération : Hüve-l-ḥallāk el-bākī / ṣadr-ı esbaḳ Ḥalīl Ḥamīd Paşa / cāmeşuy²⁵⁰ āğāsı dergāh-ı alī / gediklülerinden Âḥmed Âğānı zevcesi / merḥūme ve mağfürun lehā el-muḥtāc ilā raḥmeti / rabbihi-l-ğafūr Necībe²⁵¹ Ḥanım rūḥı için / fātiḥa fī sene 27 M 1227.

Traduction : Ô Lui, l'Éternel ! La *fātiḥa* pour l'âme de Necībe Hanım, qui jouit de la miséricorde et du pardon et a besoin de la grâce de Son Seigneur qui pardonne. Elle est l'épouse d'Âḥmed Âğā, *gediklū* au Sérail, gardien du linge de l'ancien grand vizir Ḥalīl Ḥamīd Paşa. Le 27 M 1227 [11 fév. 1812].

Compléments biographiques : à l'instar de Fatma, enterrée à proximité, elle est l'épouse d'Ömer Ahmed Ağa. À trois, ils forment un petit regroupement familial dans la section.

Bibliographie : HHP III 20 (Neg.Nr. : R 24448) ; *Haskan*, p. 745 ; *HPLO*, p. 107.

? (n° 18)

Tombe : stèle enfoncée dans le sol. La partie inférieure, illisible, ne permet pas d'identifier l'inhumé. L'épithaphe est de style *sülüs*. Coiffe de type F-V²⁵², comparable à celle d'Ahmed Ağa pour la partie supérieure.

Translittération : Hüve-l-bākī / merḥūm ve mağfür Ḥalīl Ḥamīd Paşa [...].

Traduction : Ô Lui, l'Éternel ! Ḥalīl / Ḥamīd Paşa, doué du pardon et de la miséricorde [...].

Remarques : H.-P. Laqueur suppose qu'il s'agit d'un employé des finances. Un *gümrük çorbacısı* inhumé ailleurs porte une coiffe très ressemblante²⁵³.

Bibliographie : HHP III 11 (Neg.Nr. : R 24474).

²⁴⁸ Je reprends la terminologie de *EV*, p. 162.

²⁴⁹ Sur ce type d'adresse, cf. *EV*, p. 247-248.

²⁵⁰ *Haskan* note *çameğüyi*.

²⁵¹ *Haskan* lui donne le nom de Habibi Hanım.

²⁵² LAQUEUR, « Die Kopfbedeckung », *art. cit.*, p. 89-90.

²⁵³ Employé chargé de l'accueil au bureau des douanes. Cf. une coiffe datée de 1785 très ressemblante sur une stèle de même type (*ÖG III*, p. 164).

ESCLAVES

Mes'ud

Tombe : dalle (220 x 87 cm) ; stèle de tête (110 x 24 cm), de profil A, endommagée dans sa partie supérieure ; épitaphe de style *sülüs* ; stèle de pied (157 x 36 cm), décorée d'un motif végétal entrelacé.

Translittération : Hüve-l-bākī / merhūm ve mağfūr / Ḥalīl Ḥamīd Paşa / ğulāmı merhūm Mes'ūd / rûhına fātiha / 1201²⁵⁴.

Traduction : Ô Lui, l'Éternel ! La *fātiha* pour l'âme de Mes'ūd, qui jouit de la miséricorde, esclave de Ḥalīl Ḥamīd Pacha, qui jouit de la miséricorde et du pardon. 1201 [1786-1787].

Bibliographie : HHP III 2 (Neg.Nr. : R 24471) ; *Haskan*, p. 743 ; *HPLO*, p. 107.

Hemnişin Kadın (n° 17)

Tombe : stèle pentagonale de type F II 2 (cf. *infra*, annexe III, fig. 6b) ; quadrilatère trapézoïdal surmonté d'un triangle²⁵⁵, fiché en terre, à un peu plus de 1 m de l'emplacement actuel de la seconde stèle de Halil Hamid Pacha et à une trentaine de centimètres de celle de Nedime Kadın. Le mur de l'hôpital, construit à quelques dizaines de centimètres, les rend, l'une et l'autre, presque aveugles. La facture grossière de cette stèle, commune aux trois esclaves féminines du corpus, contraste avec la qualité des stèles environnantes.

Translittération : Şadr-ı esbak merhūm Ḥalīl (*sic*) Ḥamīd Paşanın cāriyesi / merhūme Hemnişin Kadın rûhına fātiha / sene 1202.

Traduction : La *fātiha* pour l'âme de Hemnişin Kadın, qui jouit de la miséricorde, esclave de l'ancien grand vizir Ḥalīl Ḥamīd Pacha, qui jouit de la miséricorde. En l'an 1202 [1787-1788].

Bibliographie : HHP III 14b (Neg.Nr. : R 24444) ; *Haskan*, p. 743 ; *HPLO*, p. 107.

Nedime Kadın (n° 14)

Tombe : stèle pentagonale de type FII 2²⁵⁶, fichée en terre, à quelques centimètres de celle de Hemnişin Kadın, en tous points identiques, et à un peu moins de 1 m de l'emplacement actuel de la seconde stèle du grand vizir (cf. *infra*, annexe III, fig. 6b).

Translittération : Şadr-ı esbak merhūm Ḥalīl (*sic*) Ḥamīd Paşanıñ / cāriyesi merhūme Nedime Kadın / rûhına el-fātiha sene 1202²⁵⁷.

Traduction : La *fātiha* pour l'âme de Nedime Kadın qui jouit de la miséricorde, esclave de l'ancien grand vizir Ḥalīl Ḥamīd Pacha, qui jouit de la miséricorde. En l'an 1202 [1787-1788].

²⁵⁴ Je m'en remets à *Haskan* car je ne lis pas le dernier chiffre.

²⁵⁵ Proche du type FII 2 (*ST II*, p. 73).

²⁵⁶ *ST II*, p. 73.

²⁵⁷ *Haskan* indique l'année 1201. Il s'agit bien de 1202.

Bibliographie : HHP III 14a (Neg.Nr. : R 24445) ; *Haskan*, p. 743 ; *HPLO*, p. 107.

Simten Kadın (n° 37)

Tombe : stèle pentagonale FII 2²⁵⁸, légèrement plus petite que les deux précédentes.

Translittération : Şadr-ı esbak merhûm Halîl (*sic*) Hamîd Paşanıñ / cāriyesi merhûme Sîm-ten²⁵⁹ Kadın / rûhına el-fâtiha sene 1202²⁶⁰.

Traduction : La *fâtiha* pour l'âme de Sîm-ten Kadın qui jouit du pardon, esclave de l'ancien grand vizir Halîl Hamîd Pacha, qui jouit du pardon. En l'an 1202 [1787-1788].

Bibliographie : HHP III 22 (Neg.Nr. : R 24450) ; *Haskan*, p. 743 ; *HPLO*, p. 107.

Rüstem

Stèle : stèle fichée en terre, endommagée dans sa partie supérieure ; épitaphe de style *sülûs*.

Translittération : Hüve-l-bākî / merhûm ve mağfûr / Halîl Hamîd Paşa / gulâmı merhûm Rüstem / rûhına fâtiha.

Traduction : Ô Lui, l'Éternel ! La *fâtiha* pour l'âme de Rustem qui jouit de la miséricorde, esclave de Halîl Hamîd Pacha, qui jouit de la miséricorde et du pardon.

CONCLUSION

C'est un enclos funéraire comme il s'en trouve tant d'autres, banallement ottoman : on y reconnaît la plupart des traits identifiés par la mézalogie. Pourquoi, dès lors, constituer et traduire un corpus de plus ? Son étude offre l'avantage de compléter une formation ottomaniste – l'épigraphie après la paléographie, les épitaphes après les *defter* – et de faire l'expérience, après de longues stations dans les archives, d'une autre forme de gêne (la copie au milieu des détritiques et des chiens errants) mêlée au plaisir de la lecture, source après source, du déchiffrement, stèle après stèle. Elle vise surtout à ajouter une pièce à l'histoire des Halil Hamid Pacha-zâde, rendue de plus en plus apparente par la mise en perspective et l'entrecroisement de l'ensemble des sources qui concernent cette lignée : l'enclos, en aval du monde des vivants et des biographies indivi-

²⁵⁸ *ST II*, p. 73.

²⁵⁹ *Haskan* indique Zekiye ; H.-P. Laqueur indique Simtez.

²⁶⁰ *Haskan* indique 1201. Il s'agit bien de 1202.

duelles, est à l'aboutissement d'un entre-soi familial ; il devient, en amont, un lieu d'ancrage de la mémoire familiale, reconnue et valorisée par les générations suivantes, par des descendants ottomans devenus *homines novi* du régime républicain. Il n'est pas inutile non plus d'investir un *topos* mézarologique identifié jusqu'alors, mais non complètement caractérisé : un espace de famille, analysé comme partie d'un *cimetière dans la ville*. Le monde funéraire porte l'empreinte de logiques culturelles, religieuses, juridiques, administratives ou sociales, en sorte que tout ce qui est ottoman, presque tout, de manière incomplète peut-être, déformée sans doute, peut s'y lire – là est le fil de l'œuvre épigraphique de N. Vatin.

Lire la famille n'est pas chose aisée : la culture généalogique des Ottomans est discrète jusqu'au milieu du XIX^e siècle²⁶¹ ; la stèle funéraire est moins un élément autobiographique personnel chargé de restituer les liens de parenté de l'individu qu'une pièce qui répond à une autre pièce d'un portrait d'ensemble, dans un lieu que la mort ne sépare pas des vivants. Pourtant, dans cette étude, nous voyons autrement, voire plus distinctement qu'ailleurs, des traits particuliers d'Ottomans en famille – ce en quoi nous sortons de la synecdoque. Les tombes prennent espace dans l'enclos des morts, comme la famille prend sa place dans la société de son temps : elle se perpétue sous la forme de ce que l'on a pris coutume d'appeler un *household*, fait de descendants, d'alliés, de serviteurs, de clients et d'esclaves ; elle se réunit dans un panthéon familial entretenu pendant un siècle et demi ; elle se transforme d'un lignage autour du fondateur éponyme du *vakıf*, en un autre lignage autour de son fils, nouveau patriarche, adossé à la référence paternelle, mais devenu référence, à son tour, d'une famille de *bey-molla*, sur le mode évoqué par d'Ohsson²⁶². Même s'il en porte encore aujourd'hui le nom, l'espace funéraire ne se développe pas autour du grand vizir, ou de son fils, le vizir Nurullah Pacha (*alim* défroqué devenu « marcheur d'Empire²⁶³ » plutôt que haute figure impériale) qui n'en fait rien de son vivant. Celui qui l'investit et place sa descendance dans le cimetière, c'est l'autre fils (Mehmed Arif), le *mütevelli* du *vakıf*, le *kazasker*, le père et le grand-père de quantité de *müderris*. Haut lieu de culture islamique associé au nom de Halil Hamid Pacha, pionnier de la réforme, le cimetière est l'espace de projection d'une lignée sur le modèle de familles d'oulémas plus anciennes et plus prestigieuses, enterrées à proximité, à Karacaahmet. Pour un haut dignitaire, il n'est certes rien de mieux que d'être grand vizir, au XIX^e siècle comme au XVIII^e siècle. Mais une famille, loin de déchoir dès lors que son chef n'est plus grand vizir mais *kazasker*, peut se maintenir, voire se renforcer, dès lors qu'un nombre accru des siens prélève, de manière concertée, des ressources symboliques et des élé-

²⁶¹ BOUQUET, « Comment les Ottomans », *art. cit.*

²⁶² D'OHSSON, *op. cit.*, vol. 3-4, p. 306-307.

²⁶³ BOUQUET, *op. cit.*, p. 380.

ments de fortune, et ce, que les descendants soient oulémas ou bureaucrates. Nous sommes bien loin de la figure historiographique ancienne d'une *ilmiye* en déclin face à une *kalemiye* en progrès devenue *mülkiye* triomphante, et nous ne parlerons pas à l'inverse d'une forme, moins brillante, de reconversion, d'une génération à l'autre, *from pasha to alim*, sur le modèle de K. Barbir²⁶⁴.

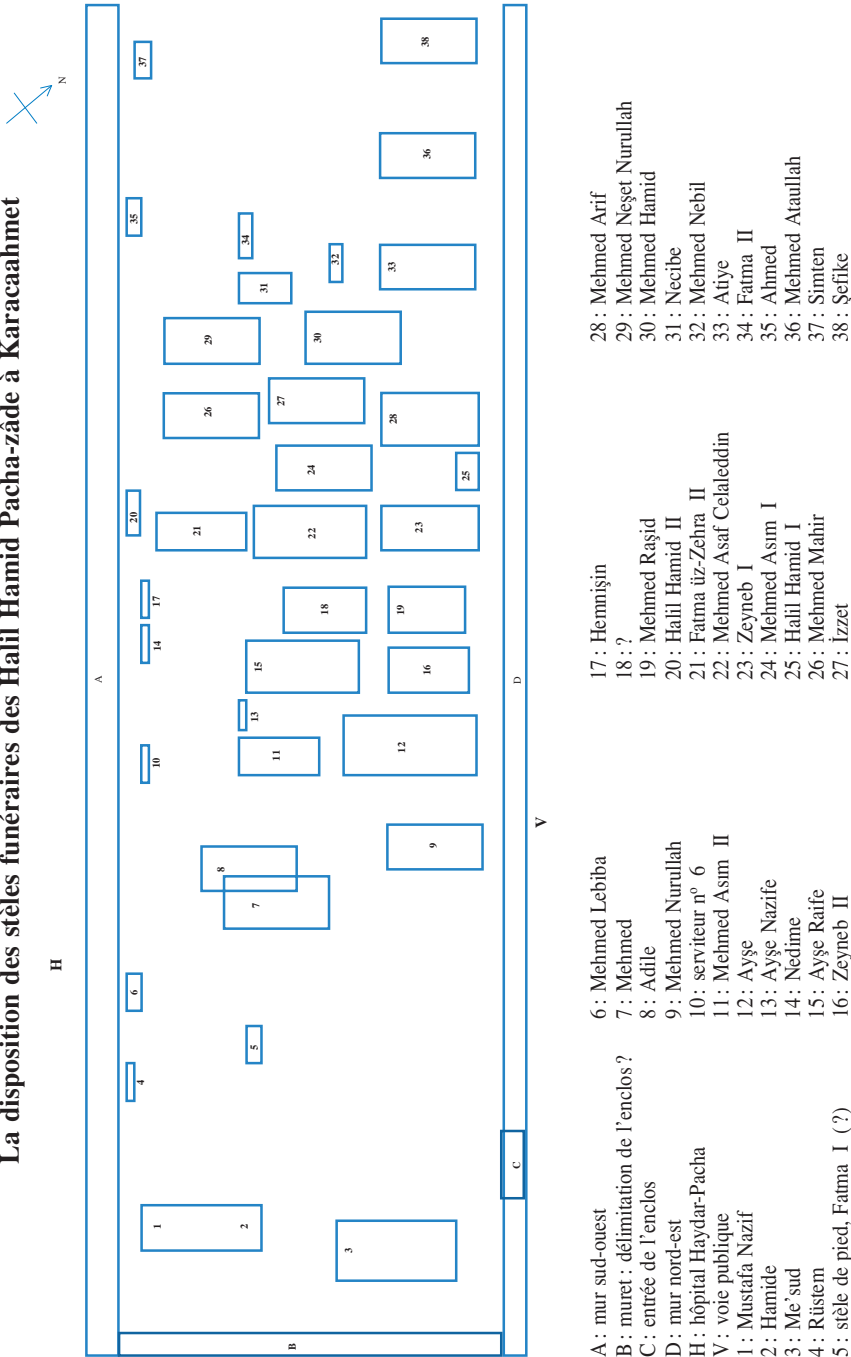
Il faut lire entre les tombes pour saisir les enjeux de l'occupation progressive de l'enclos et l'agencement des stèles : un fils *alim* valorise la référence du grand homme mort pour la réforme (telle était, dès le XIX^e siècle, l'image de Halil Hamid Pacha) ; un lignage d'oulémas se constitue, comme il en fut au siècle précédent, mais à la faveur d'une forme d'auto-anoblissement, de plus en plus en phase avec l'éthique, renforcée au cours des dernières décennies ottomanes, d'une « noblesse dans l'État²⁶⁵ ». Il faut aussi lire les épitaphes et les lire ensemble. Car l'enclos funéraire est bel et bien un espace d'intertextualité : les stèles se répondent, citent tantôt les vivants, tantôt les morts enterrés à proximité ou ailleurs ; elles évoquent tour à tour des références communes, toujours ancestrales (Halil Hamid Pacha, mais aussi Mehmed Arif), souvent statutaires (être au service d'un grand, être dignitaire de l'État) ; elles fonctionnent moins comme des portraits individuels que comme des associations de médaillons référentiels – jusqu'à trois citations de parents dans une épitaphe. La tombe est certes un monument islamique : l'inhumé est là pour recueillir les avantages de la *fâtiha* ; même jumelle, la stèle reste individuelle (comme dans le cas de Mustafa Nazif et de sa mère Hamide) ; aucune épitaphe n'offre d'arbre généalogique détaillé. Mais la tombe est dressée à la gloire d'une famille qui se voulait grande, par ses descendants, ses alliés, ses clients, ses serviteurs et ses esclaves. « All in the family²⁶⁶ », vivants et morts.

²⁶⁴ Karl K. BARBIR, « From Pasha to Efendi : the Assimilation of Ottomans into Damascene Society, 1516-1783 », *International Journal of Turkish Studies* I-1, 1979-1980, p. 68-83. Des historiens comme Carter Findley ou Richard Chambers, engagés, en leurs temps, dans l'extrapolation, vers les derniers temps ottomans, de la théorie des institutions d'Itzkowitz – laquelle ne valait que pour le XVIII^e siècle – greffée des paradigmes de la modernisation, n'ont pas vu qu'une famille pouvait être autant de l'*ilmiye* que de la *mülkiye*, et que les membres des deux « institutions » percevaient encore, au moins dans la première moitié du XIX^e siècle, les mêmes bénéfices tirés d'une institution puissante, totalement négligée par leurs études : le *vakıf*, qui, dans le cas des Halil Hamid Pacha-zâde, cimentait les solidarités familiales et les lieux de référence jusque au trépas et par delà.

²⁶⁵ BOUQUET, *op. cit.*, p. 213, p. 344, p. 446.

²⁶⁶ Karl K. BARBIR, « All in the Family : the Muradis of Damascus », in Heath W. LOWRY, Ralph S. HATTOX (dir.), *IIIrd Congress on the Social and Economic History of Turkey*, Princeton, 24-26 Aug. 1983, Istanbul, Isis Press, 1990, p. 327-355.

Annexe I
La disposition des stèles funéraires des Halil Hamid Pacha-zâde à Karacaahmet



Annexe II

Les descendants de Halil Hamid Pacha-zâde inhumés à Karacaahmet



Légende :

M : Mehmed

Inhumé dans l'enclos

Non inhumé dans l'enclos

Annexe III Album funéraire de famille

La juxtaposition des clichés empruntés aux collections du département du Deutsche Archäologische Institut à Istanbul à ceux pris par l'auteur en 2010-2011 permet de rendre compte de l'évolution du cimetière et des tombes depuis une trentaine d'années.



Fig. 1. L'enclos funéraire, entre la voie publique et le mur de l'hôpital Haydar-Pacha (cliché : Olivier Bouquet, Université de Nice-Sophia-Antipolis).



Fig. 2. Les trois premières générations. Au premier plan : stèle de pied de Zeyneb ; au second plan, stèle de son fils, le grand vizir Halil Hamid Pacha ; au dernier plan, tombe avec sarcophage du *kazasker* Mehmed Arif Beyefendi (cliché : Olivier Bouquet, Université de Nice-Sophia-Antipolis).



Fig. 3. Stèles sur le même modèle : a. Mehmed Asaf Celaledin ;
b. sa bru Ayşe Raife (HHP, collections du département du
Deutsche Archäologische Institut à Istanbul).



Fig. 4. Les formes de regroupement : a. Mehmed (à gauche) et sa fille Adile
(à droite) (cliché : Olivier Bouquet, Université de Nice-Sophia-Antipolis) ;
b. deux stèles pour une même tombe : Hamide (1^{er} plan),
son fils Mustafa Nazif (2nd plan) (HHP, collections du département du
Deutsche Archäologische Institut à Istanbul).

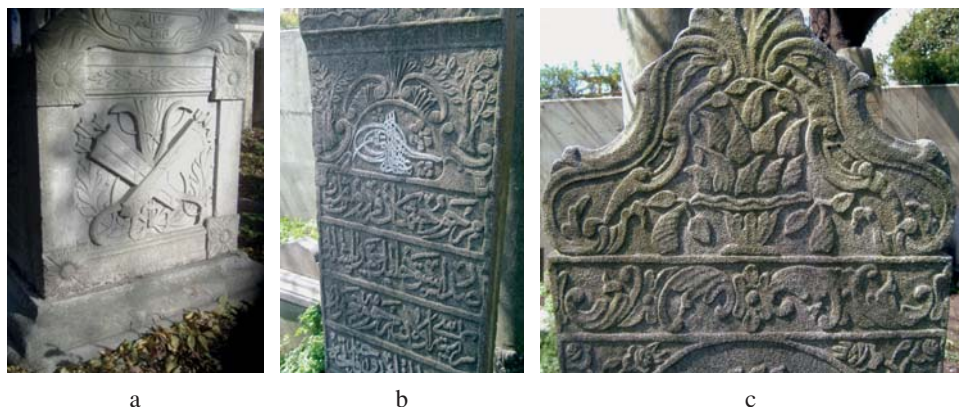


Fig. 5. Éléments décoratifs : a. sarcophage, avec arc et carquois, tombe de Mehmed Arif ; b. appel à la *şefahat* en forme de *tuğra*, tombe de Zeyneb ; c. décoration stylisée avec corbeille de fruits, tombe de Zeyneb (cliché : Olivier Bouquet, Université de Nice-Sophia-Antipolis).



Fig. 6. Aux côtés des descendants : a. la stèle très richement décorée de Fatma, épouse d'un client de Halil Hamid Pacha (cliché : Olivier Bouquet, Université de Nice-Sophia-Antipolis) ; b. la stèle de deux de ses *cariye*, Hemnişin (gauche) et Nedime (une partie, droite) (HHP, collections du département du Deutsche Archäologische Institut à Istanbul).

Olivier BOUQUET, *Lire entre les tombes : une grande famille de morts, les Halil Hamid Pacha-zâde (1785-1918)*

Cet article présente les résultats d'un inventaire effectué au sein d'un enclos familial du cimetière de Karacaahmet, situé sur la rive asiatique d'Istanbul. Il propose la présentation détaillée (avec translittération, traduction, commentaires biographiques et précisions bibliographiques) de 40 stèles de parents, apparentés, clients et esclaves du grand vizir Halil Hamid Pacha (1736-1785), inhumés entre 1785 et 1918. L'analyse calligraphique, stylistique et esthétique des stèles vise à faire ressortir les traits marquants d'une culture funéraire ottomane mise en lumière par les travaux des épigraphistes au cours du dernier demi-siècle. Le croisement des données recueillies à partir du texte des épitaphes et des documents d'archives administratives (notices biographiques) ou familiales (généalogies et documents de *vakıf* principalement) permet de saisir les enjeux de l'occupation progressive de l'enclos et de l'agencement des tombes. Il révèle les caractères particuliers d'un cimetière de famille, d'un espace de l'entre-soi dessiné, au fil de six générations, par les vivants pour leurs défunts. « Lire entre les tombes », c'est aborder chaque stèle funéraire moins comme un élément autobiographique individuel, que comme le lieu d'expression d'une parentèle, comme une pièce qui répond à une autre pièce d'un portrait familial d'ensemble ; c'est montrer que ce qui se joue dans ce cimetière, autour du fondateur éponyme, est le prolongement du lignage opéré par son fils, le *kazasker* Mehmed Arif Bey, adossé à la référence paternelle, mais devenu référence, à son tour, d'une famille de hauts dignitaires religieux, civils et militaires ; c'est proposer, autour d'un panthéon familial entretenu pendant un siècle et demi, un essai d'histoire sociale croisée des morts et des vivants.

Olivier BOUQUET, *Reading between the Graves : a Large Family of Dead, Halil Hamid Pasha-zâde (1785-1918)*

This article highlights the results of an inventory carried out in a family plot, in the Karacaahmet cemetery, on Istanbul's Asian side. It provides a detailed review (with transliteration, translation, biographical commentaries and bibliographical references) of 40 steles hosting kin, relatives, clients and slaves of the grand vizier Halil Hamid Pasha (1736-1785), buried between 1785 and 1918. Calligraphic, stylistic and esthetic analysis of steles aims at bringing to light outstanding features of an Ottoman funerary culture revealed by epigraphists during the last half-century. Crosschecking of data from epitaph texts and state (biographical notes) and family-archive documents (mainly genealogies and *vakıf* documents) allows to understand the question of the plot's progressive occupation and grave organization in the space. It discloses the specific character of a family cemetery, of a "closed" space designed, during six generations, by the living for their defuncts. « Reading between the graves » means approaching each funerary stele as a place of expression for the dead's kin, one of the pieces of a family portrait, rather than as an autobiographical element ; it means showing

that this cemetery hosts, around the eponymous founder, the continuation of a lineage, operated by his son, the *kazasker* Mehmed Arif Bey, who although leaning against the paternal reference, became at his turn a reference of a high religious, civil and military dignitaries family ; it means providing, on the basis of a family pantheon preserved during one and a half centuries, a joint social history essay for the dead and the living.

JAKUTISCHES IN C. H. MERCK'S „SIBIRISCH-AMERIKANISCHEM TAGEBUCH“ (1788-1791)

Sprach- und Kulturwandel, aber auch die Änderung der Umweltbedingungen wirken sich bekanntlich weitreichend auf Sprachen und Dialekte aus.¹ Wann immer solche Änderungen so tiefgreifend sind, wie dies im nördlichen Eurasien der Fall war und noch immer ist, kommt Sprachaufzeichnungen aus vergangenen Jahrhunderten, die im Hinblick auf den Umstand, daß die Völker des circumpolaren Raumes bis zur Heimsuchung durch die Europäer weitgehend „schriftlos“ waren, ohnehin von größter Bedeutung für unsere Kenntnis der historischen Lexik und Phonologie derselben sind, ein ganz besonderer Wert zu. In dieser Hinsicht bildet das bis zu seiner jüngst durch D. Dahlmann und seine Mitarbeiter edierte, weithin unbekannte „Sibirisch-amerikanische Tagebuch“ des Mediziners und Naturkundlers C. H. Merck² aus den Jahren

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¹ Für die zahlreichen wertvollen Hinweise bedankt der Vf. sich bei Herrn Prof. Dr. Marek Stachowski (Krakau).

² K. H. Merck wurde am 19.11.1761 als Sohn des Arztes Dr. Franz Christian Merck in Darmstadt geboren. 1780-1784 studierte er, der Familientradition folgend, in Jena und Gießen Medizin. Sein Studium schloß er 1784 mit einer Dissertation über die Physiologie und Anatomie der Milz in Gießen ab. Durch Vermittlung – vermutlich seines Onkels Johann Heinrich Merck (1741-1791) – gelangte er nach Sankt Petersburg und wirkte schließlich ab 1785 in Irkutsk als Hospitalarzt. Nach Abschluß der Expedition kehrte Merck nach St. Petersburg zurück, wo er wiederum als Mediziner tätig war. Auch hat er 1796-1797 noch einmal Deutschland besucht – u. a. seine Geburtsstadt Darmstadt. Er starb – gerade 37-jährig – am 31.1.1799 infolge der durch die Teilnahme an der Expedition ruinierten Gesundheit an einem Schlaganfall in St. Petersburg. Zu C. H. Merck, cf. DAHLMANN *et al.* (Hrsgg.), 2009, bes. p. 31-48 u. p. 60-64.

1788-1791³ keine Ausnahme. Das Werk erweist sich bei genauerer Betrachtung des in ihm enthaltenen und über seinen gesamten Text verstreuten Sprachmaterials aus einer Vielzahl von Idiomen des nord-pazifischen Raumes in dieser Hinsicht als wahre Schatztruhe. Unter diesen Materialien, die vor allem verschiedenen Dialekten des Aleutischen sowie dem Kad'jakischen entstammen, findet sich auch eine Reihe von Wörtern aus dem Itel'menischen, verschiedenen tungusischen Sprachen (Lamutisch, möglicherweise auch ost-ëwenkische Dialekte) sowie dem Jakutischen, die eine genauere Betrachtung verdienen.

Im vorliegenden Beitrag soll die Aufmerksamkeit zunächst nur auf die jakutischen Wörter gerichtet werden, die sich in diesem – vor allem auch in ethnographischer Hinsicht bedeutsamen – Dokument, das aus der „Billings-Saryčev-Expedition“ der Jahre 1785-1794⁴ hervorgegangen ist, finden. Diese (lediglich 23) Wörter sind jedoch schon insofern interessant, als sie einerseits von „Entsprechungen“ in den noch älteren Aufzeichnungen bei N. C. Witsen, Ph. J. v. Strahlenberg oder P. S. Pallas abweichen, andererseits in den Vokabularien, die im Zuge der Expedition zusammengestellt wurden und in den Werken anderer Teilnehmer derselben enthalten sind,⁵ fehlen. Letztere sind stets zur Ermittlung einer Art von Grundwortschatz angelegt worden, während erstere von C. H. Merck meist als ergänzende Angaben bei der Beschreibung von Tieren und Pflanzen hinzugefügt sind. Zudem sind die jakutischen Materialien im „Sibirisch-amerikanischen Tagebuch“ bei dem Versuch einer Zusammenstellung des dort enthaltenen Sprachmaterials durch Z. D. Titova⁶ unberücksichtigt geblieben. Die meisten der in Mercks Werk aufgeführten Wörter aus dem Jakutischen sind entweder Bezeichnungen für verschiedene Fische oder stehen in irgendeinem unmittelbaren Zusammenhang mit dem Fischfang.

1. *alesar*, „Barsch“ (p. 118): die Benennung erscheint bei Merck neben der Variante *alhar* [„Zuerst und dann mit den übrigen Fischen zugleich,...“; Baarsche (*Alhar* oder *Alesar*)“].⁷ Offenbar handelt es sich hier um den in weiten Teilen des nördl. Eurasien verbreiteten Flußbarsch. Cf. hierzu Hauenschild, 2008, p. 6: „Flußbarsch, *Perca fluviatilis*“. In ihrer Zusammenstellung gibt die Verfasserin dort – neben *aligar* „id.“⁸ – eine Reihe von Belegen: Pallas, 1811, Bd. III, p. 248: *Alyssar* „id.“; Böttlingk, 1851, p. 10: *alysar* „Bars“; Pekarskij, 1907-1930, Bd. I, col. 89: *alysar* „okun' rečnoj, *Perca fluviatilis*“; Slepčov, 1972, p. 39: *aly-*

³ „id.“

⁴ Die eigentliche Bezeichnung des Unternehmens lautete: „Geheime astronomische und geographische Expedition zur Erforschung Ostsibiriens und Alaskas“: Nach ihren Leitern, Joseph Billings (1758-1806) und Gavriil Andreevič Saryčev (1763-1831), wird sie gemeinhin kurz als „Billings-Saryčev-Expedition“ bezeichnet.

⁵ Z. B. die Wortliste in SAUER, 1802, Anhang, p. 1-14.

⁶ TITOVA, 1978.

⁷ DAHLMAN, FRIESEN, ORDUBADI (Hrsgg.), 2009, p. 117f.

⁸ HAUENSCHILD, 2008.

har „okun“; Monastyrjew, 2006, p. 22: *alihar* „id.“. Cf. daneben auch dolgan. *alygar* „Barsch“.⁹ Die Etymologie zu all diesen Formen (< *ala* „gestreift“ + *čar/ šar* „Stier“) hat die Verfasserin fehlerhaft aus M. Stachowskis „Dolganischem Wortschatz“¹⁰ – wo auf weitere Literatur resp. Belege verwiesen wird¹¹ – übernommen. Allerdings ist das von Hauenschild angeführte *čar/ šar* „Stier“ aus dem Jakutischen überhaupt nicht belegt. Es handelt sich bei diesem vielmehr um eine [Re-]Konstruktion Ė. A. Chelimskis,¹² was von der Verfasserin allerdings verschwiegen wird. Zudem findet sich bei ihr noch eine recht eigenwillige Interpretation: „Der Barsch hat einen bulligen Kopf und an den Seiten dunkle Querstreifen“.¹³ Es ist klar, daß es sich hier um eine Tabuisierung handelt – und zwar um eine solche, die einem vollkommen regelmäßigen Muster folgt: Verdeckung der Bezeichnung für ein eher kleines Tier (hier „Barsch“) durch (beschreibende) Bezeichnung für ein eher großes (hier „(gestreifter) Stier“). Mit dem angeblich „bulligen Kopf“ des Barsches hat das alles rein gar nichts zu tun. Dies aber scheint Frau Hauenschild – der auch sonst die Tabuisierungen, sofern diese nicht schon in der herangezogenen Literatur (d. h. im Falle ihrer Zusammenstellung von Tiernamen nur der Arbeit von N. A. Jaimova¹⁴) als solche gekennzeichnet resp. behandelt worden sind, – nicht erkannt zu haben.

2. *alhar*, „Barsch“ (p. 118): Cf. *supra*, Nr. 1.

3. *ballika intta*, „Fischfett“ (p. 118): „Aus den Eingeweiden der Fische kochen sie ein Fett, (*ballika Intta*, Fisch-Fett)“. Dahlmann und seine Mitarbeiter haben hierzu angemerkt, daß es sich um eine „unsichere Lesart“ handle (Dahlmann, Friesen, Ordubadi [Hrsgg.], 2009, Anm. 52). Jak. *balik* ~ *ballik*, „Fisch“ (cf. auch *infra*, dolgan. *balyga* „id.“¹⁵) ist allerdings recht klar. Eine Bezeichnung *intta* ~ *inta* für „Fett“ gibt es im Jak. nicht. Offenbar ist im Manuskript nur schwer zwischen *u* und *n* zu unterscheiden – was ja auch aus den abweichenden Erfassungen der von Merck aufgezeichneten Formen aus sibirischen und nordpazifischen Sprachen bei Dahlmann, Friesen, Ordubadi (Hrsgg.) einerseits und Titova andererseits ersichtlich wird: cf. aleut. *anatschhnu*, „Wegweiser (aus einem Haufen Steine)“¹⁶ – *anetschhun*, „kuča kamnej“,¹⁷ aleut. *asschall akuak*, „Leichnam“¹⁸ – *asschallaknak*, „trup“,¹⁹ aleut. *badar-*

⁹ STACHOWSKI, 1993, p. 32.

¹⁰ „id.“

¹¹ BEL’TJUKOVA, KOŠEVIČOVA, 1987, p. 80: *alygar*, „Barsch“; zur Etymologie auch: SEVORTJAN, 1974, p. 129; KAŁUŻYŃSKI, 1962, p. 130.

¹² CHELIMSKIJ, 1986, p. 119-143.

¹³ HAUENSCHILD, 2008, p. 6, Anm. 20.

¹⁴ JAIMOVA, 1990.

¹⁵ STACHOWSKI, 1993, p. 52 u. p. 67 (nach DEM’JANENKO, 1982, p. 182, n° 277).

¹⁶ DAHLMANN, FRIESEN, ORDUBADI (Hrsgg.), 2009, p. 225.

¹⁷ TITOVA, 1978, p. 95.

¹⁸ DAHLMANN, FRIESEN, ORDUBADI (Hrsgg.), 2009, p. 342.

¹⁹ Titova, 1978, p. 95.

agnak, „Farbe, gewonnen aus der Berggelben Rinde“²⁰ – *badarguak*, „kraska, kotoraja pokryvaet dno nekotorych prudov i ruč'ev“.²¹ Auch Stachowski (briefl.) vermutet hinter *intta* eine fehlerhafte Lesung einer Notation *iutta* (d. h. *iuta* ~ *juta*). Hinter diesem könnte sich ein **üte* ~ **üte* verbergen, falls Merck Notizen in traditioneller russ. Umschrift, in der palatale Labialvokale als Sequenzen von *j* u. velarem Labialvokal erscheinen, vorgelegen haben resp. von diesem zunächst angefertigt wurden. Da jak. *-t* häufig ein ges.-tü. *-z* entspricht, kann hinter **üte* ~ **üte* eine Entsprechung zu atü. *üz*, qipč. *üz* ~ *üz*, chakass., tuvin. *üz* etc. „Fett“ vermutet werden – d. h. *ballika intta* = *balik üte*, „Fischfett“.

4. *bartscha*, „eine Art Fischmehl“ (p. 118): „Die Hechte trocknen die Jakuten an der Luft. Aus den übrigen Fischen aber, machen sie ihre Bartscha (den Rußen *Porba*)“. Von den Hrsgg. des „Sibirisch-amerikanischen Tagebuchs“ ist hierzu angemerkt: „Russ.: *porsa*. Eine Art Mehl aus getrocknetem Fisch, das in Säcken aufbewahrt wird“.²² Cf. hierzu *barča* ~ *bačča*,²³ „gekochter, gestoßener, zerkleinerter Fisch“.²⁴

5. *borlo*, „Gänsegeier“ (p. 124): wird bei Merck zusammen mit zwei tung. Benennungen für denselben Vogel gegeben: „Gegen April zeigte sich eine Verschiedenheit von *F. fulvus*, als häufig eine grössere Art, die den Jakuten *Borlo*, den stilsitzenden Tungusen *Lonta*, denen die Renn-tiere besitzen *Gusata* heißt“. Hierbei ist zunächst vorwegzunehmen, daß einerseits der Gänsegeier (*Gyps fulvus*) – wie auch die Herausgeber des „Sibirisch-amerikanischen Tagebuchs“ anmerken²⁵ – heute nicht mehr in der Umgebung von Ochotsk verbreitet ist. Glutz v. Blotzheim, Niethammer und Bauer geben als östlichstes Verbreitungsgebiet die westliche Mongolei an.²⁶ Zum anderen kommen die tung. Bezeichnungen (hier ist unklar, um welche tung. Sprachen es sich bei Merck tatsächlich handelt – vermutlich Lamutisch und einen ost-éwenkischen Dialekt), in ähnlicher Gestalt noch heute für den Adler (vermutlich den Seeadler) vor – vgl. Lamut. *gusētē*, „Adler“,²⁷ Kołyma-Omołon *gušata* „id.; (in Sagen) „Riesenvogel“²⁸ und Arman. *lōntē*, „Adler“.²⁹ Das im „Sibirisch-amerikanischen Tagebuch“ gegebene jak. *borlo* ist sicher zu jak. *borulluo*, „Seeadler, Steinadler“³⁰ zu stellen. Ob es sich bei Mercks Schreibung

²⁰ DAHLMANN, FRIESEN, ORDUBADI (Hrsgg.), 2009, p. 336.

²¹ TITOVA, 1978, p. 95.

²² DAHLMANN, FRIESEN, ORDUBADI (Hrsgg.), 2009, p. 118, Anm. 51.

²³ PEKARSKIJ, 1907-1930, Bd. I, col. 379f. u. col. 415.

²⁴ MONASTYRJEV, 2006, p. 30.

²⁵ DAHLMANN, FRIESEN, ORDUBADI (Hrsgg.), 2009, p. 124, Anm. 9: „Wahrscheinlich ist *Gyps fulvus*, ein Gänsegeier, russ.: *Belogolovyj sip*, gemeint aus der Familie der Habichtartigen (*Accipitriade*), diese Art ist heute in den Gebieten um Ochotsk nicht mehr verbreitet“.

²⁶ GLUTZ VON BLOTZHEIM, NIETHAMMER, BAUER, 1989, p. 235.

²⁷ DOERFER, HESCHE, SCHEINHARDT, 1980, p. 332.

²⁸ MENGES, 1982, p. 113, dort sind weitere, ähnliche Formen angegeben.

²⁹ CINCIUS, 1975, col. 503b.

³⁰ HAUENSCHILD, 2008, p. 26.

um Verhörung oder um eine Fehlnotation handelt, läßt sich natürlich nicht mehr bestimmen. Vermutlich handelt es sich weder um das eine, noch das andere, da er häufiger das Wortmaterial aus verschiedenen Sprachen sehr genau notiert hat. Zu den verglichenen Formen zu ergänzen ist noch *borolduo*, „Adler“.³¹ Es ist denkbar, daß die Form *borlo* auf Mercks russischsprachigen Informanten zurückgeht (er selbst dürfte des Jakutischen nicht oder kaum mächtig gewesen sein – wenngleich er mit der Sprache während seiner Tätigkeit als Hospitalarzt in Irkutsk in Berührung gekommen sein könnte und möglicherweise auch seine Ehefrau, die ja eine jakutische Amme hatte, über entsprechende Kenntnisse verfügt hat). Ein russ. Sprecher dürfte jak. *borulluo* wohl etwa **boruluo* (mit Akzent auf der letzten Silbe) ausgesprochen haben. Die unbetonte Mittelsilbe wäre hierdurch stark reduziert worden, was eine Form **borūluo* > **borluo* ergeben haben dürfte. Aufgrund der leicht diphthongischen Aussprache des unbetonten *o* im Russ. (als <o> geschrieben) wäre anzunehmen, daß das *-uo* (in **borluo*) als diphthongische Aussprache des /o/ verstanden und als <-o> geschrieben wurde.³²

6. *cüranchatda*, „große Maräne“ (p. 118), findet sich bei Merck („... einzeln und nicht jahrweiß Tschir“³³ (die kleinen nennen die Jakuten *Cüranchatda*, die Russen aber *Panletka*“). Die Zusammensetzung bereitet einige Schwierigkeiten. Im ersten Teil des Kompositums ist zweifellos jak. *hürū* ~ *sürū*, „Waljok-Maräne“ enthalten. Dies ist auch in Hauenschilds „Lexikon jakutischer Tierbezeichnungen“ aufgeführt³⁴ – neben *sörū* und *sörū balik* „id.“.³⁵ Höchst irritierend ist Hauenschilds wörtliche Übersetzung des *sörū balik* als „Drehfisch“³⁶ (verbunden mit der in Anm. 543 gegebenen Erklärung: „Die Waljok-Maräne hat einen walzenförmigen Körper“). Tatsächlich ist ihr „Drehfisch“ eine recht abenteuerliche Übertragung der lat. Bezeichnung *Prosopium cylindraceum* und *sörū*, *sürū* und *hürū* auf ewenk. *surī* ~ *hurī* ~ *šurī* „Renke“ zurückzuführen, wie von ihr auf p. 149 richtig angegeben. Das Wort erscheint im Ewenki, dessen Dialekte bekanntlich bei der Behandlung von *s-*, *š-* und *h-* gewisse Schwankungen zeigen, sowohl als *hurī* (Biljujskij-Dialekt, Erbogotsenskij-Dialekt etc.) wie auch als *surī* (Aldan-Dialekt, Nepskij-Dialekt, Tokminskij-Dialekt etc.) – neben Formen mit *š-*.³⁷

7. *echatyss*, „Sterlet“ (p. 92): wird von Merck in seiner Zusammenstellung der Fische des Viljuj-Flusses gegeben: „Seine Fische sind... Sterlatten (*echatyss*),...“. Dies = jak. *xatīis* „Stör“. Es handelt sich dabei

³¹ STACHOWSKI, 1998, p. 59.

³² Freundlicher Hinweis von Prof. M. Stachowski (Uniwersytet Jagielloński).

³³ Hierzu merken die Herausgeber des „Sibirisch-amerikanischen Tagebuchs“ auf p. 92, Anm. 10 an: „Čir (*Coregonus nasus*), große Maräne, gehört zu der Familie der Forellenfische (*Salmonidae*)...“ (DAHLMANN, FRIESEN, ORDUBADI [Hrsgg.], 2009).

³⁴ HAUENSCHILD, 2008, p. 149 u. p. 151.

³⁵ „Id.“, p. 146.

³⁶ *Idem*.

³⁷ CINCIUS, 1975, col. 129(b)-130(a). Letzteres etwa im Podkamennoj-Ewenkischen.

ganz unzweifelhaft um eine fischereibedingte Tabuisierung, da dies < jak. *xatīī* „uneben, holprig; grannig, stachlig, dornig“.³⁸ Dem liegt die Vorstellung zugrunde, daß die Fische die Sprache der Menschen verstehen können und die Nennung der Fische das Glück der Fischer nachteilig beeinflusst. Cf. auch dolgan. *katīīs*³⁹ ~ *katīs*, „Stör“.⁴⁰ Das „überzählige“ *e-* der bei Merck notierten Form könnte entweder auf einer Verhörung beruhen oder auf einen russischsprachigen Informaten zurückgehen (cf. hierzu auch den ebenfalls „überzähligen“ Anlautvokal in *inuchely* [hier Nr. 9]), da keiner der jak. Dialekte eine vokalisches anlautende Form zeigt. Bei Hauenschild: *xatīīs/ xatīīs balik* „Sibirischer Stör (*Acipenser baeri*), Sterlet (*Acipenser ruthenus*), Glatstör (*Acipenser nudiiventris*)“ und *xatīīs toyon* „Sibirischer Hausen (*Huso dauricus*)“.⁴¹

8. *hustanch*, „eine Karpfenart“ (p. 118): in Mercks Aufzählung der Fische findet sich der Hinweis „am häufigsten Jelzi (*Hustanch*)“. Die Hrsgg. des „Sibirisch-amerikanischen Tagebuchs“ merken hierzu an: „El'cy (pl.), elec (sing.) (*Leuciscus Leuciscus*), hier: der sibirische Fisch Elec, Hasel, eine Karpfenart, ist in den sibirischen Flüssen verbreitet, u. a. in der Kolyma“.⁴² Vielleicht zu jak. *ustugas*, „Große Maräne (*Coregonus nasus*)“,⁴³ dolgan. *ustugas*, „ein Fisch; russ. *čir* (?)“⁴⁴ zu stellen?

9. *inuchely*, „Aland“ (p. 117): wird von Merck unter den Fischen, die im Zusammenhang mit Gewässern in der Umgebung des Ljuchsjugun-Sees erwähnt werden, genannt: „Zuerst und dann mit den übrigen Fischen zugleich, Hechte; dan Jasi, (*Inuchely* auf Jakutisch)“. Bei dem von Merck genannten Jasi (russ. *jaz'*) handelt es sich um den Aland (*Leuciscus idus* L.).⁴⁵ Hier wäre zu überlegen, inwiefern Mercks *inuchely* vielleicht irgendwie zu *innälik* „Jung-Äsche“⁴⁶ oder doch eher zu *ñičā* ~ *ñiča*, „Sibirische Plötze“⁴⁷ zu stellen ist. Letzteres kann aber wohl ausgeschlossen werden, da bei Merck *nitscha* als Bezeichnung für das Rotauge (hier Nr. 17) aufgeführt ist. Vermutlich handelt es sich jedoch um eine anderweitig nicht belegte Form. Denkbar ist freilich auch das Vorliegen eines „Kannitverstan“-Wortes, d. h. Merck hat beim Abfragen vom Informanten erfahren, daß der Hecht auf russisch (also *nūčcalīi*) *jaz'* heißt und dies irrtümlich für die jak. Bezeichnung des Hechtes gehalten

³⁸ Cf. STACHOWSKI, 1993, p. 141. Der Erklärung bei Stachowski ist eindeutig der Vorzug zu geben gegenüber der Deutung bei RÄSÄNEN, 1969, col. 219a, wo jak. *xatīs* zu mitteltürk. *kađış* „Lederriemen“, Balkar., Kaz. Tel. etc. *kajış* „Riemen“ gestellt wird.

³⁹ DEM'JANENKO, 1980, p. 124, n° 166; STACHOWSKI, 1993, p. 141.

⁴⁰ BEL'TJUKOVA, KOŠEVEVA, 1987, p. 81; STACHOWSKI, 1993, p. 141.

⁴¹ HAUENSCHILD, 2008, p. 58.

⁴² DAHLMANN, FRIESEN, ORDUBADI (Hrsgg.), 2009, p. 118, Anm. 47.

⁴³ PEKARSKIJ, 1907-1930, Bd. III, col. 3082: „ryba v rode čira“.

⁴⁴ STACHOWSKI, 1998, p. 263.

⁴⁵ DAHLMANN, FRIESEN, ORDUBADI (Hrsgg.), 2009, p. 117, Anm. 46.

⁴⁶ HAUENSCHILD, 2008, p. 65.

⁴⁷ STACHOWSKI, 1993, p. 187 (nach AFANAS'EV, VORONKIN, ALEKSEEV, 1976, p. 181); HAUENSCHILD, 2008, p. 122.

(cf. hierzu ja auch das irritierend notierte *sigi* [*majangas*], „sibirische Plötze oder Rotaugen“ [Nr. 14]). Hierfür spricht auch der in *echatyss* (Nr. 7) vorkommende „überzählige“ Anlautvokal, der an dieser Stelle ebenfalls vorliegen mag.

10. *jlim*, „Stellnetze“ (p. 118): „Frühlings, fangen sie die Fische, im Insee selbst, mit Stelnetzen (Jlim)“. Dies ist = jak. *ilim*, „id.“, cf. auch dolg. „Fischfangnetz“. ⁴⁸ Bei Stachowski findet sich zudem der Verweis auf Turkm. *jylym*, „id.“. ⁴⁹ Bei dem uns vorliegenden *jlim* dürfte es sich lediglich um eine Fehllese für *ilim* handeln, da Merck wohl *i-* wie *j-* geschrieben hat.

11. *ju*, „Reuse“ (p. 118): „Bei ihrem austreten aus dem Insee aber, mit Reusen (Ju), welche sie aus Stecken von Lärchenholz machen...“. Unklar.

12. *kürty*, „Birkenrindenkorb“ (p. 118): „Dies grobe Pulver stoßen sie in einer Art Bütte aus Birckenrinde (welche ihnen Kürty heißen)“. Wir haben hier eine anderweitig nicht in dieser Gestalt und Bedeutung vorliegende Form vor uns. Es ist denkbar, daß diese auf ein jak. Substantiv *kirtü* ~ *kirtü* < *kirit-* (dies = Kausativ < *kirij-*, „schneiden“) zurückgeht. Der Kausativ könnte hier Intensivierung und das <ü> in *kürty* bei Merck eine Wiedergabe des russ. *y* (= *u*) sein – da das Deutsche ja über kein „anderes i“ verfügt und so die „Umdeutung“ zu /ü/ erfolgte (schließlich sind beide hoch und palatal).⁵⁰ Semantisch wäre die Sache unproblematisch, da Birkenrinde aus der auch bei den Jakuten diverse Gefäße gefertigt wurden, entsprechend zugeschnitten werden mußte. Natürlich kann hier keine Entlehnung aus einem der benachbarten tung. Idiome, die ja bekanntlich zahllose Bezeichnungen für verschiedene Birkenrindengefäße kennen (allein die hier in Frage kommenden éwenk. Dialekte weisen Dutzende solcher Termini auf), ausgeschlossen werden. Dem Vf. jedoch ist keine der jak. nahestehende Form bekannt.

13. *kyssyl-garach*, „Rotaugen (Fisch)“ (p. 92): Merck erwähnt in der „Liste“ der Fische des Viljuj-Flusses u. a. „Rotaugen (kyssyl-garach)“. Dies ist in der Liste Mercks der eindeutigste Fall – es handelt sich um eine ja auch der dt. Benennung wörtlich entsprechende Bezeichnung: *kyssyl* (= *kisil*) „rot“ + *garach* (= *xarax*) „Auge“. Bei Böhrling ist die Bezeichnung ebenso gegeben (*kisil xarax*, „Rothauge, ein besonderer Fisch“),⁵¹ wie bei Pekarskij (*kisil xarax*, „ryba *Rutilus rutilus* (L.) = *Leuciscus rutilus*“).⁵²

14. *sigi* (*majangas*), „sibirische Plötze oder Rotaugen“ (p. 92): in Mercks Auflistung der Fische, die sich im Viljuj-Fluß finden, erscheint u. a. „*sigi* (*majangas*)“. *sigi* = russ. *sig* „Renke“ + Nom.-Pl. – lediglich die in Klammern gegebene Form ist jak. Dies = *mayangas*: 1. bei Pallas,

⁴⁸ STACHOWSKI, 1993, p. 123 (nach UBRIATOVA, 1985, p. 25, n° 100).

⁴⁹ „Id.“, nach SEVORTJAN, LEVITSKAJA, 1989, p. 282.

⁵⁰ Freundlicher Hinweis von Prof. M. Stachowski.

⁵¹ BÖHLINGK, 1851, p. 66.

⁵² PEKARSKIJ, 1907-1930, Bd. II, col. 1437.

1811, Bd. III, p. 403; *Majagas*, „*Salmo oxyrhinchus*“, bei Böhlingk, 1851, p. 147; *majağas*, „*Salmo lavaretus*“, Pekarskij, 1907-1930, Bd. II, col. 1507; *majağas*, „sig“ ~ „ščokur, *Coregonus pidschian*“, Slepcev, 1972, p. 233; *majağas*, „sig“, Monastyrjew, 2006, p. 107; *mayayas*, „Fischart (*Salmo lavaretus*)“, Hauenschild, 2008, p. 108: I: „Renke, *Coregonus lavaretus*“, II: „Pidschian-Maräne, *Coregonus lavaretus pidschian*“.

15. *mekanersin*, „Wurzel des Polygonum Bistorta“ (p. 117): bei der Beschreibung der Umgebung des Olenskoj und deren Flora wird von Merck beiläufig der Polygonum Bistorta erwähnt „*Polygonum varicatum* (Diesen Namen, habe ich bei der Beschreibung der Tschuktschi, aus Versehen, dem *Polygonum Bistorta* gegeben, deßen Wurzel die Tschuktschi⁵³ Kerut, die Jakuten aber Mekanersin nennen, und selbige mit Milch genießen)“. Unklar.

16. *mungur*, „große Maräne“ (p. 92): wird von Merck unter den Fischen des Viljuj aufgezählt: „Tschir (mungur)“. Es ist eines der eher wenigen Wörter im „Sibirisch-amerikanischen Tagebuch“, die ohne Schwierigkeiten zu identifizieren sind. Es handelt sich um das auch bei Hauenschild aufgeführte *muğur* (I), „id.“ (*Coregonus nasus*).⁵⁴ Zu „Tschir“ (Čir), cf. im vorliegenden Beitrag oben Nr. 6.

17. *nitscha*, „Rotauge (Fisch)“ (p. 117): unter den Fischen, die aus dem Viljuj in den Čoron-Jurjach wandern, werden von Merck auch „Rotaugen (welche sie auch Nitscha benennen)“ genannt. Von den bei Hauenschild auf p. 122 aufgeführten a) *ńiča* (I), „Plötze (*Rutilus rutilus*)“; b) *ńiča* (II), „Rotkarpfen (*Scardinius erythrophthalmus*)“; und c) *ńičā*, „Plötze (*Rutilus rutilus*)“ dürften hier wohl am ehesten a) und c) in Frage kommen – da es sich bei „Plötze“ nur um eine synonyme Bezeichnung für das Rotauge handelt. Etwas verwirrend ist der von Hauenschild benutzte Terminus „Rotkarpfen“ für den *Scardinius erythrophthalmus*, der besser als „Rotfeder“ bekannt ist (wenngleich er zur Familie der Karpfenfische gehört). Da das dem jak. *ńiča* ~ *ńičā* „entsprechende“ Wort (*niča*) im Ėwenki nur für das Učurskijsche belegt zu sein scheint,⁵⁵ sollte hier – entgegen Hauenschilds Annahme⁵⁶ – eher kein Ėwenk. Ursprung angenommen werden.

18. *salysar*, „Quappe (Fisch)“ (p. 92): in der bereits erwähnten Aufzählung der Fische des Viljuj-Flusses, sind auch „Quappen (salysar)“ genannt. Möglicherweise Verwechslung (= *alysar*, „Flußbarsch“ – s. o., Nr. 1).

19. *sinwin*, „Lärchenstöcke, mit denen Flüsse für den Fischfang ‚eingedämmt‘ werden“ (p. 118). Unklar.

20. *soen.*, „Ausfluß (eines Fließchens)“ (p. 117): wird von Merck im Zusammenhang mit Gewässern in der Umgebung des Ljuchsjugun-Sees

⁵³ Diese Bemerkung bezieht sich auf eine Darstellung der Čukčeen aus der Feder Mercks, welche später auszugsweise publiziert wurde (MERCK, 1814).

⁵⁴ HAUENSCHILD, 2008, p. 115.

⁵⁵ CINCIUS, 1975, p. 601.

⁵⁶ HAUENSCHILD, 2008, p. 122.

erwähnt: „Dieser Insee ist durch ein Flößchen oder gleichen Ausfluß (auf Jak. Soen.) mit oben angeführtem Insee Nenülii, vereint“. Was Merck hier mit „Soen.“ (= *sön.*) abgekürzt hat, bleibt unklar.

21. *sordony*, „Hecht“ (p. 92): zu den Fischen im Viljuj-Fluß berichtet Merck u. a. „Seine Fische sind... Trumeni, Hechte (*sordony*),...“. Hierbei handelt es sich zweifellos um *sordon*, „Hecht“; *sordōxoy*, „ein kleiner Hecht“; *sordōkuy*, „Hecht“; *soroxoy* ~ *soroxuy*, „ein kleiner Hecht“.⁵⁷ Hier ist lediglich eine Verschreibung bei der Notation des velaren Nasals resp. eine Fehlliesung der Hrsgg. (-*ny* statt -*ng*) anzunehmen, was aber ohne Prüfung des Originals nicht zu entscheiden ist. Möglicherweise handelt es sich auch einfach um eine Wiedergabe des russ. Nom.-Pl., der auf einen möglichen zweisprachigen Informanten zurückgeht.

22. *tschonor*, „kleine Maräne“ (p. 118): diese bei Merck erscheinende jak. Bezeichnung für eine kleine Maräne („Die ganz kleinen nennen die Jakuten Tschonor, die Russen Tunuchki“) ist identisch mit dem in zahlreichen Wörterbüchern aufgeführten *čomugur* „Renke“ (*Coregonus lavaretus*),⁵⁸ dolg. *čomogor* „sig“.⁵⁹ Cf. auch *čomoyol*, *čomoyor* „...“. Die abweichende Form kann hier ebenso auf Dialekt-Situation zurückzuführen sein, wie auf Verhörung.

23. *yutbalyk*, „sibirischer Weißlachs“ (p. 92): unter den Fischen des Viljuj-Flusses nennt Merck u. a. sibirische Weißlachse – Nel'ma (*Stenodus leucichthys*) „Seine Fische sind Nelma (*yutbalyk*, jak.)“. Während „balyk“ (*balik* „Fisch“) klar ist, lassen sich zu *yut* nur Vermutungen anstellen. Vor dem Hintergrund der oben gegebenen möglichen Deutung von *ballika intta* (Nr. 3) wäre *yutbalyk* vielleicht als *ūtbalik* „Fettfisch“ zu deuten – was im Falle von Lachsen ja nicht ausgeschlossen werden kann.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ „Id.“, p. 145.

⁵⁸ Cf. auch „id.“, p. 39-40.

⁵⁹ AFANAS'EV, VORONKIN, ALEKSEEV, 1976, p. 299; STACHOWSKI, 1993, p. 74: „ein Fisch, sig“.

⁶⁰ Freundlicher Hinweis von Prof. M. Stachowski.

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Michael KNÜPPEL, *Le iakoute dans le « Sibirisch-amerikanisches Tagebuch » (1788-1791) de C. H. Merck*

Le présent article porte sur les matériaux en langue iakoute dans les journaux des voyages en Sibérie de l'Est et dans les régions du Pacifique du Nord, entrepris par Carl Heinrich Merck (1761-1799), médecin, naturaliste et ethnographe, dans le cadre de son *Geheime astronomische und geographische Expedition zur Erkundung Ostsibiriens und Alaskas* (Expédition secrète astronomique et géographique pour la découverte de la Sibérie de l'Est et de l'Alaska) de 1785 à 1794. Il s'agit de matériaux importants car certaines formes du iakoute que l'on trouve dans les notes de Merck ne figurent ni dans d'autres glossaires/lexiques historiques ni dans les dictionnaires du iakoute actuel.

Michael KNÜPPEL, *The Yakut in C. H. Merck's "Sibirisch-amerikanische Tagebuch" (1788-1791)*

The present article deals with the materials in Yakut language included in the records of the journeys to Eastern Siberia and the Northern Pacific areas undertaken by Carl Heinrich Merck (1761-1799), medical doctor, natural scientist and ethnographer, during his *Geheime astronomische und geographische Expedition zur Erkundung Ostsibiriens und Alaskas* (Secret Astronomic and Geographic Expedition for the Exploration of Eastern Siberia and Alaska) from 1785 to 1794. These materials are of importance because some Yakut forms noted in Merck's records cannot be found either in other historical glossaries/vocabularies or in modern Yakut dictionaries.

L'OFFRE DE LA BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE AU SERVICE DE LA TURCOLOGIE

L'objectif de cette communication, présentée lors de la 10^e édition de la Journée d'études turques¹, était d'esquisser l'étendue de l'offre de la Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF) en matière de fonds mais aussi de services, à l'aide de quelques illustrations visuelles. Il s'agissait de susciter ainsi, auprès de l'audience, la curiosité et l'envie de creuser les possibilités de recherche documentaire et de permettre de labourer davantage les ressources mises à la disposition des publics. Si cette offre est parfaitement repérable sur la page d'accueil de l'établissement (<http://www.bnf.fr>)², il est permis de penser que sa richesse et sa diversité nécessitent sa mise en relief pour une meilleure exploitation.

L'histoire du fonds turc à la BnF a déjà été le sujet de nombreuses communications, sous forme écrite et orale. Annie Berthier, longtemps chargée des manuscrits, a publié plusieurs articles sur le sujet³ ; j'ai eu, pour ma part, quelques occasions de présenter des exposés sur la constitution des collections d'imprimés. On peut croire, par conséquent, que le

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¹ Journée d'études turques dédiée à la mémoire d'Altan Gokalp co-organisée par le Centre d'études turques, ottomanes, balkaniques et centrasiatiques et la BnF le 1^{er} avril 2011.

² Actuellement la page d'accueil de la BnF comporte cinq colonnes étalées sur sa partie inférieure. La rubrique « Collections et services » sur la deuxième colonne de gauche concentre la totalité de nos propos.

³ Les références sont nombreuses ; citons uniquement « Le fonds turc du département des Manuscrits », *Bulletin de la Bibliothèque nationale* VI, 1981, p. 78-95.

public averti est sensibilisé à l'ancienneté du fonds turc conservé à la BnF et à la nature de son contenu qu'il convient néanmoins d'évoquer brièvement en introduction. Enfin, la continuité assurée par l'institution, qui tient à maintenir son personnel spécialisé au service de l'enrichissement et de la mise en valeur des documents turcs, sera rappelée en filigrane, afin que la valeur ajoutée à une collection par l'accompagnement professionnel soit soulignée.

La BnF, sous ses diverses appellations à travers son existence de plusieurs siècles, affiche une mission encyclopédique parallèlement à sa mission patrimoniale. À ce titre, elle a collecté et continue d'acquérir des documents en langues étrangères susceptibles de contribuer à la transmission du savoir aux côtés des documents français qui lui sont systématiquement déposés⁴. Le noyau des livres turcs, sous forme de manuscrits, s'est ainsi constitué dès le xvii^e siècle par l'acquisition de deux bibliothèques privées contenant 150 volumes en langue turque. Cependant, ce n'est qu'au xviii^e siècle que les collections orientales connaissent un accroissement considérable par des achats effectués au Levant, sous l'impulsion d'instructions royales. Celles-ci comprennent tout naturellement le turc parmi les autres langues de la région. Si le plus ancien manuscrit turc conservé à la BnF date du xiii^e siècle, la majorité de la collection comprend des autographes et des copies effectuées entre les xviii^e et xix^e siècles. Enfin, les cahiers les plus récents du fonds sont des textes littéraires autographes, rédigés déjà en alphabet latin dans la seconde moitié du xx^e siècle. Le don d'un ensemble important de volumes comprenant notamment des *cönk*⁵ par l'autorité dans le domaine de la littérature populaire, Pertev Naili Boratav, constitue actuellement les dernières entrées dans cette collection qui forme aujourd'hui un important échantillon, représentatif de la culture écrite turque.

À ses débuts, le turc fait ainsi partie de l'ensemble « oriental », aux côtés des autres langues du Proche-Orient, pendant presque quatre siècles. Dès les années 1970, il bénéficie d'un personnel titulaire spécialisé, dédié à plein temps tant aux manuscrits qu'aux imprimés, ce qui permet l'accroissement régulier du fonds, ainsi que sa valorisation à travers le signalement dans les catalogues des notices bibliographiques et celles dites « d'autorité » qui lui sont rattachées⁶. C'est par ces dernières que la BnF

⁴ Initié par François I^{er} dès 1537, le dépôt légal oblige tout éditeur, imprimeur, producteur, distributeur, importateur de déposer chaque document qu'il édite, imprime, produit, distribue ou importe à certains organismes dont la BnF. Pour en savoir davantage : http://www.bnf.fr/fr/professionnels/depot_legal.html.

⁵ *Cönk* : sorte d'anthologies ou miscellanées de poèmes, recettes, dictons, conseils, prières notés sur de petits cahiers en forme de blocs-notes. Ils constituent une source importante de la culture populaire.

⁶ Une notice d'autorité est établie pour normaliser la forme d'accès aux notices bibliographiques, qu'il s'agisse d'auteurs, de titres ou de sujets. Elle réunit toutes les formes constatées par exemple du nom d'un auteur à l'aide de notes. Ainsi elle assure la fiabilité et la cohérence des catalogues.

se distingue, à l'échelle nationale et internationale, notamment pour ce qui est des auteurs, personnes physiques dont l'exemple suivant :

Dürri Ahmed Efendi (16..-1722) *forme internationale turc*

Nationalité(s) : code non adapté

Langue(s) : turc ottoman

Sexe : masculin

Responsabilité(s) exercée(s) sur les documents : Auteur

Naissance : 16.., Van (Turquie)

Mort : 1722-12-11, Istanbul (Turquie)

Envoyé du Sultan Ahmed III auprès du Chah de Perse, auteur de la relation de voyage en Iran. — Mort en 1135 H.

Forme(s) rejetée(s) :

< دوری احمد افندی (16..-1722) *turc ottoman*

< احمد افندی, دفری (16..-1722) *turc ottoman*

< Ahmed Dürri Efendi (16..-1722) *turc*

< احمد دری افندی (16..-1722) *turc ottoman*

< Dürri, Ahmed Efendî (16..-1722) *romanisation turc ottoman*

< Dourri-Effendi (16..-1722) *français*

< Dourry Effendi (16..-1722) *français*

Source(s) :

Relation de Dourry Effendi, ambassadeur de la Porte ottomane auprès du roi de Perse, traduite du turk, 1810

TDV-IA : Dürri Ahmed Efendi. — Babinger, OTYE, 299/4 : Ahmed Dürri Efendi. —

BnF, Manuscrits, Supplément turc 1431 (1) : Dürri, Ahmed Efendî

BN Cat. gén. : Dourri-Effendi. — BnF Service turc, 2009-11-10

Aujourd'hui, outre les quelque 2 000 manuscrits, dont les 200 derniers sont actuellement en cours de catalogage en ligne, le fonds turc proprement dit comporte une trentaine de milliers de monographies imprimées et une cinquantaine de périodiques vivants. Les documents décrits dans les deux volumes de E. Blochet⁷ sont aussi disponibles et consultables en mode image sur le site de la BnF (Collections et services > Catalogues > Accès aux catalogues numérisés > Manuscrits-Orient > Turc). Ces notices sont converties et progressivement reversées dans le catalogue en ligne « BnF Archives et manuscrits » où elles sont parfois accompagnées du support de substitution lui-même (exemple : Turc 296 ; cliquer sur le

⁷ Edgar BLOCHET, *Catalogue des manuscrits turcs*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, 1932-1933, 2 vol. Cotes de la version numérisée dans le Catalogue général : NUMM 209465 pour le vol. 1 et NUMM 209466 pour le vol. 2.

lien « Accéder au manuscrit numérisé ») ce qui facilite la consultation à distance. Quant aux imprimés, leur signalisation dans le catalogue général est régulièrement actualisée, à commencer par les « incunables » de Müteferrika, jusqu'aux volumes acquis tout récemment, en passant par un échantillon important de lithographies du XIX^e siècle, des collections complètes de revues littéraires et de celles, parfois lacunaires mais très représentatives, de la presse ottomane.

Si les manuscrits turcs sont réunis sous un ensemble affiché en tant que tel, les références des imprimés se trouvent, quant à elles, dans la même base que les millions d'autres notices présentes dans le catalogue général mentionné plus haut. Cet outil offre, néanmoins, de très nombreuses possibilités de recherche aussi vastes, telles que celle dite « par mot [notice] » et celles qui peuvent combiner plusieurs critères aussi spécifiques que la date de publication ou l'éditeur. Ces fonctionnalités d'aide à la recherche permettent ainsi au chercheur d'affiner sa requête et d'extraire des items pertinents, si les références exactes ne lui sont pas connues. Il convient de noter que, pour une meilleure exploitation de ses divers catalogues, de leurs contenus, de l'organisation des données et des modes de recherche, la BnF propose des ateliers de formation au public intéressé⁸.

Dans le paysage documentaire français, la BnF n'est pas le seul établissement qui propose des ressources importantes aux turcologues. On citera d'abord le service commun de la documentation de l'université d'Aix-Marseille, centre d'acquisition et de diffusion de l'information scientifique et technique pour l'histoire ottomane, et la bibliothèque pluridisciplinaire du département d'Études turques de l'université de Strasbourg. À Paris même, la bibliothèque d'Études arabes, turques et islamiques du Collège de France possède une documentation importante spécialisée en histoire ottomane de l'époque moderne. Des collections comparables en quantité et en ancienneté à celles de la BnF sont conservées, enfin, à la Bibliothèque universitaire des langues et civilisations (Bulac). Les missions principales de cette dernière sont de répondre aux besoins de l'enseignement et de la recherche menée dans ce cadre. La Bulac est un partenaire confirmé de la BnF : d'abord par la concertation mutuelle du personnel scientifique, mais aussi par une convention officielle affichant et définissant cette coopération. À ce titre, les deux institutions œuvrent pour compléter l'offre documentaire en turcologie et, ensemble, dessinent la cartographie du réseau national documentaire.

Si le secteur turc de la BnF est chargé de couvrir toutes les disciplines dans le cadre fixé par la charte documentaire de la maison, il fait néanmoins le choix de se distinguer par des acquisitions dans les domaines

⁸ Cf. aussi la page dédiée aux critères de recherche dans le Guide de recherche en bibliothèque, à l'adresse : http://grebib.bnf.fr/html/criteres_principaux.html. Par ailleurs, deux vidéos didactiques sur les contenus de la recherche sont accessibles à l'adresse : <http://didacat.bnf.fr>.

thématiques de son département de rattachement, le département Littérature et Art et ce dans les limites imposées par les contraintes budgétaires. Après une sélection raisonnée à travers les outils bibliographiques disponibles, les collections turques croissent, essentiellement par achat – mais aussi par dons, sollicités ou non – d'environ 500-700 volumes par an, publications récentes et antiquariat confondus. Ce nombre atteint ainsi largement, en pourcentage, le seuil de la production éditoriale annuelle visé par la politique documentaire de l'établissement. Par un exercice d'ajustement des objectifs ambitieux aux crédits disponibles, le secteur turc assure une couverture spécifique qui s'étend aux domaines suivants :

- étude des langues turques et dictionnaires linguistiques ;
- histoire et critique de la littérature turque classique, populaire et contemporaine ainsi que les œuvres littéraires ;
- art, notamment la création contemporaine en Turquie, comprenant toutes les expressions artistiques y compris le cinéma et la musique et, enfin :
- histoire du livre, de la presse et de la lecture ;
- sans oublier les ouvrages de référence nécessaires à la recherche dans toutes les autres disciplines, volumes qu'il s'efforce de mettre en accès libre⁹.

Les ressources turques en sciences humaines, politiques, économiques et juridiques viennent s'ajouter à cette offre uniquement dans la mesure où elles serviraient à étudier les disciplines dites ambitieusement « d'excellence » et énumérées plus haut. En outre, les chargés de collections thématiques dans les autres départements¹⁰ consolident le fonds turc par la production éditoriale étrangère dans le reste du monde. Les produits de la Bibliographie nationale française viennent compléter cet ensemble.

Ainsi est accomplie une des missions fondamentales de la BnF : celle de collecter, outre la production nationale exhaustive grâce au décret du dépôt légal, des documents étrangers d'une couverture encyclopédique. Par conséquent, la BnF offre, sous le même toit – et parfois sur la même Toile, quand il s'agit d'objets numérisés – des sources nombreuses et variées en provenance de la Turquie et sur la Turquie, aux côtés des millions d'autres supports de toute époque qui pourraient être utiles à toute recherche engagée par le turcologue. Les collections d'imprimés sont, par conséquent, accompagnées de celles dites spécialisées.

La modeste présentation lors de la saison de la Turquie en France en 2009¹¹ fut l'occasion d'exposer la diversité – à défaut d'en étaler l'am-

⁹ Actuellement plus de 700 volumes sont ainsi disponibles en salle W du rez-de-jardin sous les cotes 030.703 (ouvrages de référence pour l'aire culturelle turque), 493.4 (langue turque, notamment divers dictionnaires) et 893.4 (littératures turques, notamment encyclopédies, histoires, dictionnaires biographiques...).

¹⁰ Les autres départements thématiques sont les suivants : Philosophie, histoire, sciences de l'homme ; Droit, économie, politique ; Sciences et techniques ; Audiovisuel.

¹¹ 20 sept.-20 déc. 2009, espace « Abécédaire des collections », hall Est.

pleur – de cette offre à l'aide de quelques pièces conservées dans les départements des Arts du spectacle ou des Médailles, monnaies et antiques ou encore à la Bibliothèque-musée de l'Opéra¹². Si nous devons nous arrêter, brièvement, sur la musique imprimée, sans succomber au charme de nombreuses turqueries conservées notamment à la Bibliothèque-musée de l'Opéra, par ailleurs de grande importance, nous pouvons signaler trois ensembles à titre d'exemple :

- les documents relatifs au compositeur Giuseppe Donizetti, qui a résidé en Turquie et a travaillé pour le sultan Abdül Mecid ;
- des partitions d'inspiration turque, notamment dans la littérature pour piano du XIX^e siècle ou de la chanson française¹³ ;
- ou encore un petit don du musicologue Eugène Borrel comportant des chansons turques de la fin de la période ottomane qui annoncent des découvertes intéressantes lors de leur prochain catalogage.

À ces collections spécialisées d'une richesse insoupçonnable, tant elles restent à découvrir, s'ajoutent les nombreuses ressources électroniques, bases de données et périodiques en ligne dans toutes les disciplines du savoir, qui viennent éclairer les questions spécifiques étudiées par les turcologues.

On pense d'abord tout naturellement à *Gallica* avec ses plus de 1 350 000 documents patrimoniaux numérisés : livres, mais aussi images et son, tous supports confondus. Ainsi peut-on écouter la chanson « Karga » par le Tatar Achir Usta ou chercher un mot dans le *Dictionnaire turc-français* de Barbier de Meynard ou encore lire l'ensemble de la presse ottomane de langue française, actuellement en cours de numérisation¹⁴, en mode image aussi bien qu'en mode texte, ce dernier étant très ergonomique pour la recherche. Les exemples sont très nombreux.

Par ressources électroniques, on comprend aussi les périodiques en ligne, que l'on compte par dizaines de milliers, et les bases de données,

¹² Les ressources relatives aux études turques conservées dans les départements des Cartes et plans et de l'Audiovisuel ont fait l'objet de deux présentations plus détaillées durant cette même journée d'études turques : « Diversité et richesse d'une collection peu connue » par Madeleine Barnoud, et « Bref parcours dans les collections audiovisuelles de la BnF » par Alain Carou.

¹³ L'incipit de *Un siècle de chansons françaises* par Harry Carlton pour le volume 1919-1929 intitulé tout simplement *Constantinople* serait « En Turquie tout s'est transformé » !

¹⁴ La BnF a signé une convention avec l'Institut français d'études anatoliennes et le Salt (anciennement le Centre d'archives et de recherche de la Banque ottomane) pour conduire ensemble la numérisation de la presse ottomane, au sens large, en langue française. La BnF a déjà achevé la phase 1 du projet avec les titres publiés en France et dont les collections complètes sont conservées dans ses murs. Pour sa part, le Salt numérise les nombreuses collections de la bibliothèque Atatürk à Istanbul, outre ses propres collections. L'ensemble paraîtra en ligne sur *Gallica*.

plus de 250 aujourd'hui, dont certaines sont consultables à distance par les lecteurs de la bibliothèque de Recherche de la BnF, et enfin les 15 000 titres de livres électroniques, publications récentes comprises. La base bibliographique multidisciplinaire *Academic Search Premier* fournit à elle seule le texte intégral de 4 600 publications. Parmi les titres classés sous cette catégorie de ressources, on trouve également des titres de revues consacrées à la turcologie comme *Turcica* (Peeters), *Turkish Studies* (Routledge) et *Turkish Historical Review* (Brill). Mais les possibilités s'étendent également aux sources d'information plus générale comme les dépêches en langue turque de l'agence Reuters ou de l'Anadolu Ajansı, les références de l'*Index Islamicus*, les articles de la presse écrite dans *Factiva Country Profiles* ou encore les expertises militaires rédigées pour le *Turkey Defence and Security Report*.

Pour poursuivre, il convient de faire le tour d'horizon des ressources électroniques « maison » et de citer quatre autres ensembles :

- **Mandragore**, la base des manuscrits enluminés de la BnF, dont quelques-uns des 50 manuscrits turcs à peinture et les représentations des Turcs dans les nombreux manuscrits français ;
- la **Banque d'images fixes** du département de la Reproduction où la recherche par le seul mot « Turquie » donne 158 réponses aujourd'hui (les réponses seraient plus nombreuses pour la recherche par le mot tronqué turc* ou turq*)¹⁵ ;
- les **Signets de la BnF** constituent, quant à eux, une sélection raisonnée et cataloguée des ressources électroniques gratuites qui se développent en quantité et se diversifient en qualité. C'est pourquoi la valeur ajoutée par le choix, la description et l'indexation des sites par le personnel scientifique de la BnF est particulièrement appréciable ;
- enfin, une exclusivité dont on ne peut bénéficier que dans les salles de lecture du rez-de-jardin qui sont les **Archives de l'Internet**, sites du domaine français collectés désormais par dépôt légal où l'on peut consulter des textes aussi éphémères que, par exemple, les blogs créés et entretenus lors des élections législatives ou présidentielles passées et dont la plupart ont depuis longtemps disparu de la Toile.

Une autre des missions fondamentales de la BnF est celle de communiquer et de diffuser ses collections à travers la consultation du support matériel lui-même ou de sa version de substitution. L'effort de signaler dans des délais très courts la présence et la disponibilité de ces documents dans les divers catalogues mérite d'être souligné. De plus, afin de signifier des corpus ou des ensembles thématiques, le personnel scientifique établit des **bibliographies** à certaines occasions. La majorité de ces bibliographies, que l'on s'efforce de mettre à jour, sont disponibles en

¹⁵ *Mandragore* et la *Banque d'images fixes* seront très prochainement versées dans *Gallica*.

ligne sur le site de la BnF. On peut notamment citer quelques travaux effectués récemment par le secteur turc : œuvres, histoire et critique de Yaşar Kemal, cinéma turc.

Pour terminer le tour d'horizon des services relatifs aux collections, la notion de diffusion ne se limite pas à un signalement dans le catalogue, elle s'étend aussi à un service de renseignement plus large encore : *Sindbad*, où une équipe de bibliothécaires œuvre pour fournir des références et parfois même des informations qui y sont contenues, à toute personne à distance. Afin que ces informations puissent servir à d'autres qu'à ceux qui soumettent la requête, une sélection de questions-réponses sont archivées et mises en ligne sur le site de la BnF. La variété des questions et l'importance des réponses fournies peuvent être constatées par une recherche au hasard sur le site de la BnF en cliquant sur « Poser une question à un bibliothécaire »¹⁶.

Dans l'ensemble, l'offre de la BnF est au service de toute la recherche et il va de soi que la turcologie en bénéficie au même titre et autant que les autres champs scientifiques. Si la devise du personnel est « travailler pour l'éternité », il œuvre autant pour l'immédiat. Outre sa mission patrimoniale de conservation, la BnF, en tant qu'établissement culturel au service du public, a pour ambition de satisfaire et éventuellement d'anticiper les besoins du chercheur actuel. Pour cela il est nécessaire d'être à l'écoute du retour des usagers. Les turcologues confirmés et en puissance sont, par conséquent, invités à coopérer plus étroitement avec le secteur turc dont l'objectif est de mieux servir la turcologie en France et ailleurs. Ce dernier se tient à la disposition de tous les enseignants et étudiants pour les accueillir en groupe ou individuellement et pour les accompagner dans leurs recherches documentaires.

¹⁶ Pour accéder à Sindbad et aux bibliographies : www.bnf.fr > Collections et services > Aides à la recherche documentaire.

Sara YONTAN MUSNIK, *L'offre de la Bibliothèque nationale de France au service de la turcologie*

Dans le cadre de sa mission encyclopédique, la Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF) poursuit l'enrichissement de son fonds turc dont les origines remontent au XVII^e siècle. Ce fonds est principalement constitué de manuscrits ottomans et d'imprimés publiés en Turquie, un ensemble complété par les documents de divers supports et langues, relatifs à tous les savoirs, dont la turcologie, et collectés par dépôt légal ou acquisition raisonnée. Les collections qui sont reflétées par les catalogues en ligne de la BnF sont accompagnées de très nombreuses autres ressources électroniques de types variées, ce qui permet d'élargir considérablement les champs de recherche concernés. Enfin, certains services aux publics viennent consolider l'offre documentaire. La présente note a pour objectif de dessiner les contours des contenus et des services offerts par la BnF, visant à contribuer aux travaux des chercheurs turcologues.

Sara YONTAN MUSNIK, *Turkish-studies-specific resources at the Bibliothèque nationale de France*

In the framework of its encyclopaedic mission, the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF) keeps on growing its Turkish resources whose acquisition started in the 17th century. These resources are mainly Ottoman manuscripts and printed matters published in Turkey, completed by multimedia and multi-language documents related to all fields of knowledge – Turkish studies among others – collected through legal deposit or ad hoc acquisition. Collections figuring in BnF online catalogues are complemented by very many other electronic resources, and thereby research fields are significantly broadened. Last, resources come along with some services to the public. This note provides an outline of resources and services provided by BnF, aiming to assist Turkish-studies specialists in their work.

Comptes rendus

Sibylle WENTKER, Elisabeth WUNDSAM, Klaus WUNDSAM (éds), *Geschichte Wassaf's*, trad. en allemand Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, Vienne, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, coll. *Philosophisch-historische Klasse: Sitzungsberichte* 802 et 803; *Veröffentlichungen zur Iranistik* 57 et 59, 2010, vol. I, 275 p. de texte en alphabet latin + 295 p. de texte en alphabet persan; vol. II, 279 p.

Ces deux volumes représentent une opération intellectuelle très raffinée : d'un côté on y trouvera le travail de l'historien persan Šaraf al-Dīn 'Abdallāh b. Faḍl Allāh Vaṣṣāf qui rédigea sa chronique (*Tajziyat al-amṣār wa-l-tazjiyat al-a'ṣār* mieux connue comme *Tā'riḥ-i Vaṣṣāf*) au début du XIV^e siècle (elle fut achevée en 1327-1328 à l'époque de l'ilkhanide Abū Sa'īd); de l'autre la personnalité de Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall qui réalisa une savante édition et traduction du texte publiée à Vienne en 1856. Dans son introduction, Sibylle Wentker souligne les raisons de cette nouvelle opération, en traçant l'histoire de la publication depuis von Hammer-Purgstall lui-même : en tant que président de la Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, von Hammer-Purgstall décida en 1847 d'établir un plan des publications de l'institut qui incluait des ouvrages extra-européens. Ce qui le porta à insérer dans son projet la *Geschichte Wassaf's*, ouvrage qui avait eu un grand succès auprès des Ottomans et qui représentait une source principale de l'histoire des Ilkhanides. Ceci dit, cette chronique n'a eu qu'un succès partiel dans le travail des historiens postérieurs : souvent mentionnée par les chercheurs (cf. Jean Aubin, qui fit un large usage du *Tā'riḥ-i Vaṣṣāf*), elle n'a été redécouverte que dans les derniers temps dans une perspective nouvelle où certainement le travail de von Hammer-Purgstall montre encore toute son actualité. C'est à J. Pfeiffer que l'on doit l'inventaire le plus complet des manuscrits de cette chronique, 160 exemplaires, qu'elle publia en 2007 dans son article pionnier « A Turgid History of the Mongol Empire in Persia: Epistemological Reflections Concerning a Critical Edition of Vaṣṣāf's *Tajziyat al-amṣār va tazjiyat al-a'ṣār* » (in Judith Pfeiffer, Manfred Kropp, éds, *Theoretical Approaches to the Transmission and Edition of Oriental Manuscripts*, Beyrouth, Orient-Institut, 2007, p. 107-129). Parmi ces manuscrits était inclus un autographe de l'auteur conservé à la bibliothèque de la Süleymaniye à Istanbul. Quant à von Hammer-Purgstall, il utilisa trois manuscrits provenant de Vienne (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, ÖNB NF 220a, ÖNB NF 220b, ÖNB AF 130[467])

pour son édition et sa traduction. Le premier manuscrit est daté à la fin de *ša'bān* 699 (20 mai 1300) et porte une dédicace adressée au Khan Ghāzān, tandis que le deuxième, plus récent, est daté de 1717. Enfin, le troisième manuscrit avait été copié à Istanbul par l'interprète Valentin Huszar qui avait fait cadeau ensuite de son travail à la Bibliothèque nationale de Vienne.

En considération de l'importance que ce texte eut dans des époques anciennes, l'édition de von Hammer-Purgstall apparaît encore parmi les plus actuelles : on notera qu'aucune édition moderne n'a été réalisée avec la même rigueur que celle de von Hammer-Purgstall, le modèle présenté par le savant autrichien. Étant qui plus est négligé, ceci vaut pour la publication d'une édition persane en 1338/1959 qui se fondait sur l'édition lithographique indienne de Bombay (1856) et pour l'édition persane de 'Abd al-Muḥammad Āyatī datant de 1346/1967. Il a été impossible dans ce compte rendu de considérer une récente édition publiée par l'éditeur Ṭalāye à Téhéran en 2009 ; on souhaite que le texte de von Hammer-Purgstall soit au moins mentionné dans son introduction.

Au delà des questions concernant l'édition, le texte de von Hammer-Purgstall représente une source primaire pour les notes et les commentaires où le savant autrichien a su reprendre les riches matériaux déjà produits par les Ottomans (tels les commentaires de Nā'īlī et Naẓmī-Zāde), ce qui représente une autre qualité du travail de von Hammer-Purgstall. Comme dans sa traduction des *ghazals* de Ḥāfeẓ où il avait pris en considération les commentaires des auteurs ottomans, *in primis*, Sūdī Bosnavī, dans la traduction de Vaṣṣāf, il a su fournir aux Occidentaux une idée de l'importance culturelle des Ottomans dans la transmission de la tradition littéraire persane classique. Une leçon encore très actuelle pour tout ce qui concerne l'établissement de nouvelles recherches littéraires et de critique textuelle.

L'édition de von Hammer-Purgstall a été imprimée en copie anastatique, ce qui a permis de reproduire l'élégante écriture *nasta'liq* de l'original, avec le frontispice en couleur sur deux pages du *mujallad-i avval* du *Tajziyat al-amṣar wa-l-tazjiyat al-a'ṣar*. Quant à la traduction et à ses nombreuses notes, on remarquera leur actualité et la richesse des informations qui sont fournies avec une idée moderne de la divulgation des textes orientaux. Si l'usage d'une transcription expérimentale à l'époque de von Hammer-Purgstall peut apparaître difficile à gérer pour un lecteur d'aujourd'hui, on notera l'effort et la sensibilité d'Elisabeth et Klaus Wundsam dans le second volume, qui représente, avec ses précieux index, un instrument encore très valable pour les historiens.

Mais ce volume présente aussi un autre intérêt pour ce qui concerne l'histoire de la réception de la littérature orientale en Occident. En effet de cet ouvrage on pourra observer certaines questions de style fondamentales pour comprendre le regard occidental sur le texte oriental et sur son statut de véridicité ainsi que sa relation avec la réalité. C'était un aspect dont von Hammer-Purgstall était conscient quand, dans la *Vorrede*, en anticipant largement les études de *Metahistory* de la fin du XX^e siècle, il trouvait la connexion entre « rhetorischer und [...] zugleich historischer Kunst ». Dans une *captatio benevolentiae* qui est en même temps un véritable programme pédagogique, il rappelle au lecteur la nature élégante du style de Vaṣṣāf en l'invitant en tout cas à patienter pour pouvoir entrer dans la préciosité de la rhétorique persane, pour aboutir « à travers la riche écorce » au « doux nectar » des fruits du savoir.

Von Hammer-Purgstall explique la structure de la pensée historiographique persane, jamais disjointe de la poésie – arabe et persane – continuellement mentionnée comme

véhicule de vérités cachées en termes formels et même sonores. L'effort de traducteur de von Hammer-Purgstall se fonde sur la valeur documentaire de la poésie : il cherche à rendre en allemand la valeur des informations et des contenus avec l'harmonie formelle du texte de départ. On l'observe déjà dans le titre (*Tajziyat al-amṣar wa-l-tazjiyat al-a'ṣar*) qui n'apparaît qu'à la page 22 du texte de Vaṣṣāf, traduit par le savant comme *Sanfte Antreibung der Regionen und linde Betreibung der Aeonen* (la tendre incitation des régions et la douce influence des éons) en cherchant à maintenir le tissu de parallélismes, allitérations et assonances du persan. Le travail assidu sur les moindres détails formels est pour von Hammer-Purgstall décisif : il reconnaît dans la structure de la narration persane la capacité de croiser histoire et poésie, faits et *γνώμη*. C'est dans ce processus de consubstantialité de forme et fonction que la poésie acquiert la capacité de reproduire de façon intégrale la réalité. Von Hammer-Purgstall arrive même à identifier dans la langue allemande une affinité avec les structures du persan et dans toute son œuvre on peut entrevoir la recherche philologique et linguistique qui soutient la traduction. C'est dans ce sens qu'il stimula et ensuite continua le travail de Johann Wolfgang Goethe dans son *Divan* et surtout dans ses *Notes*.

La question de la forme avait été cruciale déjà dans le travail de Vaṣṣāf qui avait défendu sa manière littéraire en consacrant les vingt-deux premières pages de son *Tā'riḥ* au lien entre l'art rhétorique et la véridicité de l'histoire et de la parole. Ce faisant il suivait la large discussion littéraire qui caractérisait toute l'historiographie d'époque mongole pour laquelle on pourrait rappeler les noms de Joveynī et plus tard d'Ibn Bībī émulateur de ce dernier. Von Hammer-Purgstall eut donc la mérite d'avoir interprété cette vérité de « la parole du cœur » qui se situe dans le style et que l'auteur allemand a su retenir d'une façon très attentive. On pourrait dans ce sens rapprocher le travail de von Hammer-Purgstall de celui de François Petis de la Croix qui avait publié en 1722 la traduction du *Zafar-nāme* de Šaraf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī en français. Dans ce dernier cas, l'élimination systématique de toute la versification empruntée de la tradition inaugurée par Sa'dī, pour fournir une version « purement » historique du texte français, avait fourni un texte mutilé. Les auteurs qui avaient précédé von Hammer-Purgstall avaient donc exclu les cibles polémiques qui étaient à l'intérieur même des textes persans : Vaṣṣāf, par exemple, avait critiqué les « savants » qui n'utilisaient pas la poésie pour rédiger et n'avaient pas les yeux pour voir le beau dans l'espace et le temps et donc excluaient ce potentiel de la narration historique. Il reprochait dans un détour rhétorique (vol. I, p. 16 du texte persan) la confusion subtile qui s'était engendrée entre la fausse éloquence littéraire et les belles lettres, ce que von Hammer-Purgstall traduit à la perfection avec une note explicative concernant le langage utilisé (vol. I, p. 18).

Une deuxième question soulevée par Vaṣṣāf et qui, sans doute, peut bien être placée dans la liste des différences entre les styles occidental et oriental, est représentée par l'usage conscient de la parole d'autrui : dans ce sens, la citation d'un vers est beaucoup plus qu'un ornement. Cette attitude est étrangère aux « auteurs » occidentaux, bien que le terme latin *auctor* signifie « celui qui augmente, amplifie la parole prononcée ou écrite par d'autres ». Ainsi, Vaṣṣāf (vol. I, p. 11) après avoir cité un hémistich persan, continue une sorte d'invocation que von Hammer-Purgstall traduit de façon superbe :

« O du, der du die Verse des Innern commentierst und als Dolmetsch die Worte der Geheimnisse vorführst, der du die Fluren des Gartens der Bedeutungen zierst und die Bildergalerie des Mani der Zeit mit Gemälden verzierst, komm mit göttlicher

Hand zu Hilfe dem gefallenem Herzen, setze fest den Fuss auf, gib die Lüsterneheit nach Leichtsinn und leichtem Sinn auf, den du in deinem schwarzen Hirne hast » (vol. I, p. 11, texte allemand).

L'historien retient les données et les faits. Il n'aspire pas à l'originalité mais à la recherche de la vérité qui est cachée dans la beauté partagée par ceux qui perçoivent la grâce divine comme une sorte d'*anima mundi*. Cette activité de collecte, recherche, confrontation, citation et répétition/variation est la seule qui puisse l'emmener à la clarté mentale. Cette idée est bien exprimée par Vaṣṣāf et par son traducteur von Hammer-Purgstall qui apparaît conscient des différentes possibilités littéraires offertes par un ouvrage tel que le *Tajziyat al-amṣar wa-l-tazjiyat al-a'ṣar*. Partagé entre une forte veine positiviste et une attention pour les données esthétiques, von Hammer-Purgstall montra sa profonde modernité et cette réédition savante le démontre amplement.

Michele BERNARDINI et Camilla MIGLIO

Isabelle GRANGAUD, Nicolas MICHEL (éds), *L'Identification : des origines de l'islam au XIX^e siècle, Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée* 127, série Histoire, Aix-en-Provence, Presses universitaires de Provence, 2010-2011, 321 p.

C'est un tableau animé de la société arabe que nous offre cet ouvrage collectif, à travers les personnages et les institutions qui la composent. Diversité des époques ainsi que l'indique le titre, disparité des régions puisque l'aire géographique concernée va de l'Iraq à al-Andalus, large éventail de récits et de situations que les historiens arabes ont gardés en mémoire, dans lesquels il est question d'identification sous ses multiples aspects. Vivacité et unité aussi, car les tribunaux y occupent une place importante et qu'il nous en est resté des archives dans lesquelles la richesse de l'information naît de l'hétérogénéité des cas enregistrés, qu'il s'agisse de minutes d'audience, de contrats, d'actes, de testaments, de constats ou de rapports, et que c'est la vie même d'une communauté qui y est saisie au jour le jour.

I. Grangaud et N. Michel sont les éditeurs – et les contributeurs – de l'ouvrage, dont la première partie (p. 5-235) représente les actes d'une journée d'études organisée par l'Institut de recherches et d'études sur le monde arabe et musulman (Iremam) en mai 2007. Le thème de l'identification était déjà familier à ceux qui avaient fréquenté le séminaire sur les villes du Maghreb et du Machreq, tenu à l'Iremam, à Aix-en-Provence, à l'occasion duquel s'était affirmée la nécessité d'approfondir les formes et les enjeux de l'identification dans les différents contextes. L'ouvrage est le résultat de ces réflexions et il propose une mise en perspective historique du sujet passionnante par la richesse des sujets et des thèmes abordés.

Quand on parle d'identification, on est tenté de penser tout d'abord au nom. L'épopée du nom propre occupe en effet une place importante dans la littérature arabe : une floraison d'éléments sert à s'identifier, à identifier les autres, à marquer la proximité, l'éloignement, la hiérarchie, les sentiments. Foisonnement pendant des siècles, puis, avec l'expansion de la bureaucratie, les dominations et les colonialismes, avec les exigences du monde

moderne, pétrification du nom qui se trouve progressivement rétréci. Autre conséquence, le nom propre revient vers ses racines avec une importance accrue accordée à la généalogie, comme c'était le cas à l'époque classique. Comment appréhender l'espace et le mystère que contenait le nom propre, et la complexité de l'identification ? L'introduction pose bien les situations envisagées et les questions auxquelles les auteurs s'attacheront à répondre : « qui es-tu ? (interaction directe entre les personnes, à visée de reconnaissance), qui est-elle/il ? (question qui implique une norme), qui est qui ? (avec un objectif de classement et de hiérarchie) » ; les éditeurs y prennent d'entrée leurs distances avec les études antérieures sur l'onomastique arabe considérées comme faisant un usage naïf des sources historiques et négligeant, à leur avis, de les restituer dans leur contexte, jugement un peu rapide, me semble-t-il. Si une part importante est consacrée dans les différents articles à l'étude des documents juridiques et des actes officiels, ceci a permis aux auteurs de s'appuyer sur un nombre déterminé de documents comme de s'affronter à l'immensité des sources biographiques dont la production, on le sait, a été florissante dès le III^e siècle de l'Hégire.

La diversité et la complémentarité des approches couvre différentes aires du *dâr al-islâm* et s'inscrit, on l'a dit, dans un large éventail chronologique jusqu'à, et y compris, la période ottomane. Les contributeurs ont choisi d'utiliser les sources écrites qu'ils classent en trois catégories : 1. les sources de caractère normatif (juridique, notarial, judiciaire) ; 2. les documents de la pratique administrative (rôles des soldes et des impôts) ; 3. les textes narratifs, en particulier chroniques et ouvrages biographiques, sont sollicités en manière d'appoint. La nature même de ces textes a permis de mettre en valeur les rapports de pouvoir et les règles de ce qui représentait la norme suivant les époques et les lieux. Une réserve cependant : on comprend bien l'exposé de l'argumentaire, mais dire (p. 17) qu'« avant le XIX^e siècle, aucune raison objective ne pouvait mener à figer le nom, puisque les sociétés musulmanes ne connaissaient pas d'équivalent aux registres paroissiaux » peut faire oublier que le monde de la transmission du savoir dans l'étendue du *dâr al-islâm* avait au contraire amené historiens et biographes à enregistrer très tôt et avec minutie les noms propres. Même s'il est vrai qu'il s'agissait là d'identifier les lettrés, les hommes de pouvoir et les hommes de science pour élaborer au cours des siècles une littérature consacrée aux noms propres, d'en distinguer les composantes, de les enregistrer dans des répertoires conçus avec méthode afin, justement, non pas de figer le nom mais, tout en admettant son caractère fluctuant (tel élément utilisé dans tel contexte, dans telles circonstances, par tel interlocuteur), de ne pas laisser planer le doute sur l'identité des transmetteurs. Une *maşyaha*, liste des noms des maîtres d'un savant, n'est-elle pas l'équivalent, dans un autre univers, à un autre niveau, d'un registre ? Identifier les transmetteurs du savoir dans le contexte social et religieux de l'islam, nommer la frange des humains que représentent les savants et les nommer après leur mort, quand ils ont acquis l'ensemble des éléments de leur nom, ne permet pas en effet d'identifier dès leur naissance la totalité des habitants d'un lieu donné. Certes, mais le souci d'identifier par écrit s'inscrit, en terres d'islam, dans le contexte de la transmission et l'initiative n'en vient pas du « pouvoir » mais de la communauté des lettrés tout entière. C'est bien là le propos de cet ouvrage : le nom tel que les pouvoirs ont voulu l'enregistrer, d'où le recours aux archives administratives et aux documents de la pratique judiciaire. Et c'est là que l'on peut souhaiter un second volet, un autre débat, à partir des sources non officielles, ces sources que les éditeurs de l'ouvrage reconnaissent (p. 18) comme ayant été laissées de côté, telles la littérature de fiction et les arts figuratifs.

L'importance du vocabulaire apparaît dès la première partie de l'ouvrage, qui s'intitule « Marqueurs identitaires en situation », où l'on se familiarise avec les termes qui servent à identifier à la fois les individus et la nature des liens, ainsi que le vocabulaire de conflit qui est utilisé. Ici, où Cyrille Aillet met en scène (p. 31-43) « L'ère du soupçon : l'identification de la frontière ethnique et religieuse dans les récits de la période de combat (*fitna*) andalouse (II^e-IV^e/IX^e-X^e siècles) » dont l'émirat omeyyade sortit victorieux, l'un des résultats de ces luttes étant visible, comme le prouve l'émergence du doute et la stigmatisation des *munāfiqūn*, les musulmans « hypocrites ». Il s'agit là de *'aṣabiyya*, à l'origine « esprit de parenté », reconnu plus tard par Ibn Khaldun comme lien fondamental de la société, terme traduit couramment par « esprit de corps », qui est là comme un marqueur identitaire, avec la connotation passéiste d'une violence refermée sur elle-même qui régnait dans les groupes de combattants. Les *muwalladūn*, « convertis d'origine autochtone », sont soupçonnés d'avoir feint d'être convertis à l'islam, ici définis dans le contexte des luttes entre chrétiens et musulmans et de stratégies d'assimilation. Autant de concepts qui viennent donner un éclairage nouveau à des situations, à des attitudes, à de divers modes d'appréhender l'autre, l'ennemi, le proche, celui dont on doute, dont on se méfie, celui que l'on craint. Les textes sont pris notamment chez l'auteur andalou Ibn Ḥayyān dont l'œuvre est riche en informations.

Autre terme : un élément du nom qui sert à indiquer que l'individu fait partie d'un groupe et c'est l'adjectif de relation (*nisba*) qui rattache l'individu au groupe. Il est examiné par Annliese Nef dans sa contribution : « La *nisba* tribale entre identification individuelle et catégorisation : variations dans la Sicile des X^e-XII^e siècles » (p. 45-58). L'auteur a mené sa recherche sur cette *nisba* qui est un marqueur important indiquant l'origine tribale et dont elle a vu qu'il était « quasiment indispensable pour les témoins dans les actes notariés ». Elle a exploré les sources littéraires, chroniques et ouvrages biographiques rédigés au cours de trois siècles, mais aussi les sources administratives locales : actes notariés et registres fiscaux. Si la récolte de ces éléments s'avère pauvre dans les chroniques, elle est, et cela est naturel, beaucoup plus riche dans les ouvrages de *ṭabaqāt*, ces recueils de notices classées chronologiquement par générations que les biographes ont consacrées aux membres de l'élite intellectuelle, scientifique et militaire. Pour elle, l'identification telle qu'elle est enregistrée dans ces ouvrages par les biographes, remise en cause, « se joue ailleurs que dans le nom du personnage traité » : dans son récit de vie, un lieu où les noms sont cités sous plusieurs formes. Le fait que les *nisba* tribales soient maintenues dans le libellé du nom de certains Siciliens, que ces éléments du nom marquent la noblesse du personnage et le rattachent à la fois au *dār al-islām* alors même que la Sicile ne fait plus partie des ces terres où l'islam est adopté comme loi, ne doit pas, me semble-t-il, donner à changer leur définition : l'expression « *nisba* tribale » reste toujours chargée de signification en ce qu'elle fait référence au *dār al-islām* et au passé de la Sicile. Parallèlement est abordée une autre facette de la notion d'incertitude qui se retrouve dans les titres des ouvrages, lesquels peuvent être cités sous plusieurs formes sans que nul ne prenne la peine de choisir entre les différentes versions. La question des titres des ouvrages arabes reste en effet à étudier dans son ensemble. Quelques contributions récentes auraient pu être signalées ici : en particulier trois articles concernent les titres des ouvrages de l'époque pré-moderne en langue arabe : Arne A. Ambros, « Beobachtungen zu Aufbau und Funktionen der gereimten klassisch-arabischen Buchtitel », *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 80, 1990, p. 13-57 ; Alfonso Carmona González, « La estructura

del titulo en los libros árabes medievales », *Estudios Románicos* 4, 1987, p. 181-187, et, du même auteur : « Sobre la estructura del titulo en los libros árabes medievales », *Al-Qantara* 21, 2000, p. 85-95. J'ai, pour ma part, voulu attirer l'attention sur les titres des livres, sans toutefois faire état de leur aspect précaire qui est soulevé ici, dans un article récemment paru : « Chroniques et ouvrages de biographies : classer les informations, donner un titre à l'ouvrage », dans *Les Méthodes de travail des historiens en islam*, dossier coordonné par Frédéric Bauden dans *Quaderni di Studi Arabi, Nuova Serie* 4, 2009, p. 45-60.

Un autre élément du nom : « Le titre de *Sayyid* ou *Sî* dans la documentation constantinoise d'époque moderne : un marqueur en évolution » (p. 59-75) est étudié par Isabelle Grangaud. Dans le Maghreb de l'époque moderne, le titre « renvoie aux notions d'autorité, de pouvoir, de souveraineté ou de puissance » et a servi à identifier les descendants du Prophète. Il était en effet utile de mettre en parallèle ce titre avec celui de *sharîf*, car la confusion entre les deux titres méritait d'être approchée. L'auteur remarque que les éléments du nom qui sont des noms de métiers disparaissent, ne sont plus utilisés pour identifier des personnages connus. Remarquer que le nom de métier *tâgîr* n'a jamais été hérité, même à l'époque classique où les noms de métier pouvaient devenir des surnoms, jouer parfois le rôle de « noms de famille » et être transmis. Sous la domination ottomane, le *nasab* (*ism* et *ism* des ancêtres) revient à l'honneur. Le titre de *sayyid/sîd* est étendu à la population, à des gens aux profils divers, à ceux qui n'occupent pas de hautes fonctions et qui n'ont pas fait la preuve de leur qualité de descendant de noble famille. Ces titres sont également utilisés entre amis et connaissances qui se rendent hommage mutuellement en s'appelant, dans des actes notariés qui les engagent, *sayyid* ou *sîd*. On constate ici une évolution dans la façon de nommer, qui est stable jusqu'au milieu du xvii^e, voire les débuts du xviii^e siècle avec la mention de fonctions, ou d'une fonction. Le xviii^e siècle marquerait un tournant avec disparition de l'identification des personnes par leur nom de métier.

Une communauté peut aussi régir les identités et c'est le cas particulier des Arméniens vivant au Caire qui est abordé par Anne Kazazian dans l'article intitulé « Les Arméniens en Égypte au xix^e siècle : identité et enregistrement » (p. 77-94), étude de cette petite communauté dont l'identité est riche et fluctuante dans le sens où, pour s'identifier ou pour identifier un individu, on utilise l'un ou l'autre des éléments du nom propre. Ce sont en effet les instances religieuses qui enregistrent les noms à l'occasion des manifestations religieuses telles que baptêmes, mariages ou enterrements. La situation est modifiée en 1864 quand le Patriarcat de Constantinople se substitue à celui de Jérusalem qui devient le centre administratif des Arméniens dans l'Empire ottoman et marque l'adoption de méthodes administratives rigoureuses. En même temps, la petite communauté arménienne du Caire devient minoritaire en fonction de l'arrivée de nouveaux immigrants, venus des terres centrales de l'Empire ottoman. Sont enregistrés les titres d'usage, les liens de parenté et les liens sociaux et même les surnoms, à l'exception de ceux qui ont servi à former des noms de famille avec des terminaisons particulières qui identifient les Arméniens aux chrétiens, les informations qui n'entrent pas dans les catégories administratives étant consignées dans une rubrique « remarque ».

Si le statut et l'identité des femmes – qui demeuraient à la maison ou qui étaient voilées ou rarement visibles – constituent un sujet abordé par plusieurs contributeurs, Işık Tamdoğan y consacre un développement particulièrement pertinent quand elle utilise les actes d'un procès pour analyser avec acuité le processus d'identification d'une femme : « La

fille du meunier et l'épouse du gouverneur d'Adana : l'histoire d'un cas d'imposture au début du XVIII^e siècle » (p. 143-155). C'est qu'en effet le statut et l'identité des femmes, parfois vendues à des maîtres, à des époux, posaient de nombreux problèmes. Le procès fait ici état de l'intervention de nombreux témoins qui viennent attester de l'identité d'une femme que le destin avait ballottée au gré de ses ventes et mariages successifs.

Dans la deuxième partie consacrée au thème « Reconnaissance et incertitude », Vanessa Van Renterghem analyse sous le titre « Identifier et s'identifier dans les milieux lettrés bagdadiens (V^e-VI^e/XI^e-XII^e siècles) » (p. 129-142) la rencontre entre des inconnus. Quand il y a nécessité d'entrer en relation, on peut identifier par d'autres manifestations que la présentation du nom : ce sont les « situations informelles d'identification » dans Bagdad, ville cosmopolite qui intègre des lettrés, des « administrateurs », des mystiques, entre autres. Comment dès lors situer son interlocuteur au sein d'une hiérarchie sociale complexe. Opposer l'élite (*al-hāṣṣa*) et le peuple (*al-'āmma*), reconnaître le statut particulier d'un notable, définir quelqu'un de connu (*naḥar ma'rūf*), les exemples sont pris dans une communauté hanbalite où la renommée suffit à faire que l'on considère un lettré comme tel. On comprend que l'allure, le vêtement, la manière de parler, l'accent révèlent les origines. Les interventions sur le nom paraissent intervenir comme un acte presque grossier tel que modifier un élément de son nom, effacer un nom, une *nisba* d'origine étrangère ou encore le nom du père rappelant ses origines serviles. Mais la dérive existe aussi sur le thème : faut-il se fier aux apparences ? On extrapole jusqu'à « voir » si quelqu'un est intègre et l'on discute de la valeur du déguisement.

Toujours dans le thème « Reconnaissance et incertitude », Mathieu Tillier poursuit avec « L'identification en justice à l'époque abbasside » (p. 97-112) ses travaux sur les II^e-IV^e/VIII^e-X^e siècles en Iraq, une référence reprise dans plusieurs contributions. Il s'attache ici au travail accompli par les juristes pour cerner au plus près l'identité des protagonistes dans les affaires judiciaires avec l'utilisation croisée des sources judiciaires et biographiques. Il relève l'importance de la notion de notoriété, concept théorisé par les juristes hanafites dès le III^e/IX^e siècle. On peut demander l'identité nominale en cas de doute car la notoriété, l'identification physique, peuvent suffire. Mais on craint les homonymies et, dans certains cas, la généalogie d'un individu devait être confirmée par deux témoins et ainsi soumise à l'approbation publique. La situation est encore plus compliquée quand il s'agit d'identifier des femmes que l'on ne voit pas ou qui sont voilées. Comme il s'agit d'actes juridiques, la chose écrite, la signature, le sceau sont exigés comme autant de preuves de l'identité. D'autre part, la nécessité d'identifier les cadis peut paraître surprenante, mais il faut savoir que l'« on est cadi un certain temps » ; beaucoup quittaient la fonction dès qu'ils pouvaient échapper à cette charge, si bien qu'à fonction éphémère correspond une identité éphémère. En tout cas, on a ce double phénomène du rôle de la *fama publica* qui vient identifier et aussi le fait que la personne qui fait état d'une généalogie peut avoir à soumettre cette généalogie à l'approbation publique.

Le problème des subterfuges juridiques (*hiyal*) et des transactions simulées, ainsi que le rôle du prête-nom (*ism 'āriya*) sont traités par Brigitte Marino dans sa contribution intitulée « Prêter son nom » (p. 113-127). Elle met en œuvre un éventail de sources qui va des stipulations d'Abū Ġa'far al-Taḥāwī, mort au début du IV^e/X^e siècle, un hanafite auquel plusieurs contributeurs font référence, aux consultations et aux actes juridiques des XVII^e-XVIII^e siècles et qui permet d'éclairer le contenu d'archives du XVIII^e siècle à Damas, sans toutefois renseigner, ce qui n'étonne pas, sur les motivations des prête-noms. Là encore

une notion, entre autres, qui mérite attention : le désir des juristes d'être compris du peuple (*al-'amma*) comme de l'élite (*al-hāṣṣa*).

La troisième partie de l'ouvrage, intitulée « Prescription et régulation des identités », concerne une période qui va du XII^e/XVII^e au XIII^e/XIX^e siècle et présente la mise en place de règles contraignantes qui régissent actuellement l'enregistrement des identités. Ces règles font réapparaître les schémas d'une onomastique stricte dont les précédents articles ont mis en relief la complexité et le côté aléatoire, et signent la fin des incertitudes identitaires.

M'hamed Oualdi, dans son article intitulé « Acteurs et objets de procédures d'identification : les mamelouks au service des beys de Tunis (XVII^e-XIX^e siècles) » (p. 159-174), aborde le problème des identités qui, en progressant dans le temps, vont au XIX^e siècle vers le recensement des identifications individuelles. Le cas de figure singulier de deux jeunes mamelouks du bey de Tunis illustre son propos. Enfants d'un Napolitain converti à l'islam, ils se réfugient à l'ambassade de France et demandent, en se référant au traité franco-tunisien de 1830 qui interdit l'esclavage, à être affranchis en leur qualité de fils de chrétien. Ils « se coulent dans la catégorie conçue par l'administration beylicale », puis la revendiquent comme identité propre. La perspective est renversée : dans les registres, ils sont Turcs ou Arabes mais ici ce sont eux qui revendiquent une identité, elle ne leur est plus imposée. D'autres mamelouks luttent contre les homonymies et interviennent sur leur propre identité, adoptent des signatures. L'auteur relève aussi une notion intéressante : celle de la proximité physique, ici leur proximité aux beys, qui donna à ceux-ci « une capacité à plonger les mamelouks dans l'anonymat » en omettant délibérément de leur affecter une identité, et il analyse la lutte pour l'ascension sociale des mamelouks qui se traduit par l'adoption d'éléments de leur nom comme « nom de famille », qu'ils soient suggérés par le mamelouk lui-même ou imposés par le pouvoir. Ce qui élargit encore le propos : l'une des conséquences de l'émancipation des mamelouks est dès lors l'avantage que donne la maîtrise de l'écrit et parallèlement la construction de représentations iconographiques.

Dans l'article intitulé « L'identification des personnes devant le tribunal d'Asyût (Haute Égypte) à la fin du XVII^e siècle » (p. 175-191), N. Michel montre que le pouvoir peut intervenir dans la hiérarchisation des noms qu'un greffier de tribunal est en droit d'appliquer quand il rédige des actes de vente et que, par exemple, des musulmans sont cités avant des coptes. Plusieurs informations à retenir sur le plan onomastique : en observant le libellé des composantes des noms propres dans les registres du tribunal, surtout des actes de vente d'immeubles, l'auteur a pu aussi constater que les identités enregistrées fournissaient nombre de noms d'activités pratiquées dans la ville à l'époque, les autres sources de renseignement sur les métiers étant rares. Autre intérêt de ces identités : annoncées oralement au greffier et mises par écrit par lui, elles sont composées de titulatures, du nom-*ism* et de la généalogie, et de *nisha*, telle *al-qaḍā'ī* qui signifierait « descendant de cadis », autant d'informations à collecter en effet. À remarquer aussi, l'absence de noms de fonction telles que *kātib*, *imām*, *mudarris* mais la mention en revanche de celles de muezzin, huissier (*muḥḍir*), prédicateur. Précédant les noms, on a parfois une inflation d'adjectifs laudatifs et de titres qui rappellent – sans aucun rapport sur le plan historique – les anciens temps de la dynastie bouyide et l'engouement de ceux-ci pour les titulatures redondantes raillées par Ibn Mandah Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad (mort en 395/1005) dans son *Faṭḥ al-bāb fī l-kunā wa-l-alqāb* (La porte ouverte aux surnoms-*kunya* et aux

titulatures-*laqab*), inflation dont on pourrait penser, me semble-t-il, qu'elle vient compenser l'amenuisement du nombre des éléments du nom.

On en vient au XIX^e siècle, à l'état-civil avec la contribution de Vanessa Guéno, intitulée « S'identifier à l'aube de l'état-civil (*nufûs*) : les justiciables devant le tribunal civil de Homs (Syrie centrale) à la fin du XIX^e siècle » (p. 195-211), où sont interrogés les modes d'application de la loi ottomane dans la ville de Homs sur une période qui va de 1886 à 1919, pour laquelle des registres ont été conservés. Il y est question d'affaires civiles et commerciales et du pénal. Sur le plan onomastique, pour y revenir, on voit que dans ces registres, les justiciables sont identifiés au moyen de plusieurs marqueurs : tout d'abord le nom reçu à la naissance, la généalogie, ainsi que le surnom-*laqab*, et que ce *laqab* est accompagné d'un marqueur identitaire qui révèle non pas l'origine géographique de la lignée mais l'endroit où l'individu réside. À cet ensemble de données s'ajoute la *nisba* « al-'Utmānī » (l'Ottoman) qui encadre le personnage dans son époque et affirme sa dépendance vis-à-vis de l'Empire. La mention d'un nom de métier ne paraît correspondre à aucune raison pratique, comme le dit l'auteur. J'ajouterai que le nom de métier choisi dans l'exemple donné (« le tanneur ») est considéré comme vil en terres d'islam (cf. notamment l'article de Robert Brunschvig, « Métiers vils en islam », *Studia Islamica* XVI, 1962, p. 56) et qu'il s'agit peut-être d'un nom hérité, sorte de nom de famille : car un tanneur pourrait-il être « défendeur » dans un tribunal, puisque c'est son rôle dans le cas évoqué ? Dès lors, cela impliquerait qu'un nom « vil » se vidait peu à peu de son sens quand il était hérité. C'est bien le cas pour les noms reçus à la naissance, ils finissent par perdre leur sens originel. Pourquoi n'en serait-il pas de même pour les noms de métier hérités ? Quoi qu'il en soit, l'article nous donne une idée précise et globale de la manière dont les Ottomans procédaient pour identifier les individus (*nüfus*, littéralement « les âmes »), enregistrer les biens et créer un état-civil, un système qui ne fonctionnera dans les provinces arabes de l'Empire qu'à la fin du XIX^e siècle. La reproduction d'un *tezkere*, document d'état-civil créé en 1890, et d'un autre, plus tardif, daté de 1905, donne à voir ces documents devenus nécessaires dans le monde ottoman. L'auteur insiste sur l'importance de la mention du lieu, de la ville ou de l'endroit hors la ville, et plus spécifiquement du quartier de résidence de l'individu, information qui permet de le situer non seulement dans l'espace mais aussi dans la hiérarchie sociale que révèle le lieu de résidence, du moins en ce qui concerne les gens dont la notoriété leur évite d'avoir à fournir des précisions pour être identifiés.

Dernier article de ce volume, le projet qui vient réunir l'ensemble des informations sur l'identité de toute une population : « *Onomasticon Ottomanicum* : identification administrative et désignation sociale dans l'État ottoman du XIX^e siècle » (p. 213-235) qu'Olivier Bouquet élabore. Un *Onomasticon Ottomanicum* – qui fait suite à l'*Onomasticon Arabicum* et à l'*Onomasticon Turcicum*. Projet qui adapte toutes ces informations à une époque plus tardive, la fin de la période ottomane, et qui choisit de traiter du monde des pachas ottomans. C'est l'attribution et les usages des noms qu'il étudie sur la base de près de trois cents noms de pachas extraits de registres administratifs constitués entre 1876 et 1909. L'identité et la carrière des pachas y sont répertoriées : il s'agit donc des identités que les pachas avaient adoptées, ou qui leur avait été imposées, dans le cadre de l'administration. L'auteur étudie le contenu de l'*ism* reçu à la naissance, de la titulature ou *mahlas* et du *lakab*. À ce dernier élément, l'auteur consacre un développement et la classe en catégories, dont l'une garde l'empreinte de l'ancienne *nisba* arabe qui a disparu dans ce contexte. Comme c'est le cas dans le monde arabe classique, l'individu est susceptible de changer

de nom suivant les contextes, mais c'est bien l'ensemble des éléments de son nom qui sera réuni par le biographe après sa mort dans un ouvrage biographique. Ici il apparaît que les mutations sont amplifiées et pétrifiées par le fait que c'est l'administration qui fixe le libellé des noms et, plutôt que d'en rassembler les différentes composantes, choisit de ne restituer qu'« une partie de l'identité onomastique » des individus. Et « que les noms ne doivent être étudiés que comme des catégories historiques plutôt que comme des “désignations rigides” ». On peut donc espérer les passionnants développements de ce projet.

En conclusion, une réserve : étant donné la diversité des notions, des institutions et des situations exprimées en une grande diversité de termes, on ne peut que regretter l'absence d'un index des termes techniques utilisés dans l'ouvrage, ou du moins des termes donnés en arabe avec leur traduction, ce qui aurait ajouté un aspect didactique dans des domaines avec lesquels le lecteur n'est pas toujours familiarisé.

Jacqueline SUBLET

Dimitris J. KASTRITSIS, *The Sons of Bayezid: Empire Building and Representation in the Ottoman Civil War of 1402-13*, Leyde-Boston, Brill, coll. *The Ottoman Empire and its Heritage*, 2007, 250 p. + 2 cartes.

Dans cet ouvrage, D. J. K. s'attelle à démêler les difficultés chronologiques et factuelles nombreuses qui parsèment une période de l'histoire ottomane passablement embrouillée que les historiens désignent traditionnellement comme « l'époque de l'interrègne » (*fitret devri*), soit l'ensemble des événements se situant dans la période allant des lendemains de la défaite, à Ankara, du sultan Bayezid I^{er} « la Foudre » (*Yıldırım*) devant Tamerlan (été 1402) jusqu'à la victoire de Mehmed I^{er} sur son frère Musa en 1413.

En utilisant les sources polyglottes retraçant les péripéties de ce temps troublé par la lutte acharnée à laquelle se livrèrent quatre des fils de Bayezid pour récupérer le trône paternel, l'auteur fait un travail minutieux de lecture comparative des documents et chroniques d'origines byzantine, vénitienne, slave et autre, en privilégiant l'analyse des chroniques ottomanes, dont certaines sont contemporaines des faits survenus du temps de Mehmed I^{er}, comme l'ont montré les travaux de Halil İnalçık et de Victor-Louis Ménage : il s'agit, outre un poème versifié traduit en annexe de l'ouvrage de D. J. K. (le *Halilnâme* de Abdülvâsi Çelebi), du texte anonyme intitulé *Ahwâl-i Sultân Mehmed* (Les faits et gestes du sultan Mehmed) qui nous est parvenu sous trois formes : dans la chronique anonyme d'Oxford dite « Pseudo-Ruhi » et dans deux manuscrits de l'*Histoire* de Neşri publiés par Franz Taeschner.

Après une introduction où sont évoqués, en plus des conséquences de la bataille d'Ankara, les travaux et controverses des divers savants qui se sont occupés de « l'époque de l'interrègne » depuis Wittek jusqu'à İnalçık, Zachariadou, Lowry, Kafadar ou Imber, l'auteur brosse en cinq chapitres une peinture chronologiquement très détaillée des événements qui se situent entre les lendemains de la défaite de Bayezid I^{er} à Ankara (28 juil. 1402) et la victoire de Mehmed I^{er} à Çamurlu, le 5 juillet 1413 : ch. I : *Le paysage politique après Ankara (juillet 1402-printemps 1403)*; ch. II : *L'Anatolie entre İsa et Mehmed*

Çelebi (printemps 1403-septembre 1403) ; ch. III : *L'Anatolie entre Emir Süleyman et Mehmed Çelebi* (avant mars 1403-14 juin 1410) ; ch. IV : *La Roumélie entre Emir Süleyman et Musa Çelebi* (?1409-17 février 1411) ; ch. V : *Le règne de Musa Çelebi et la fin de la guerre civile* (17 février 1411-5 juillet 1413).

Un sixième et dernier chapitre thématique montre que les deux récits *Ahwâl-i Sultân Mehmed* et *Halîlnâme* ont pour but de légitimer la prise de pouvoir de Mehmed I^{er} obtenue par le meurtre de ses frères İsa et Musa. Suit la traduction du *Halîlnâme* d'Abdülvâsi Çelebi, panégyrique versifié de Mehmed I^{er} commandé par le grand vizir Bayezid Pacha et présenté au sultan en 1414. Ce texte représente le plus ancien écrit concernant l'histoire ottomane, avec l'*İskendernâme* d'Ahmedi. L'étude se termine par une abondante bibliographie et un index.

Je relèverai seulement ici quelques points particulièrement intéressants qui montrent que le livre de D. J. K. enrichit considérablement la connaissance factuelle de « l'époque de l'interrègne » :

- p. 47-48 : Bursa, après la bataille d'Ankara, est donnée par Tamerlan au « fils de l'aveugle » (Savcı, aveuglé pour cause de révolte par son père Murad I^{er} en 1373) remplacé rapidement par İsa Çelebi que Tamerlan reconnaît par *yarlig* (déc. 1402-janv. 1403) ;
- p. 71-76 : pour consolider son implantation dans la région d'Amasya-Rum, Mehmed Çelebi doit mener plusieurs campagnes contre les Turcomans qui, vaincus par lui, deviendront ses fidèles alliés contre ses frères ;
- p. 81-100 : l'auteur reconsidère d'après les *Ahwâl* la lutte entre Mehmed et İsa jusqu'à la mort de ce dernier vers septembre 1403 ;
- p. 148 : il est question de l'alliance entre l'émir Süleyman, maître de la Roumélie, et l'empereur byzantin qui donne en mariage au Turc une de ses petites-filles pour tenter d'éliminer le prince Musa, lui-même allié au voïvode de Valachie, Mircea, dont il a épousé une parente ; ce qui montre que les intérêts stratégiques immédiats des protagonistes effacent souvent à cette époque les supposées solidarités religieuses ;
- p. 153 : l'alliance durable entre Mircea et Musa permet à ce dernier de se réfugier en Valachie après sa défaite à Edirne le 11 juillet 1410 ;
- p. 157 : la mort de Süleyman en février 1411 est racontée en détail par les *Ahwâl* qui sont la seule source affirmant que Musa est directement responsable de l'exécution de son frère, alors que Aşıkpaşazade et Doukas disent que Musa punit les paysans qui avaient tué Süleyman en brûlant leur village ;
- p. 166-167 : sous Musa, les razzias augmentent contre les territoires chrétiens, le prince voulant se venger de l'appui que Byzance avait apporté à Süleyman ; Musa en revanche s'allie contre les Albanais à Carlo Tocco de Céphalonie en épousant sa fille ;
- p. 172-179 : D. J. K. fait une analyse très précise du texte du traité entre Venise et Musa (3 sept. 1411), ainsi que de la défaite de Mehmed à İnceğiz face à Musa (fin 1411-début du printemps 1412 ?) ;
- p. 181 : le fils de Savcı réapparaît comme l'un des adversaires de Musa et comme prétendant au trône ottoman ;
- p. 184-186 : autre prétendant, le prince Orhan, fils de Süleyman, qui édicte le 4 février 1412 un document pour le monastère Saint-Paul de l'Athos et qui est finalement exécuté par un de ses lieutenants passé dans le camp de Musa ;

- p. 188 sqq. : l'auteur décrit les préparatifs et le déroulement de la bataille de Çamurlu qui consacre la victoire de Mehmed sur Musa, le 5 juillet 1413 ; la plupart des dignitaires et capitaines ottomans se sont ralliés à Mehmed (Çandarlı, Evrenoz, Körşahmelik, Paşa Yigit etc.). Selon les *Ahwâl*, au cours de la bataille, encerclé par les Tatars et les Turcomans de Mehmed, Musa parvient à fuir mais est finalement rattrapé et étranglé par un officier qui veut venger la mort de Süleyman.

On voit que par une lecture soigneuse des *Ahwâl*, confrontées systématiquement aux autres sources disponibles, D. J. K. éclaire bien des points obscurs d'une période agitée de l'histoire ottomane qu'il contribue largement à expliquer dans toute sa complexité.

Quelques petites remarques pour conclure :

- p. 148 : au moment de la confrontation entre Süleyman et Musa en 1410, une « chronique courte » byzantine utilise un terme, inconnu par ailleurs, pour désigner les alliés de Musa, *Paschainoi*, expliqué justement par l'auteur comme « ceux qui font des raids » (*baskin*) ; on peut traduire plus littéralement ce mot par « ceux qui pressurent », expression qui subsiste en argot grec moderne pour désigner les « flics » (*baskinès*) ! ;
- p. 151, n. 37 : l'auteur doute de la localisation près d'Edirne, en Thrace, d'Akhridôs, où Süleyman exila Cüneyd. Il penche pour Okhrid en Macédoine. Or le texte de Doukas situe clairement Akhridôs en Thrace (éd. Bonn : *ta Thrakôa merê*, p. 96-97) ; la proximité d'Edirne permettait au prince ottoman de surveiller étroitement le turbulent Cüneyd ;
- p. 169 : à propos de *Zetounion*, il faut bien préciser qu'il ne s'agit pas de Lamia au nord des Thermopyles, comme le pense le traducteur anglais de Doukas, Harry J. Magoulias (*Decline and Fall of Byzantium to Ottoman Turks*, Détroit, Wayne State University Press, 1975, p. 293), mais d'une place située près du fleuve Strymon en Macédoine.

La seule vraie réserve à cette magistrale étude de D. J. K. concerne les limites chronologiques choisies pour son livre, qui s'arrête en 1413. Selon le point de vue « légitimiste » de l'historiographie ottomane traditionnelle qui, ne voulant pas rompre la continuité de la dynastie, reconnaît le seul Mehmed comme sultan légitime entre Bayezid I^{er} et Murad II, cette date de 1413 marque la « réunification » de l'empire de Bayezid. D. J. K. utilise lui aussi plusieurs fois ce terme comme une conséquence immédiate de la victoire de Mehmed sur Musa. Or considérer que l'accession au trône de Mehmed I^{er} comme unique sultan ottoman met un point final à la période de l'interrègne et représente la réunification de l'État risque de faire oublier que tout le règne de Mehmed, entre 1413 et 1421, fut occupé à réprimer avec beaucoup de difficulté diverses rébellions contre le sultan : celles de Börklüce Mustafa, de Torlak Kemal, du cheikh Bedreddin, d'Ayloğlu et de Düzme Mustafa. Murad II aura lui aussi à combattre Düzme et Küçük Mustafa et il ne viendra à bout des émirs d'Anatolie occidentale, et particulièrement de la révolte permanente de Cüneyd İzmiroğlu, qu'en 1425, date qui semble plus pertinente pour marquer la fin de la guerre civile et des troubles intérieurs de l'État ottoman.

Suraiya FAROQHI, *Artisans of Empire : Crafts and Craftspeople under the Ottomans*, Londres-New York, I. B. Tauris, 2009, 276 p.

Pour le plus grand bonheur des turcologues et des non-spécialistes de la discipline, S. F., qui exerce désormais ses talents de professeur d'histoire à l'université Bilgi d'Istanbul, nous propose une synthèse sur les artisans de l'Empire ottoman. Ce travail est l'aboutissement de travaux entrepris depuis plusieurs années et dont les lecteurs de *Turcica* ont déjà eu l'occasion de prendre connaissance dans quelques articles ou compte rendus¹.

Dans le présent ouvrage, l'auteur part d'un constat : au cours des dernières années, les études ottomanes se sont davantage focalisées sur les marchands au détriment des artisans, des paysans et des populations nomades. À l'exception des travaux notables d'André Raymond sur Le Caire et de Robert Mantran sur Istanbul, il n'existe pas de travail de synthèse, à l'exception de notre récent ouvrage², permettant de suivre l'évolution des artisans au cours des siècles. C'est la tâche que s'est imposée S. F. en étudiant l'histoire des artisans sur quatre siècles, depuis les années 1500 jusqu'à la veille de la Première Guerre mondiale, en insistant plus particulièrement sur le ^{xvii}^e siècle.

Dans une longue introduction, l'auteur souligne d'emblée les points sur lesquels elle souhaite insister. L'une de ses principales interrogations, sur laquelle elle reviendra à plusieurs reprises, concerne le degré d'implication de l'État dans le développement du marché et les relations entre artisans, consommateurs et percepteurs. Une autre concerne la place des travailleurs qui ne font pas partie des corporations, ces artisans « invisibles » qui apparaissent rarement dans les sources, mais dont la main-d'œuvre est indispensable. C'est le cas notamment des femmes qui filent le mohair dans les petits ateliers d'Ankara ou tissent le coton et le lin en Égypte, ou bien encore des femmes et des esclaves employés dans les soieries de Bursa aux ^{xv}^e-^{xvi}^e siècles. Une autre question concerne la place des artisans dans les corporations : pouvait-on exercer un métier hors de ce système ? Il semblerait que si cela était effectivement le cas à l'origine, cette possibilité disparaît avec le temps car les individus tendent à se solidariser pour protéger leurs intérêts communs. Il va de soi que l'implication de l'État va évoluer au cours des siècles et n'est pas la même selon les régions et les villes de l'Empire, principalement Istanbul et Le Caire, auxquelles un chapitre est respectivement consacré. L'exploitation intensive des archives ottomanes, notamment les registres de cadis (*sicil*), mais pas seulement, permet de mieux cerner ces évolutions et les rythmes de la capitale et de nombreuses villes des Balkans, d'Anatolie ou des provinces arabes. Les réponses des jurisconsultes musulmans (*fetva*) et des rabbins (*responsa*) permettent aussi de mieux comprendre le fonctionnement des institutions, le jeu des pouvoirs locaux, les intrigues, les manipulations financières, et de mieux appréhender le quotidien des artisans. Cependant, ces études ne répondent pas à toutes nos interrogations, la principale étant la naissance et l'institutionnalisation des corporations, lesquelles n'existaient pas dans l'Égypte et la Syrie pré-ottomanes.

¹ « Purchasing Guild- and Craft-based Offices in the Ottoman Central Lands », *Turcica* 39, 2007, p. 123-146 ; Suraiya FAROQHI, Gilles VEINSTEIN, *Merchants in the Ottoman Empire*, Louvain, Peeters, coll. *Turcica* XV, 2008 ; Suraiya FAROQHI, « The Material Culture of Global Connections : a Report on Current Research », *Turcica* 41, 2009, p. 403-431.

² Frédéric HITZEL, *Artisans et commerçants du Grand Turc*, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 2007.

L'ouvrage proprement dit se compose de dix chapitres. Avant de nous proposer une synthèse sur les artisans de l'Empire ottoman, S. F. en dresse tout d'abord l'historiographie et rappelle les débats engagés par les historiens du ^{xx}^e siècle tout en soulignant que son ouvrage n'a pas l'ambition de bouleverser les grandes lignes. Ce premier chapitre lui permet de rappeler l'évolution des méthodologies, centrées tout d'abord sur les aspects religieux, puis sociaux et économiques. Les quatre chapitres suivants (ch. 2-5) retracent l'évolution de ces corporations depuis leurs origines jusqu'aux années 1670. Prudemment, l'auteur rappelle qu'il n'existait pas de corporations dans l'islam médiéval, que nous ignorons encore leur organisation chez les Seldjoukides, mais qu'elles émergent à Bursa à la fin du ^{xv}^e siècle pour se propager ensuite rapidement aux villes nouvellement conquises ; bien que l'administration ait encouragé la formation de ces corporations, nous ignorons de quelle manière elle procéda. Il est évident que le contexte, que ce soit la guerre, la construction d'une nouvelle capitale et d'un palais, favorisèrent la mise en place de ces structures corporatives dont l'État chercha constamment à garder le contrôle. L'exploitation des archives nous permet de nuancer l'idée de déclin ottoman, le marché domestique ottoman restant très actif au ^{xvii}^e siècle tant sur le plan intérieur qu'extérieur.

Les quatre chapitres suivants (ch. 6-9) traitent de l'évolution historique de ces corporations entre 1670 et les années 1850. Pendant cette longue période, les guildes urbaines renforcent leur organisation et connaissent l'apogée de leur influence sociale. De son côté, surtout dans le contexte de crise du ^{xviii}^e siècle, le gouvernement ottoman multiplie les contrôles et tente de freiner ou de canaliser l'émigration dans la capitale. Les grandes villes subissent à leur tour l'intervention de la capitale comme l'atteste la mise en place vers 1750 des *Ahkâm Defterleri*, dans lesquels les scribes enregistrent les réponses de l'administration centrale aux plaintes des sujets de l'Empire. Autre conséquence : les titres (*kethüda*) et privilèges (*gedik*, *malikâne*) des corporations tendent à devenir héréditaires, ce qui ne sera pas sans conséquence sur leur compétitivité. Cependant, ce « modèle ottoman » n'eut pas les mêmes implications à Istanbul que dans les villes de province. Entre 1650 et 1850, les villes balkaniques connaissent une expansion économique notamment grâce aux marchands grecs en relations avec l'empire des Habsbourg et qui alimentent les villes de Vienne, Trieste et Budapest en coton, tabac et textiles. Si certaines branches textiles ont perdu leur prospérité des ^{xv}^e et ^{xvi}^e siècles, comme les soieries de Bursa ou les lainages de Salonique, d'autres sont en expansion comme les lainages et feutres de Bulgarie (*kutni*, *alaca*), les soieries *ikat* de Damas et le mohair de la région d'Ankara. Dans les cotonnades, la production ottomane riposte à la concurrence indienne en développant des imitations bon marché à Tokat, dans les régions d'Alep, de Diyarbakir et de Naplouse. L'artisanat du cuir reste pleinement actif, ainsi que celui du métal à Trabzon et à Tokat, tandis que des artisans se spécialisent dans les souvenirs des pèlerins à Jérusalem. Ce rapide survol est cependant biaisé, comme le reconnaît S. F., par le fait que seuls les objets luxueux et semi-luxueux ont été conservés et que dans ce contexte, il est difficile d'apprécier la richesse et la variété des productions.

Le dixième et dernier chapitre rappelle l'intégration progressive de l'économie ottomane dans le monde économique européen, les transformations inhérentes et la suppression des corporations décrétée par le gouvernement Jeune Turc entre 1910 et 1912. N'étant pas spécialiste de cette période, l'auteur se réfère principalement aux travaux de Donald Quataert et John Chalcraft.

Ce survol de l'histoire de l'organisation du travail dans l'Empire ottoman soulève de nombreuses questions comme le souligne la conclusion de l'ouvrage. En comparant les

artisans ottomans à ceux de l'Europe catholique et protestante, l'auteur cherche à en dégager les principales caractéristiques. La principale concerne la place de l'État et son rôle dans l'organisation sociale. Quel est son développement si on le compare à celui d'autres pays de l'Europe occidentale ? Il est certain que la comparaison connaît des limites car en Occident, les femmes sont très présentes dans certains métiers. À Paris par exemple, bien que n'occupant pas de postes officiels, les boulangères régissent et gèrent les comptes. Or, à aucun moment de l'histoire, les femmes de la société ottomane ne semblent exercer de rôle public. Aucune comparaison possible entre Paris et Istanbul. Autre point de divergence : on ne trouve pas en Europe la présence de militaires parmi les artisans comme ce fut le cas des janissaires à Istanbul, à Damas, au Caire.

Comme toute synthèse, l'ouvrage de S. F. se fonde bien entendu largement sur les travaux publiés, mais également sur une bonne connaissance des travaux en cours (avec des références à des thèses encore non publiées) et une documentation d'archive originale. La bibliographie est abondante et très bien informée. Il faut souligner qu'il s'agit là, indéniablement, d'une synthèse extrêmement utile qui combine habilement l'histoire culturelle, sociale, économique et religieuse.

Frédéric HITZEL

Maximilian HARTMUTH, Ayşe DİLSİZ (éds), *Monuments, Patrons, Contexts: Papers on Ottoman Europe Presented to Machiel Kiel*, Leyde, Nederlands Instituut voor Het Nabije Oosten, 2010, 207 p.

Ce volume d'hommage est issu d'une table ronde tenue à l'Institut néerlandais d'Istanbul le 27 juin 2008, à l'occasion du départ à la retraite de M. Kiel. Il rassemble, outre huit communications présentées ce jour-là par des amis et collègues stambouliotes, quatre contributions ajoutées postérieurement. Il ne s'agit donc pas de « mélanges », mais d'un court recueil d'une grande cohérence thématique dictée par la personnalité et l'œuvre de M. Kiel. Que celui-ci veuille bien voir dans ce compte rendu l'hommage amical que je suis heureux d'avoir ainsi l'occasion de lui rendre à mon tour.

M. Hartmuth a eu l'excellente idée d'introduire l'ensemble par une biographie intellectuelle de M. Kiel (« Introduction: the Man and his Method », p. 5-14). Le parcours très original de M. Kiel, son expérience de maçon et de restaurateur, sa passion acquise sur le terrain pour l'architecture ottomane balkanique, sa formation de haut niveau obtenue à la force du poignet en dehors des sentiers battus ont fait de lui un chercheur hors norme, joignant une grande exigence intellectuelle et morale à une grande liberté de ton. Ainsi s'est affirmé un grand savant, historien de l'architecture et de la société qui en faisait le contexte, patient éditeur des monuments ottomans des Balkans, mais aussi et de ce fait historien démographe, historien de la production agricole, historien de l'organisation du travail du bâtiment, tout ceci conjointement par l'étude des monuments et des paysages *in situ* et par l'exploitation de l'immense documentation des archives ottomanes, sans oublier l'épigraphie. Mais M. Kiel est aussi un homme passionné, qui lutte à la fois pour la préservation d'un patrimoine architectural auquel il a consacré son œuvre et pour dénoncer de vieilles lunes historiographiques souvent teintées de nationalisme.

Le rapport entre la personnalité scientifique ainsi définie de M. Kiel et la thématique générale du volume est évident. Les éditeurs ont réparti les contributions en trois parties à la fois thématiques et chronologiques : « The Early Balkans Revisited » ; « Voices and Processes in Periods of Change » ; « The Ottoman Architectural Heritage in the Modern Balkans ». La table des matières ainsi obtenue est cohérente et gagne évidemment en équilibre. Pour ma part, j'insisterais plus volontiers sur l'existence de deux ensembles correspondant à deux approches : le premier et le plus important rassemble des études combinant plus ou moins analyse du terrain et exploitation de la documentation écrite pour étudier un ou plusieurs monuments pour la plupart balkaniques ; le second (en pratique la troisième partie) envisage plutôt la question patrimoniale.

Heath Lowry (« An Unknown Fourteenth Century Sultanic Mosque in the Macedonian City of Drama: the Yıldırım Bâyezîd Cami' », p. 15-27) s'intéresse à ce qui est aujourd'hui l'église Saint-Nicolas de Drama, mais qui avait été une mosquée connue sous les noms de Cami-i Atik, Sultân Bâyezîd Camii, Yıldırım Bâyezîd Camii, Eski Camii ou Çarşı Camii. Il établit, en rassemblant une série convaincante d'indices concordants, qu'Evliya Çelebi fait une méprise en attribuant à Bâyezîd II un bâtiment fondé par Bâyezîd I^{er} ¹.

Mariya Kiprovska (« Legend and Historicity: the Binbir Oklu Ahmed Baba Tekkesi and its Founder », p. 29-45) met également à profit les légendes locales relevées par les voyageurs du XIX^e siècle, la documentation d'archives et le contexte historique local pour interpréter le mausolée de Binbir Oklu Ahmed Baba situé à Erenler, à 15 km de Pınarhisar en Thrace orientale. Elle montre qu'il est plus que probable que ce mausolée et le *tekke* auquel il était lié furent fondés par un certain Mihaloğlu Maḥmûd Beg, bien attesté au XVI^e siècle dans la région, fils de l'*aḳıncı* Mihaloğlu İskender Bey dont la descendance semble avoir fait de Pınarhisar sa résidence. S'il est difficile de déterminer précisément qui était Ahmed Baba, il était manifestement un membre de la noble famille qui éleva apparemment pour ce personnage mort en *şehîd* un *türbe* et un *tekke* manifestant la puissance locale de ces Mihaloğulları qui entretenaient le site et en firent peut-être le noyau d'une nécropole familiale. À un moment difficile à préciser, Ahmed fut intégré au panthéon des bektachis, qui occupaient le *tekke* au XIX^e siècle et avant.

C'est également à une lignée d'*uç beyleri* qu'est consacrée l'étude de Grigor Boykov (« In Search of Vanished Ottoman Monuments in the Balkans: Minnetoğlu Mehmed Beg's Complex in Konuş Hisarı », p. 47-68). Minnet Bey avait été déporté de la région de Çorum dans la plaine de Plovdiv par Mehmed I^{er} en 1418. C'est son fils Mehmed Bey qui fait l'objet de l'article. Après avoir retracé sa carrière d'*uç beyi* à la tête de son clan, et de *sancakbey* (Serbie et Semendire, 1458-1463 ; Bosnie, 1463-1464 ; Smederevo, 1464-1467), Boykov recense son œuvre de fondateur dans les régions où il fut en poste et l'influence qu'il eut par là sur l'histoire urbaine de Sarajevo, Smederevo et Niş. Enfin un développement est consacré au complexe construit vers le milieu du XV^e siècle à Konuş Hisarı : projet ambitieux qui aurait dû faire du village familial une bourgade prospère sur la route d'Istanbul à Belgrade. La documentation d'archives permet de suivre les avatars et le développement réel du *vakf* demeuré entre les mains des descendants de Mehmed et de constater les effets de leur politique de peuplement. Mais Konuş Hisarı, à l'écart de la

¹ J'ai quelque peine, au demeurant, à suivre H. Lowry quand il juge improbable (p. 20) qu'un registre de 1575 désigne comme « ancienne » (*'âtiḳ*) une mosquée fondée sous Bâyezîd II. Outre que soixante ans constituent une assez longue période, l'épithète implique seulement qu'il s'agit de la plus ancienne mosquée locale.

nouvelle route, éloigné désormais de la frontière et fief d'une famille trop peu influente, ne connut pas la fortune espérée.

L'objet de l'étude de Hedda Reindl-Kiel (« *The Vakf of Moralı Beşir Ağa in Argos* », p. 107-128) se situe dans un contexte tout différent. Le complexe qu'elle traite fut fondé par un grand eunuque noir, Moralı Beşir Ağa, au début du XVIII^e siècle, à Argos, dans la Morée libérée de l'occupation vénitienne où toute l'infrastructure musulmane était à rétablir. Beşir Ağa, qui avait des liens personnels avec la région, y éleva un complexe en remplacement d'une des deux anciennes mosquées de la ville, celle du Beşikler mahallesi. Seule la mosquée, convertie en église en 1871, aujourd'hui confiée aux services archéologiques, a survécu. H. Reindl-Kiel, après avoir retracé la biographie de Beşir, analyse avec finesse le complexe en fonction de la personnalité du fondateur, qui explique l'importance donnée à l'apprentissage de la calligraphie (art qu'il pratiquait lui-même) ou la présence exceptionnelle d'un enseignement destiné aux filles. Elle note également le caractère très provincial de la mosquée, sans doute réalisée par des maçons locaux. Sa capacité de 170 à 180 personnes convenait à la population mâle musulmane. Mais, conclut-elle, Beşir cherchait moins à donner son nom à des bâtiments qu'à employer de nombreuses personnes à prier pour son âme ; son complexe d'Argos devait moins valoir par sa beauté que par sa nature de centre religieux et pédagogique dans une zone reconquise aux marges du monde musulman.

Kemal K. Eyüpgiller cherche également dans les documents anciens à retrouver des bâtiments aujourd'hui disparus (« Preliminary Results from the Survey of Rumelikavağı Fort », p. 129-142). C'est à partir de récits de contemporains et de documents d'archives, mais principalement de cartes anciennes, qu'il peut redonner vie au fort de Rumelikavağı, sur le Bosphore, à Saryer, construit en 1783 par le Français Toussaint (sans doute en collaboration avec l'architecte ottoman Hafız İbrahim) et agrandi en 1794 par un autre Français, Monnier. L'ensemble fut défiguré par les travaux réalisés sous Abdülhamid II.

Les contributions d'Aziz Nazmi Shakir-Tash et de Suraiya Faroqhi se distinguent des précédentes, quoique participant du même esprit, en ce qu'elles présentent et exploitent une source particulière.

Il n'est pas possible de rendre compte ici de la richesse de l'article de S. Faroqhi (« An Edirne Scholar on Ottoman Architecture and Politics: the Pilgrimage Account of Abdurrahman Hibri », p. 91-106). Après avoir brièvement analysé le genre du récit de pèlerinage (*menâsikü-l-hacc*), l'auteur analyse l'œuvre de Hibrî, qui fit son pèlerinage en 1632, à une époque de reprise en main politique par Murad IV qui explique une partie des particularités du texte. On retiendra que Hibrî, en dehors de l'époque du Prophète, ne s'intéresse guère qu'à la période ottomane ; qu'il accorde un intérêt particulier aux fondations et à l'architecture, symbole de la puissance et de la souveraineté ottomanes ; enfin, qu'il apporte chemin faisant des informations essentielles sur tel ou tel bâtiment, comme la prudente dédication à Murad IV du pont de Babaeski par un certain Kasım Ağa, ou encore la confirmation que la mosquée de Hanköyü, près d'Eskişehir, est bien une ancienne église restaurée et convertie lors de la fondation d'un complexe par Hüsrev Paşa en 1629-1630, sur la demande des indigènes se plaignant de l'insécurité.

Le document étudié par A. N. Shakir-Tash (« Towards a Historical Topography of the Ottoman and Post-Ottoman Rhodopes: Monuments, Epigraphy, and a Local Stonecutter's Notepad », p. 69-89) est beaucoup plus exceptionnel. Il s'agit en effet du carnet de notes tenu de 1943 à 1975 à usage personnel par Şakir Mehmed Şakir (1910-1991), lapicide et

auteur de stèles funéraires « ottomanes » dans les années 1925-1965 dans les Rhodopes, en Bulgarie. Shakir-Tash s'interroge sur la nature du document et de l'information qu'il donne mais, faute (le plus souvent) d'avoir pu retrouver les bâtiments mentionnés, ne parvient à aucune conclusion. On n'en saura donc pas plus sur le pont sur l'Arda, pas plus que l'on ne saura si la mosquée de Mikmil était la plus ancienne des Rhodopes. Il me paraît en tout cas douteux qu'une inscription du xv^e siècle ait pu évoquer *ez-zamânü-ş-şalṭanati-l-ğâzî Sulṭân Mehmed ibn eş-şulṭân Murâd-ı sâni*².

L'angle d'attaque d'İlknur Aktuğ Kolay est également différent en ce que sa contribution (« Ottoman Construction Materials and Terminological Change: Remarks Pertaining to Bricks and Roof Tiles as Apparent in the Sources », p. 143-151) porte non plus sur des bâtiments, mais sur un matériau de construction. À partir de documentations d'archives publiées (notamment par Ahmed Refik et Ömer Lütfi Barkan), mais sans référence à des études sur le terrain, elle propose un dossier sur les briques et les tuiles en usage chez les Ottomans (principalement à Istanbul), leur fabrication, leur typologie, l'usage différent des divers types recensés et les évolutions constatables au cours du temps. Tributaire de sources lacunaires, l'auteur ne peut donner qu'un aperçu, mais celui-ci paraît déjà utile.

Les trois dernières contributions reprennent un thème important pour M. Kiel, celui de la préservation du patrimoine. Après un développement épistémologique sur l'approche des patrimoines par les historiens et les historiens de l'art, Stephen Lewis (« The Ottoman Architectural Patrimony of Bulgaria Revisited: Infrastructure, Intentionality, and the Genesis and Survival of Monuments », p. 153-170) évoque plus particulièrement le cas de la Bulgarie. Après avoir défini des couches successives de constructions correspondant aux étapes de l'hégémonie ottomane et aux évolutions de la vie quotidienne, Lewis se lamente sur le sort d'un patrimoine qui, sorti de son contexte matériel et moral et, dans le cas présent, victime d'une politique hostile, est voué à la disparition, la réappropriation ou, au mieux, une restauration maladroite.

Le cas de la Bosnie sous contrôle austro-hongrois après 1878, étudié par M. Hartmuth (« Insufficiently Ottoman? An Early Episode in the Study and Preservation of the Ottoman Architecture Heritage in the Balkans », p. 171-183), paraît tout différent. Le gouvernement de Vienne, soutenu d'ailleurs par l'élite urbaine musulmane locale, a cherché à créer un patriotisme bosniaque dépassant les frontières confessionnelles. Le *Landesmuseum* fondé à Sarajevo en 1888 y joua un rôle considérable, par son activité de recherche et par la publication d'une revue (*Glasnik zemaljskog muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini*) où paraissaient des articles sur la région depuis les temps les plus reculés, sur des personnalités, sites ou monuments historiques. On y trouve les premières études sur l'architecture ottomane dans les Balkans, parues entre les années 1880 et la Grande Guerre, notamment sous le gouvernement de Benjamin von Kállay (1882-1903). La préservation et la restauration de bâtiments « ottomans » servaient une politique visant à manifester la sympathie de la Monarchie pour les musulmans locaux. C'est ainsi que des études, de qualité pour l'époque, furent menées sur les monuments ottomans (dans le cadre, pour une part, d'une promotion de l'empire Habsbourg) par Emil Stix, puis Johannes Kellner, dont la synthèse profita largement des publications de la *Glasnik*, notamment d'une étude fouillée de la

² Rappelons également que l'année 1314 de l'Hégire ne correspond pas à l'an 1943 de l'ère chrétienne (p. 76), mais à 1896-1897.

mosquée Hüsrev Paşa de Foča (1891). Paradoxalement, cette bonne volonté pouvait avoir des effets pervers, liés à la recherche du style « oriental » (ou « arabe ») qui amenait à des comparaisons hasardeuses avec des monuments syriens ou andalous, mais aussi à défigurer à l'occasion des bâtiments dans le but de leur restituer leur pureté. Au demeurant, la politique austro-hongroise avait permis la préservation du patrimoine ottoman de Bosnie jusqu'à la guerre de Yougoslavie à la fin du ^{xx}^e siècle. Aussi l'article de Zeynep Ahunbay (« Recovering the Remnants of the Alaca Camii in Foča », p. 185-192) constitue-t-il un appendice mélancolique à celui de M. Hartmuth : la mosquée soigneusement publiée en 1891 a en effet été rasée par un bombardement serbe en 1992 et c'est à la difficile mise en place d'un projet d'anastylose qu'est consacrée cette dernière contribution au volume.

Les éditeurs ont ajouté la bibliographie de M. Kiel. Elle était à jour en 2009. Notre vœu le plus cher est qu'elle continue à s'enrichir.

Nicolas VATIN

Feridun M. EMECEN, *Zamanın İskenderi, Şarkın Fatihi Yavuz Sultan Selim I*, Istanbul, Yitik Hazine Yayınları, 2010, 416 p. + 16 p. de reproductions en couleur

L'objectif de F. M. E. est clairement présenté dans l'introduction de son livre : il s'agit d'écrire une biographie politique de Selim I^{er} fondée sur la documentation disponible. Celle-ci ne permettant guère de se laisser aller à des considérations psychologiques, il entend se fonder sur le terrain solide des faits. Encore faut-il le faire en évaluant avec soin la valeur de cette documentation et en écartant les légendes qui l'encombrent. C'est, selon lui, ce que n'ont pas toujours su faire ses prédécesseurs, trop portés à utiliser sans esprit critique suffisant des sources de seconde ou de troisième main.

Disons-le tout de suite, l'auteur a parfaitement tenu les engagements pris dans son introduction.

L'ouvrage suit pas à pas la carrière de Selim, au cours de sept chapitres consacrés à l'enfance et la jeunesse (p. 29-44) ; la crise politique de la succession au trône de Bayezid II (p. 45-70) ; le début du règne et l'élimination des princes (p. 71-86) ; la question orientale et la bataille de Çaldıran (p. 87-158) ; la question du Zulkadr et de la domination de l'Anatolie orientale et sud-orientale (p. 159-179) ; le retour à Istanbul et les préparatifs pour une nouvelle campagne (p. 171-186) ; la conquête de l'Égypte et les dernières années (p. 187-347). Enfin F. M. E. revient en conclusion sur la personnalité de Selim I^{er} et son image (p. 349-363), puis propose deux annexes, sur le « *menâkıbnâme* » de Hasan Can ou « *Selîmnâme* » de Sa'dü-d-dîn, et sur le « *Selîmnâme* » d'Evliyâ Çelebi. On est frappé par un certain déséquilibre entre ces parties, qui peut s'expliquer par le fait que l'auteur considère la campagne de Çaldıran (c'est-à-dire la question safavide) et la conquête de la Syrie puis de l'Égypte comme les clefs de l'interprétation du règne. On ne peut bien entendu que lui donner raison sur ce point. Certes, on pourrait être tenté de nuancer davantage, mais il s'agit là d'une querelle un peu vaine, puisque l'ordre chronologique des événements est scrupuleusement respecté et que de nombreuses sous-parties et un index permettent au lecteur de se repérer très facilement dans l'ouvrage.

Fidèle à son projet, F. M. E. exploite une masse considérable de documentation : documents d'archives ottomans, pour beaucoup publiés par ses prédécesseurs mais inédits pour certains ; chroniques ottomanes, arabes et persanes ; documentation italienne enfin, bien que l'on ait le sentiment que les *Diarii* de Marino Sanudo auraient pu être exploités plus abondamment. Ainsi qu'il le préconise en introduction, l'auteur critique avec soin ces sources abondantes et s'efforce d'établir les faits et leur chronologie avec soin. Travail qu'avait déjà fait Selâhattin Tansel, notamment, mais qui gagne en cohérence par le choix d'une présentation chronologique et est enrichi par une documentation beaucoup plus importante.

Bien entendu, F. M. E. ne se borne pas à établir les faits. Il tente également de comprendre la logique de l'action de Selim I^{er} et de déterminer son apport à l'histoire de l'Empire ottoman. Il souligne ainsi le poids déterminant de la question safavide et *kızılbaş* dans la politique suivie et il conclut que l'invasion de la Syrie ne fut décidée qu'au dernier instant (son objectif premier étant d'éliminer Şâh İsmâ'il) ; qu'il hésita longtemps avant de se lancer dans la seconde partie de l'aventure qu'était l'entrée en Égypte ; qu'il était bien à l'origine de la préparation d'une campagne contre Rhodes et que, loin d'avoir été réticent à un projet émanant de ses vizirs, il n'y renonça que sur la pression des oulémas insistant sur le devoir religieux de se débarrasser d'abord de ce danger pour l'islam qu'était Şâh İsmâ'il... Le facteur religieux paraît en effet déterminant à l'auteur pour expliquer le règne de Selim I^{er} qui, par la conquête de la Syrie-Égypte, donne à l'empire de ses successeurs une identité religieuse de défense du sunnisme. Un autre apport déterminant de ce sultan, selon F. M. E., est la mise au point d'une tactique d'usage de l'artillerie légère et des armes à feu de poing, tactique déterminante dans ses victoires tant sur les Safavides que sur les mamlouks.

On pourra regretter que certains sujets n'aient pas été plus approfondis. Ainsi la question du fratricide et de l'attitude personnelle de Bayezid II et Selim I^{er} à son propos n'est pas vraiment abordée. Quelques lignes en conclusion ne rendent peut-être pas entièrement justice à la place considérable des pèlerinages aux tombeaux, depuis celui d'Eyüp jusqu'à celui d'Ibn 'Arabi¹. La description de l'usage des armes à feu par l'armée de Selim aurait pu être éclairée par la lecture de l'article de C. E. Antoché sur le *Wagenburg*².

Il est toujours facile et injuste d'insister sur ce que l'on n'a pas trouvé dans un livre. Redisons-le : celui de F. M. E. est très riche en faits établis avec beaucoup d'esprit critique et en considérations historiques importantes. On ne reviendra pas dans ce court compte rendu sur le détail de celles-ci. Le lecteur averti aura sans peine compris en quoi l'auteur suit les conclusions de ses prédécesseurs ou au contraire les considère comme erronées. Mais, quant à lui, il juge inutile de reprendre les arguments des historiens qui ont traité ces sujets avant lui, fût-ce pour les contredire. Les considérations de Palmira Brummett et de Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont sur la politique égyptienne de Selim ne sont pas envi-

¹ Cf. Gilles VEINSTEIN, « Retour à Salihyya : le tombeau d'Ibn 'Arabi revisité », in Ghislaine ALLEAUME, Sylvie DENOIX, Michel TUCHSCHERER (éds), *Histoires, archéologies, littératures du monde musulman : mélanges en l'honneur d'André Raymond*, Le Caire, Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 2005, p. 159-167 ; repr. in Gilles VEINSTEIN, *Autoportrait du sultan ottoman en conquérant*, Istanbul, Isis, 2010, p. 285-295.

² Emanuel Constantin ANTOCHE, « Du tábor de Jan Žižka et de Jean Hunyadi au *tabur çengi* des armées ottomanes : l'art militaire hassite en Europe orientale, au Proche et au Moyen Orient (xv^e-xvii^e siècles) », *Turcica* 36, 2004, p. 91-124.

sagées, non plus que celles de Jean Aubin sur le retour à Istanbul en 1518. L'ouvrage classique de David Ayalon sur les armes à feu chez les mamlouks n'est pas cité en bibliographie, non plus que le livre de Nicolas Vatin sur les rapports avec les chevaliers de Rhodes (dont il existe pourtant une traduction en turc). On ne trouvera pas non plus en bibliographie la série d'articles contenue dans le sixième numéro de *Turcica*. S'il paraît compréhensible que le bel article de Benjamin Lellouch sur la justice de Selim I^{er}, publié dans un ouvrage mal diffusé auprès des orientalistes, ait échappé à la vigilance de l'auteur, on s'étonne davantage qu'il n'ait pas mentionné son ouvrage paru chez Peeters.

Pour être exact, il faut souligner que si quelques titres ont pu échapper à l'auteur, beaucoup – y compris parmi ceux cités dans le paragraphe précédent – ont leur place dans une bibliographie de huit pages. C'est donc un choix d'historien que fait F. M. E. en n'encombrant pas son ouvrage de notes et de controverses érudites. Il a conscience, n'en doutons pas, que ses conclusions selon les cas reprennent celles déjà émises ou au contraire les contredisent. Bien certainement, les réflexions des uns et des autres ont pu nourrir la sienne. Mais il a choisi de revenir aux sources. C'est une option pédagogique que l'on peut comprendre et respecter. L'auteur de ce compte rendu estime cependant qu'il est dommage que le très grand savant qu'est F. M. E., en faisant ce choix, ait renoncé à proposer une véritable synthèse sur Selim I^{er} en présentant notamment au public turc les recherches menées par des chercheurs publiant en d'autres langues.

Il n'en demeure pas moins que ce livre, par sa richesse et sa clarté, est une véritable réussite et qu'il sera certainement désormais un ouvrage de référence sur Selim I^{er}.

Nicolas VATIN

Ghislaine ALLEAUME, Sylvie DENOIX, Michel TUCHSCHERER (éds), *Histoire, archéologies et littératures du monde musulman : mélanges en l'honneur d'André Raymond*, Le Caire, Institut français d'archéologie orientale (IFAO), 2009, 421 p.

Ces mélanges en l'honneur du professeur André Raymond, récemment disparu, ont été réunis par ses collègues de l'Institut de recherches et d'études sur le monde arabe et musulman (Iremam), laboratoire de recherche qu'André Raymond fonda en 1986 à Aix-en-Provence. L'homme à qui cet ouvrage rend hommage a ouvert le champ des études économiques et sociales sur l'Égypte ottomane. Sa thèse d'État, intitulée *Artisans et commerçants au Caire au XVIII^e siècle* (Damas, Institut français de Damas, 1973 ; Le Caire, IFAO, 1999) fut l'un des premiers travaux d'envergure à exploiter les archives de l'époque ottomane en Égypte. Par la suite, plusieurs autres ouvrages et de nombreux articles sur Le Caire et les villes arabes à l'époque ottomane verront le jour, dont ses *Grandes villes arabes à l'époque ottomane* (Paris, Sindbad, 1985), considéré comme un tournant historiographique dans l'étude de la ville arabe à l'époque ottomane. La diversité des contributions, tant dans la période qu'elles embrassent, de l'antiquité au xx^e siècle, que dans l'aire géographique couverte, tout le bassin méditerranéen, et dans les disciplines représentées, histoire, archéologie, littérature, forme un ensemble hétérogène moins représentatif de l'œuvre d'André Raymond elle-même que de son influence dans le passage de la

philologie orientaliste à la transdisciplinarité et aux sciences sociales dans l'étude du monde arabe. Cette refondation des études orientales, portée au crédit d'André Raymond, s'est opérée au sein des instituts d'études orientales, celui du Caire (Ifao), où son séjour fut de courte durée (1955-1956) mais décisif en ce qui concerne l'orientation de son travail, et surtout celui de Damas (Ifead, aujourd'hui Institut français du Proche-Orient), dont il fut le directeur adjoint (1966-1969), puis le directeur (1969-1975).

Les vingt-sept contributeurs de l'ouvrage ne représentent qu'un segment du vaste réseau de chercheurs lié à André Raymond, celui, à quelques exceptions près, de ses collègues, amis et anciens étudiants de l'université Aix-Marseille-I et de l'Iremam. Or, l'influence d'André Raymond en tant qu'historien s'exerça aussi auprès des étudiants syriens et égyptiens qu'il forma à l'histoire sociale et à l'exploitation des archives, contribuant ainsi à la revalorisation, en Égypte et en Syrie, des études sur l'époque ottomane. Un hommage lui avait été rendu à Damas, en 2001, sous la forme d'un volume intitulé *Études sur les villes du Proche-Orient, XVI^e-XIX^e siècle : hommage à André Raymond* (Damas, IFPO, 2001), coordonné par une de ses anciennes étudiantes, Brigitte Marino. Au Caire, une autre ancienne étudiante, Nelly Hanna, aujourd'hui professeur d'histoire à l'université Américaine du Caire (AUC), a réuni un ensemble d'articles de chercheurs égyptiens – auxquels ont été associés trois autres collègues français, américain et syrien – qui rend, lui aussi, hommage à André Raymond : *Society and Economy in Egypt and the Eastern Mediterranean, 1600-1900 : Essays in Honor of André Raymond* (Le Caire, AUC Press, 2005). Cet ouvrage reflète non seulement l'influence d'André Raymond dans les thèmes aujourd'hui explorés par les chercheurs égyptiens sur l'Égypte ottomane, mais aussi l'évolution de cette recherche égyptienne depuis la parution d'*Artisans et commerçants* en 1973. Face à l'hétérogénéité, voulue par les éditeurs, de ces mélanges, nous nous limiterons à une brève présentation des articles proposés au lecteur, répartis en quatre thèmes (le sommaire complet du livre est accessible à l'adresse : http://iremam.univ-provence.fr/IMG/pdf/Sommaire_Melanges-Raymond.pdf, consulté le 28 apr. 2012).

Le thème de la ville (*Villes et architecture d'Orient*), privilégié par André Raymond, forme la première partie du livre. Celle-ci regroupe des contributions sur la ville dans l'Arabie antique (Christian Julien Robin), sur l'architecture domestique urbaine au Proche-Orient entre le XII^e et le XVII^e siècle (Jean-Claude David), les monuments mamlouks (S. Denoix), le sérail d'Ismâ'îl pacha al-'Azm à Damas (B. Marino), un quartier commercial d'Alexandrie à l'époque ottomane (M. Tuchscherer), une description de Damas au XIX^e siècle (Jean-Luc Arnaud), la formation d'un droit de résidence dans l'Égypte du XIX^e siècle (Gh. Alleaume), et une étude sur Le Caire des urbanistes égyptiens de l'entre-deux-guerres (Mercedes Volait).

Le thème de la deuxième partie étant vaste (*Histoire, économies, sociétés*), les articles sont plus éparpillés : ils portent sur l'empereur Jean VI Cantacuzène (Michel Balivet), un penseur égyptien du début du XV^e siècle (Claude Gilliot), le tombeau d'Ibn 'Arabî à Damas (Gilles Veinstein), des agents civils et militaires à Damas à la fin du XVII^e siècle (Colette Estabiet et Jean-Paul Pascual), la société damascène au milieu du XIX^e siècle (Abdul-Karim Rafeq), les soldats de la première guerre mondiale au Moyen-Orient (Leila Fawaz), le royaume arabe de l'émir Faysal (Gérard Khoury), la Syrie d'aujourd'hui à travers les écrits de Michel Seurat (Eberhard Kienle), la magie chez les musulmans de Bosnie et du Kosovo au XVIII^e siècle (Alexandre Popovic), ou, enfin, l'utilisation du cannabis ou *kif* en maghrébin (Marceau Gast).

Les parties 3 (*Lettres et arts*) et 4 (*Sources, manuscrits et archives*) sont plus restreintes. Quatre articles forment la troisième partie : un article sur le *Dîwân* d'Imru' al-Qays (Claude Audebert et Mohamed Bakhouch), deux articles sur les *Mille et une nuits* (l'un de Jean-Claude Garcin et l'autre d'André Miquel) et un article sur l'orientalisme et l'opéra (Pierre Larcher). La partie 4 regroupe des articles sur un papyrus arabe de l'an 22 de l'hégire (Yûsuf Raghib), deux inscriptions tûlûnides à Busrâ (Solange Ory), l'utilisation des fours à barres (Jacques Thiriot), les manuscrits conservés à la filmothèque de l'Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes (Jacqueline Sublet) et, enfin, un article sur l'expédition d'Égypte (Daniel Panzac).

Les ottomanistes, et particulièrement les historiens de la ville, retiendront d'André Raymond sa grande œuvre de réhabilitation de l'époque ottomane, longtemps considérée comme une période de décadence ; André Raymond a opposé au mythe de l'anarchie un ordre, une organisation et une sécurité relatifs apportés par la conquête ; ainsi que des périodes de prospérité économique et de floraison culturelle.

Rachida CHIH

Giancarlo CASALE, *The Ottoman Age of Exploration*, Oxford-New York, Oxford University Press, 2010, xix + 281 p.

Le livre de G. C. sur la découverte ottomane de l'océan Indien au xvi^e siècle est riche d'idées nouvelles et de défis à l'historiographie européocentrée et doit être salué comme tel. Cependant, il néglige trop souvent les principes de base des bonnes méthodes historiographiques et confond fréquemment ses hypothèses de travail avec la réalité démontrée. Après une brève présentation du livre, nos objections porteront d'abord sur le style et l'architecture générale de l'ouvrage, pour passer à une analyse plus approfondie du cinquième chapitre intitulé « Sokollu Mehmed Pasha and the Apogee of Empire », avant de passer à l'examen des conclusions¹.

L'ouvrage se compose d'une introduction suivie de sept chapitres chronologiques, d'une bibliographie et d'un index. Il faut signaler également les riches illustrations (portulans, cartes nautiques, miniatures) dont on regrette, pourtant, qu'elles restent insuffisamment commentées, alors que des mises au point, même succinctes, auraient apporté au lecteur quelque éclairage sur les techniques et conceptions géographiques de l'époque. Nous pensons notamment à la figure 7.3, une carte ottomane de l'océan Indien, que l'auteur ne fait qu'évoquer : une analyse plus poussée de ce document aurait été d'autant

¹ Nos objections portent également, par voie de conséquence, sur Giancarlo CASALE, « His Majesty's Servant Lutfi : the Career of a Previously Unknown Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Envoy to Sumatra Based on an Account of his Travels from the Topkapı Palace Archives », *Turcica* 37, 2005, p. 43-81 ; Giancarlo CASALE, « The Ottoman Administration of the Spice Trade in the Sixteenth-Century Red Sea and Persian Gulf », *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 49/2, 2006, p. 170-198 ; Giancarlo CASALE, « Global Politics in the 1580s : One Canal, Twenty Thousand Cannibals, and an Ottoman Plot to Rule the World », *Journal of World History* 18, 2007, p. 267-296.

plus justifiée que l'un des objets du livre est précisément la perception ottomane de la géographie.

L'abondante bibliographie, d'une vingtaine de pages, n'est pas exempte d'erreurs² et souffre de quelques omissions graves : parmi les sources primaires, signalons l'absence des *Négociations de la France dans le Levant*, notamment du deuxième volume qui comprend les rapports des ambassadeurs du roi de France sur les négociations de la Porte avec les Portugais et avec les émissaires du sultan d'Aceh³. D'autres études portant directement sur le sujet du livre font défaut⁴.

Résumons les prémisses de l'ouvrage. Selon G. C., la transformation de l'idéologie politique et de la technologie militaire et navale, accompagnée des développements intellectuels et culturels, caractérisent l'âge des découvertes européen (p. 6). L'Empire ottoman au début du XVI^e siècle a lui aussi subi des changements « in a manner again strikingly similar » ; s'est adapté au défi européen pour la domination mondiale et s'est imposé dans la seconde moitié du siècle, en tant que chef suprême de l'islam sunnite, en Asie maritime (p. 7). Enfin, « the Ottoman Age of Exploration was, like its European equivalent, defined as much by cultural and intellectual expansion at home as by economic and territorial expansion abroad » (p. 8). Ainsi, l'ouvrage est conçu pour contrebalancer, à l'appui des

² Les œuvres *Menāzīrū'l-Avālim*, *Tārīh-i Feth-i Yemen* et *Tārīh-i Hind-i Ġarbī*, mentionnées parmi les sources primaires inédites, sont publiées. Notons également l'absence du « proto-mühimme » (KK 888), qui contient notamment une série d'ordres sur la révolte de Bassora en 1552.

³ Ernest CHARRIÈRE, *Les Négociations de la France dans le Levant*, Paris, 1848-1860, vol. II, p. 732 et p. 749 (pour les ambassades sumatranaises en été 1563 et en 1564) ; p. 744 (pour l'ambassade des émissaires d'Estado da Índia). L'auteur ignore également l'ensemble de la correspondance, publiée ou inédite, des émissaires européens à Istanbul (cf. *infra*).

⁴ Faute de place, nous indiquons les titres incontournables pour une recherche sur la politique ottomane dans la région : Jean AUBIN, *Le Latin et l'astrolabe*, Paris, Fondation Gulbenkian, 1996-2006, 3 vol. ; Jean-Louis BACQUÉ-GRAMMONT, Viviane RAHMÉ, Salam HAMZA, « Notes et documents sur le ralliement de la principauté de Basra et l'Empire ottoman (1534-1538) », *Anatolia Moderna* VI, 1996, p. 85-96 ; Jean-Louis BACQUÉ-GRAMMONT, Viviane RAHMÉ, Salam HAMZA, « Textes ottomans et safavides sur l'annexion de Bassora en 1546 », *Eurasian Studies* III/1, 2004, p. 1-33 ; Michel TUCHSCHERER, « Quelques réflexions sur les monnaies et la circulation monétaire en Égypte et en mer Rouge au XVI^e et au début du XVII^e siècle », *Annales islamologiques* XXXIII, 1997, p. 263-281. En outre : Victor-Louis MÉNAGE, « The Ottomans and Nubia in the Sixteenth Century », *Annales islamologiques* XXIV, 1988, p. 137-153 ; Muhammed es-Seyyid Mahmud, XVI. *Asırda Mısır Eyaleti*, Istanbul, Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1990 ; Benjamin LELLOUCH, *Les Ottomans en Égypte : historiens et conquérants au XVI^e siècle*, Louvain, Peeters, 2006. Plus surprenante est l'absence des références aux études de Svat Soucek portant sur le même objet que celui de l'auteur, contenues dans le volume intitulé *Studies in Ottoman Naval History and Maritime Geography* (Istanbul, Isis, 2008) : « Ottoman Naval Policy in the Indian Ocean », p. 79-82 (article publié initialement en 1993), et « The Portuguese and the Turks in the Persian Gulf », p. 83-112. L'approche de G. C., et notamment son article paru dans *Turcica* (cf. n. 9), fait l'objet d'une critique raisonnable dans ce dernier article de Soucek (p. 106-110). Signalons enfin une étude publiée récemment : Gilles VEINSTEIN, « Portugais et Ottomans au XVI^e siècle », in Gilles VEINSTEIN, *Autoportrait du sultan ottoman en conquérant*, Istanbul, Isis, 2010, p. 225-236.

nouvelles conceptions de la *world history*, la vision dominante des seiziémistes qui suppose que seuls les empires européens étaient capables de s'engager dans des stratégies pour la domination mondiale (p. 9).

Remarques générales

Dans une étude qui se veut globale sur la présence ottomane dans l'océan Indien au XVI^e siècle, on attendrait une présentation brève de ce qu'était l'Empire ottoman à l'époque. L'auteur laisse dans un certain flou le système administratif de l'Empire et le statut des provinces fraîchement conquises en Asie occidentale et en Afrique orientale. Cette absence de description précise des institutions ottomanes aboutit notamment à une survalorisation du rôle du grand vizir, qui est présenté comme l'unique acteur de la politique ottomane. Les chapitres sont organisés dans la plupart des cas en fonction de l'activité des *sadrazam*, laissant ainsi dans l'ombre les autres dignitaires – sans parler des sultans Selim II et Murad III, voire Süleymân –, qui perdent toute visibilité⁵. Il aurait été pour le moins justifié de décrire le fonctionnement de la marine ottomane (la construction des navires, les préparatifs de guerre, le ravitaillement de la flotte, les tactiques navales) et ses rapports avec sa branche active dans la mer des Indes.

Pour expliquer les mobiles de l'action ottomane dans cet espace géopolitique, l'auteur invoque l'influence d'une *Indian Ocean Faction* dans les cercles du pouvoir sans jamais expliquer comment celle-ci s'est constituée, quels sont ses membres, ses réseaux, ses objectifs et ses adversaires. En somme, il s'agit d'un concept hypothétique jamais ancré dans la réalité. Pour G. C. tout acteur originaire des régions anatolienne, égéenne ou rouméliote de l'Empire – tout *Rûmî*, en somme – peut être considéré comme agent du sultan. Or rien ne prouve le bien-fondé de cette réduction. Les *Rûmî* ont souvent des relations conflictuelles avec l'administration centrale et des intérêts contradictoires avec ceux des élites ottomanes. C'est particulièrement le cas en Afrique septentrionale ou subsaharienne. Le poème de Mustafa Âlî que l'auteur place en exergue est pourtant une parfaite illustration de ce phénomène.

Une des modalités narratives les plus troublantes de l'ouvrage consiste à transformer froidement des défaites notoires des Ottomans en victoires ou semi-victoires. L'échec du siège de Diu est, par exemple, rendu par une tournure euphémique : « Still, it should not be forgotten that, at least at Diu, victory was to elude the Ottomans by only the slenderest of possible margins » (p. 60). Le siège d'Ormuz est présenté sous les couleurs les plus flatteuses : « The battle that ensued ranks as the largest open-sea engagement on record between Ottoman and Portuguese naval forces—and very nearly ended in a decisive victory

⁵ On a ainsi l'impression qu'Ibrahim Pacha dirige seul la politique ottomane en mer Rouge (voire dans l'océan Indien) pendant toute sa carrière de grand vizir (p. 52) et que Hadım Süleymân Pacha est l'unique auteur des partenariats militaires et commerciaux contractés avec les États de l'Afrique orientale (p. 73). Dans la même logique narrative, Rüstem Pacha parvient à obstruer la politique ottomane dans le golfe Persique (p. 88), tandis que l'action de Semiz Ali Pacha explique le basculement stratégique de la politique impériale dans l'océan Indien (p. 114). En outre, les portraits des acteurs principaux (ou considérés comme tels) sont souvent schématiques et unidimensionnels, en fonction de leur position par rapport à l'espace indien. C'est notamment le cas pour Rüstem Pacha (p. 87).

for Murad » (p. 99). On trouve dans le livre un penchant peut-être excessif pour l'uchronie, notamment lorsqu'il est question de ce qu'aurait pu être la trajectoire d'Ibrahim Pacha si le sultan ne l'avait pas fait exécuter (« *[h]ad he lived, there seems little doubt that he would have continued to push for a major Ottoman maritime offensive against the Portuguese, for which his accomplishments up to 1536 had served merely to lay the groundwork* », p. 52), ou bien à propos des conséquences supposées d'une victoire du pirate Mir Ali sur l'Estado da Índia (« *under only slightly different circumstances, Mir Ali's expedition to the Swahili Coast could quite possibly have spelled the premature demise of Portuguese Asia and ushered in an entirely new era of Ottoman dominion in East Africa* », p. 177).

La description proposée du déroulement des événements historiques laisse une place peut-être exagérée aux basculements de dernière minute. Les efforts des corsaires *rûmî* (par ailleurs très discutables) pour bloquer les communications entre Lisbonne et les Indes orientales « *were undermined by Sefer's sudden and unexpected demise* » (p. 126). Telle autre entreprise pour contrebalancer la présence portugaise en Inde est « *undermined at the last minute by unforeseen political developments elsewhere in the empire* » (p. 131). Précisons que ce *elsewhere in the empire* n'est autre que le Yémen, en pleine insurrection zaydite, rien moins que la province stratégiquement la plus importante pour garantir l'influence de la Porte dans la région. Nous rencontrerons d'autres illustrations de cet acharnement à nier ou atténuer les échecs ottomans. Ce qui est trop souvent présenté comme un *diabolus in machina* devrait plutôt susciter une réflexion sur les mécanismes structurels de l'action ottomane dans l'océan Indien. Le manque d'assiduité dont témoignent les élites ottomanes, au centre de l'Empire, pour réprimer les révoltes indigènes au Yémen et à Bassora, rend fragile l'imputation par laquelle G. C. attribue aux élites impériales – fût-ce même à une hypothétique faction – une volonté de présence effective dans la mer des Indes, voire de conquête au détriment de l'Empire portugais.

La nécessité de prendre en considération ces mécanismes structurels est masquée par une séquence de sous-titres, voire de titres de chapitres grandiloquents. Ainsi, Hadim Süleymân Pacha est à l'origine d'une « *Global Alliance* » (p. 56), qui aboutit à une « *World War* » (p. 53) érigée au rang de « *History's First World War* » (p. 80). Le corsaire Sefer est introduit en tant que « *Rising Star in the East* » (p. 93). Cette étoile montante est caractérisée comme l'« *Innovator in Ottoman Naval Strategy* » (p. 111). Derrière des formulations emphatiques et précieuses sont parfois décrites des réalités des plus banales. Concentrons-nous, par exemple, sur le contenu d'une de ces rubriques – Sefer Reis innovateur de la stratégie ottomane navale : « *[H]e knew that Portuguese strength lay at sea, and that their weakness lay there too. The targets of his campaigns, therefore, were not Portuguese strongholds but Portuguese ships, and his victories were measured not in hectares of conquered territory, but in captured vessels and increased customs revenues in Mocha, Jiddah, and Suez* » (p. 112). Ce que l'auteur présente comme une innovation tactique reflète une pratique typique de l'activité de course, que l'on peut aussi bien attribuer à des marins *rûmî* célèbres, comme Kemal Reis, les frères Barberousse, ou d'autres contemporains de Sefer tels que Turgut Reis et Uluç Ali.

G. C. reproduit, à l'appui de ses thèses, des clichés éculés : l'omnipotence du grand vizir, comme on l'a vu ; le creusement de canaux comme instruments d'une *Weltpolitik*,

s'ils n'étaient restés à l'état de projet (p. 48-54 et *passim*)⁶ ; des jugements psychologisants ou moralisants, voire essentialistes, sur les groupes musulmans qui ont le malheur de faire défaut aux intérêts supposés de l'Empire (cf. *infra*). Inversement, les musulmans fidèles sont souvent présentés comme empressés à accepter la suzeraineté ottomane (p. 121, p. 129, p. 165)⁷. De Madagascar à l'Insulinde, l'auteur présente l'image d'une mer des Indes sillonnée par le commerce « ottoman » (p. 74, p. 77, p. 111, p. 163). Ces poncifs ne sont pas sans fonction. Sous le feu de la répétition, le lecteur pourrait se laisser convaincre de leur réalité. Un dernier exemple : G. C. utilise l'adjectif « global » au moins à vingt-deux reprises, sans compter les titres et les légendes des cartes, pour qualifier les projets ottomans dans l'espace indien, notamment ceux du grand vizir Sokollu – technique narrative très éprouvée pour inculquer une idée qui n'est pas pour autant prouvée.

Quand l'auteur, faute de sources ottomanes, recourt à la documentation portugaise, notamment de l'Estado da Índia, il la prend pour argent comptant, sans la soumettre à une critique historique. Or les auteurs de ces rapports ont tout intérêt à surévaluer le péril ottoman. Ce sont d'ailleurs les seules sources qui signalent la présence de marchands ottomans au Bengale dès 1545 (p. 74). L'ambassade sumatranaise à Istanbul de 1570, citée par un dignitaire portugais de Cochin, n'est attestée par aucune source ottomane, ni par les légations européennes à Istanbul, ce qui n'empêche pas G. C. de la considérer comme avérée (p. 137).

L'ensemble de ces remarques nous conduit à penser que le récit de l'auteur souffre d'un défaut plus général. Il a construit son récit sur quelques idées centrales (les Ottomans aussi ont eu leur âge des grandes découvertes ; ils ont bien failli créer un vaste empire panislamique, propre à rivaliser avec l'Empire portugais) sans véritablement les étayer. Pour développer ses arguments, il procède par déduction, en faisant un usage sélectif et négligent des sources. Voyons dans le détail en quoi le cinquième chapitre de l'ouvrage illustre notre critique.

« Sokollu Mehmed Pasha and the Apogee of Empire » ou l'apothéose d'un grand vizir

Sans qu'il soit question de diminuer l'importance de cette figure historique, il faut constater que le portrait de Sokollu dressé par G. C. est souvent excessif. Il est vrai que le pacha avait des intérêts commerciaux en Méditerranée. Faut-il pour autant le placer « at the center of a vast association of financial and trading interests that stretched across the Mediterranean » (p. 119) ? Et le propos devient parfaitement gratuit quand on en veut pour preuve les origines de son épouse Esmahan Sultan, qui par sa mère serait la descendante d'une des familles les plus nobles de Venise⁸. Que le grand vizir ait été à l'initiative de la création de l'Observatoire est une information pour le moins douteuse. Qualifier son

⁶ Parfois ces clichés prennent des formes loufoques : « Kodja Sinan shared also Sokollu's fondness for canals » (p. 156).

⁷ Ahmed Gran, un prince africain qui luttait pour conquérir le trône d'Éthiopie, aurait accepté de payer au grand vizir « 100.000 *okka* of gold » pour son soutien (p. 73), somme qui correspond à un montant – 100 000 x 1,282 kg ! – qui dépasse la production totale de ce métal précieux tout au long du XVI^e siècle !

⁸ Rien ne permet d'affirmer que cette mère était effectivement d'ascendance patricienne. Sur l'attitude des Vénitiens face à cette revendication, cf. Benjamin ARBEL, « Nur Banu (c. 1530-1583) : a Venetian Sultana ? », *Turcica* 24, 1992, p. 241-259 (que l'auteur cite pourtant).

secrétaire Feridun Beg de géographe et historien le plus éminent de l'Empire est abusif ; ses rapports avec Sipahizade Mehmed, « close associate of the grand vizier », restent à prouver, de même qu'avec Kutbeddin Mekki (p. 120)⁹. Enfin, les quatre pages consacrées aux leçons qu'aurait tirées le grand vizir de sa lecture du récit de voyage de Seydi Ali n'ont aucune valeur aussi longtemps qu'une telle lecture n'a pu être attestée (p. 121-124). Il n'est pas question de nier l'étendue du savoir de Sokollu Mehmed Pacha, ni son rôle en tant que mécène, mais de pointer le manque de rigueur de l'auteur, quand il impute au dignitaire ottoman un vaste projet visant à tourner « the rising tide of pan-Islamic sentiment into a concrete manifestation of Ottoman sovereignty throughout maritime Asia » (p. 120).

Venons-en à la prédilection de ce haut dignitaire pour les affaires indiennes. Sokollu n'a jamais été le « governor-general » de Diyarbekir (p. 119). G. C. constate que Sokollu rapporte à la Sublime Porte le manque de *kürekçi* (rameurs) à Bassora : il ne lui en fallait pas plus pour lui attribuer la « supervision » de l'arsenal de Bassora. L'assimilation du Mehmed Pacha qui investit dans le commerce des épices dès les années 1550 à Sokollu est fort douteuse (cf. *infra*). Attribuer à l'activisme de ce dernier la paternité de l'alliance entre l'Empire ottoman et le sultanat d'Aceh (« almost certainly the result of pressure of Sokollu », p. 123), et ceci malgré les hésitations du grand vizir Semiz Ali Pacha, nécessite plus de preuves qu'une autoréférence¹⁰. L'auteur présente Sokollu comme l'expéditeur de « literally dozens of edicts » pour l'expédition d'Aceh ; on ne trouve cependant pas plus de onze ordres au sujet de cette expédition dans le *Mühimme Defteri* VII. « It is not impossible that Sokollu actually planned the attack together with Sefer » pour le blocage des communications entre le Portugal et l'Estado da Índia, écrit G. C., tout en faisant coïncider ledit blocus avec l'attaque des corsaires français sur Madeira (p. 126). Or les contacts du grand vizir avec Sefer ne sont qu'incertains, sans compter l'impossibilité de diriger un tel plan depuis Istanbul. Qui plus est, les rapports du grand vizir avec l'émissaire du roi de France à Istanbul sont bien trop mauvais à ce moment-là pour rendre plausible l'hypothèse d'une concertation concernant l'attaque contre Madère¹¹. Ajoutons que l'auteur ne produit aucune source fiable pour justifier la planification d'une entreprise de si grande échelle (p. 126). Révétons enfin une contradiction narrative : si le grand vizir Sokollu s'est autant investi dans les affaires indiennes que le pense G. C., comment se fait-il qu'il ne trouve pas, à la mort de Sefer, un corsaire aussi capable pour mener à bien ses projets de création d'un califat universel (p. 126) ?

Quant au fameux Lutfi, qui serait mandaté (« under orders », p. 123) pour établir des contacts avec les musulmans « throughout the Indian Ocean » et créer les conditions d'un « pan-islamic uprising » (p. 126), ses rapports directs avec le grand vizir sont insuffisamment étayés. S'agissant de ce soulèvement panislamique, Lutfi aurait négocié avec les émissaires des princes de Calicut, de Ceylan, voire des îles Maldives (p. 124), qui pourtant ne sont pas musulmans, du moins à la date de la rédaction de la lettre du sultan d'Aceh

⁹ De même, la représentation de Sinan Pacha et surtout de Kılıç Ali Pacha (p. 155-156) en tant que clients du grand vizir est pour le moins controuvée : ZARIF ORGUN, « Selim II'nin Kapudan-i Derya Ali Paşa'ya Emirleri », *Tarih Vesikaları Dergisi* II, 1943, p. 325-334. On rencontre dans le livre d'autres relations de clientèle non démontrées (p. 160).

¹⁰ Giancarlo CASALE, « His Majesty's Servant », *art. cit.*, p. 57-59, où l'on ne trouve pas de preuves additionnelles.

¹¹ CHARRIÈRE, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 55-56.

(p. 129). L'auteur n'éprouve aucun scrupule à présenter ces entités politiques comme des États dans lesquels la *hutba* est « read in the name of the Ottoman sultan », dans la carte 5.2 (cf. *infra*).

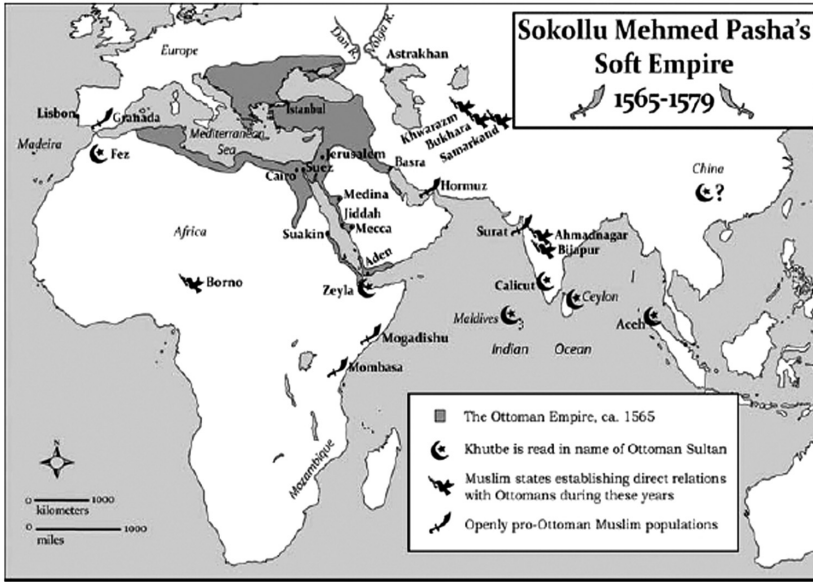
C'est pour réaliser de si grands desseins, à savoir une insurrection panislamique – intégrant, de surcroît, des peuples non encore islamisés ! – que Sokollu aurait voulu faire creuser des canaux à Suez et entre le Don et la Volga. Comme G. C. le remarque très incidemment, les travaux envisagés à Suez n'ont cependant jamais connu un début de commencement, ni au début des années 1530 (p. 49), ni même dans les années 1560, au moment du grand vizirat de Sokollu (« surveyors deemed the canal infeasible even before excavations had begun », p. 136). Il insiste pourtant lourdement sur ce projet jamais concrétisé et le lie à un autre : le creusement d'un canal à Erdilme, qui relierait le Don à la Volga. A. Bennigsen aussi bien que A. N. Kurat ont démontré de longue date que ce projet était une fausse rumeur. Un document publié par Gökbilgin démontre qu'aucune initiative n'a été jamais prise en ce sens sur le terrain¹². C'est ce projet de canal – fût-il inabouti, voire jamais entamé – qui, selon l'auteur, expliquerait pourquoi Ivan IV accepta en 1570 de ne plus entraver le passage des pèlerins centrasiatiques vers La Mecque (p. 137) : une telle assertion relève du *story-telling*¹³. Affirmer que Sokollu « had even managed to dismantle » la Sainte-Ligue en se servant de son amitié avec le *bailo*, en toute méconnaissance de la géopolitique méditerranéenne, ne peut même pas être qualifié de surinterprétation (p. 138). Pour son « empire doux », Sokollu aurait entretenu des agents à Sind, Cambay, Dabul, Calicut. Mais nous n'en avons aucune preuve : « we may never know for sure, but the most likely seems to be yes » (p. 147). On apprend encore que le grand projet indien de Sokollu a capoté comme tant d'autres entreprises poursuivies par une même fatalité, alors que tout était prêt, à cause des intrigues du Palais qui ont provoqué l'entrée en guerre de l'Empire ottoman contre la Perse (p. 138)¹⁴.

¹² Alexandre BENNIGSEN, « L'expédition turque contre Astrakhan en 1569, d'après les registres des "Affaires importantes" des Archives ottomanes », *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique* (CMRS) 8/3, 1967, p. 427-446 ; Akdes Nimet KURAT, *Türkiye ve İdil Boyu : 1569 Astarhan Seferi, Ten-İdil Kanali ve XVI.-XVII. Yüzyıl Osmanlı-Rus Münasebetleri*, Ankara, Ankara Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Yayınları, 1966 ; Tayyib GÖKBİLGİN, « Expédition ottomane contre Astrakhan en 1569 », *CMRS* 11/1, 1970, p. 118-123.

¹³ Si le Moscovite a facilité le pèlerinage, ce n'est pas seulement à cause des efforts de la Porte. La lecture du rapport de l'émissaire du tsar auprès de la Sublime Porte, Novosilov, aurait pu conduire G. C. à atténuer le poids politique qu'il attribue au grand vizir. La décision du tsar doit plutôt être interprétée d'une part en fonction de la configuration politique des steppes pontiques, notamment après la dévastation de Moscou par le khan de Crimée, et d'autre part en tenant compte des rapports commerciaux entre la Moscovie et l'Asie centrale : Chantal LEMERCIER-QUELQUEJAY, « Les expéditions de Devlet Girây contre Moscou en 1571 et 1572, d'après les documents des archives ottomanes », *CMRS* 13/4, 1971, p. 555-559 ; Robert Mc CHESNEY, « The Central Asian Hajj-Pilgrimage in the Time of the Early Modern Empires », in Michel MAZZAOUI (éd.), *Safavid Iran and her Neighbors*, Salt Lake City, University of Utah Press, 2003, p. 129-156. Le rapport de l'émissaire moscovite est consultable à l'adresse : http://www.vostlit.info/Texts/Dokumenty/Turk/XVI/1560-1580/Stat_spis_1570/rametext.htm (consulté le 23 avr. 2012).

¹⁴ Rappelons que Sinan Pacha, qui commandera l'expédition contre la Perse, nous est présenté quelques pages plus loin comme le dernier protagoniste de l'« Indian Ocean faction » (p. 156).

« L'empire doux » de Sokollu ?



Map 5.2 Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's soft empire, 1565-1579 ; Giancarlo Casale, 2010, *The Ottoman Age of Exploration*, p. 149. By permission of Oxford University Press Inc.

Voici nos réserves sur cette carte qui résume bien la méthodologie de l'auteur¹⁵. Si la zone grisée centrale – l'Empire ottoman *ca* 1565 – est censée représenter les territoires impériaux avant le « soft empire » de Sokollu Mehmed Pacha (1565-1579), l'inclusion de la Tunisie relève de la négligence. Le Khwarezm, Boukhara et Samarkand, ici présentés comme établissant des relations avec les Ottomans au cours des années 1565-1579, en réalité entrent en contact diplomatique avec la Porte au plus tard sous le règne de Selîm I^{er}. L'échange de légations avec d'autres États (ici Ahmadnagar, Bijapur, Borno

¹⁵ CASALE, *op. cit.*, p. 149. Une autre carte (5.1), représentant « Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's Global Vision » (p. 136), relève de la science-fiction. On y découvre différents « planned voyages », une « planned pilgrimage route », des « planned battles » putatives, ainsi que des batailles authentiques (« with date »), qui n'ont rien à voir avec les Ottomans, à l'instar de l'attaque des corsaires français contre Madère. Enfin, les Ottomans n'ont pas fait une « expedition to support Morisco revolt ». Cf., à ce sujet, Gilles VEINSTEIN, « Autour de la lettre de Selim II aux Andalous et des origines de la guerre de Chypre », in Encarnación SÁNCHEZ GARCÍA, Pablo MARTÍN ASUERO, Michele BERNARDINI (éds), *España y el Oriente islámico entre los siglos XV y XVI: Imperio Otomano, Persia y Asia central*, Istanbul, Isis, 2007, p. 271-281. On notera pour finir une erreur sur la première carte (0.1) qui sous-estime l'étendue territoriale de l'Empire en 1516 en Anatolie, ce qui renforce d'autant l'expansion imputable au XVI^e siècle sur les cartes ultérieures.

[*recte* Bornu]¹⁶) ne fait pas forcément du nouvel Empire ottoman un « empire doux ». D'autre part, comment les populations ouvertement (« openly ») pro-ottomanes de l'Afrique (Mombasa et Mogadiscio) et de l'Asie sont-elles censées manifester leur sentiment ? Les sources témoignant d'une semblable perception des Ottomans ne sont pas produites par G. C.¹⁷. Enfin, le point d'interrogation porté par G. C. pour émettre un doute quant à l'effectivité d'une *khotba* récitée au nom du sultan en Chine ne constitue pas mécaniquement une démonstration de rigueur justifiant l'apposition de croissants islamiques en d'autres points de la carte. Il est bien connu que le prêche n'est récitée au nom du sultan ottoman à Fez qu'à l'été 1576¹⁸. Les autres croissants semblent devoir leur existence à la seule lettre du sultan d'Aceh implorant l'aide du sultan ottoman face aux Portugais, ainsi qu'à un ordre unique tiré du *Mühimme Defteri*, dont le contenu même est contradictoire non seulement avec la carte ici présentée, mais aussi avec un quelconque projet de califat universel¹⁹. Ne faudrait-il pas chercher des preuves plus solides, notamment épigraphiques et numismatiques ?

L'auteur écrit que « the grand vizier's most significant and lasting accomplishments came not in the military arena, but in the more mundane realms of trade, finance, and diplomacy ». Passons donc au « Sokollu's greatest single achievement » (p. 140) : la réorganisation du commerce des épices.

Les constructions du livre en matière d'histoire économique n'emportent pas la conviction. Les denrées généralement considérées dans ce type d'historiographie — par exemple,

¹⁶ Il faut sans doute nuancer l'importance que l'auteur attribue aux relations entre les sultans ottomans et les *mai* bornuans, notamment la perception que ces derniers ont des prétentions ottomanes (p. 139) : cf. Dierk LANGE, *A Sudanic Chronicle: the Bornu Expeditions of Idris Alauma (1564-1576), According to the Account of Aḥmad b. Furūḥ*, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner, 1988. En outre, il n'y a aucune mention d'une demande d'armes à feu par les émissaires d'Idris Alavama [*recte* Alauma] dans les documents publiés par Orhonlu auxquels l'auteur se réfère. De même, il est très contestable de proposer pour la provenance des armes à feu en Afrique centrale la voie tripolitaine. Sur le sujet, l'auteur omet aussi un article essentiel de Bernal G. MARTIN, « Mai Idris of Bornu and the Ottoman Turks, 1576-78 », *International Journal of Middle East Studies* III/4, 1972, p. 470-490.

¹⁷ Par exemple, Luis Filipe THOMAZ, « La présence iranienne autour de l'océan Indien au XVI^e siècle d'après les sources portugaises de l'époque », *Archipel* 68, 2004, p. 59-158.

¹⁸ Tout au long du siècle, même à l'époque d'Abd al-Malik (1576-1578) — ce roi qui serait installé selon l'auteur par des Ottomans (p. 152) — il existe une rivalité ottomano-saadienne pour le monopole du titre califal en Afrique saharienne. Sur ce sujet, on consultera Nabile MOULINE, « Sens et puissance : l'idéologie califale du sultan Ahmad al-Mansur al-Dhahabi (1578-1603) », *Studia Islamica* 102/103, 2006, p. 91-156.

¹⁹ Examinons de près cet ordre unique : « An edict to the Governor-general of Egypt : In times past, one hundred gold pieces [a year] were sent to the mosques of the twenty-seven cities located in the Indian port of Calicut for the Friday sermon. However, it has been reported that for the last few years only fifty gold pieces have been sent, and sometimes not even that amount [...] » (p. 148). D'abord, il est dit que dans une époque lointaine — peut-être avant même le mandat du grand vizir — un subside trop modeste était envoyé à ces villes et qu'il a baissé notablement, peut-être à l'époque même de Sokollu. Deuxièmement, rien ne prouve qu'après l'émission de cet ordre, ces quelques 100 pièces d'or étaient dorénavant envoyées et distribuées régulièrement dans ces villes ! (comparons ce montant modique avec les investissements de même nature d'Akbar dans la même région [p. 153]). Enfin et surtout, rien dans cet ordre du *Mühimme Defteri* ne permet d'affirmer que le prêche était récitée au nom du sultan ottoman.

les quantités de poivre et d'épices exportées — n'apparaissent pas dans le raisonnement de G. C., pas plus que les démonstrations économiques habituelles (qualité de ces produits, circuits de commercialisation) menées à l'appui de sources telles que les registres douaniers ou fiscaux, lesquelles permettent notamment d'évaluer la part des revenus douaniers par rapport aux autres types de revenus. Une démarche comparative exigerait non seulement de comparer l'activité commerciale des différentes provinces de l'Empire, mais aussi de la mettre en perspective avec celle d'autres provinces ou régions en dehors de l'espace ottoman.

L'auteur insiste sur la monopolisation du commerce des épices par Sokollu. La captation d'une ressource économique (notamment de biens de luxe) par l'administration centrale ne constitue pas un phénomène nouveau dans l'histoire de l'Empire ottoman, comme le prouve la littérature sur les *hassa tacirleri* (marchands de la cour) actifs en Europe septentrionale²⁰. G. C., qui n'est pas un historien de l'économie, devait justifier davantage ses hypothèses. Le phénomène mériterait par conséquent une mise en perspective historique.

Venons-en à l'administration de la preuve. Outre que l'auteur a une tendance certaine à prendre les rumeurs colportées par les voyageurs occidentaux pour des témoignages fiables (p. 143), on peut surtout regretter les libertés prises avec les ordres du Divan, sources que G. C. infléchit selon son bon plaisir. L'exemple le plus frappant est sans doute un ordre tiré du *Mühimme Defteri* II (en réalité, il s'agit d'un registre de *Tahvil* mal classé) sollicité dans l'objectif de démontrer l'intérêt de Sokollu Mehmed Pacha pour le commerce des épices dès 1554.

Citons d'abord le texte original :

« *Müşārün-ileyh mektüb gönderüp bu bendeleri Yemen'de iken vilâyet-i mezbûre mahşûlinden Muştafâ ile Mısır'a kırk [dört] kîselik bahâr irsâl olunup mezkûr zîkr olunan bahârî satup kırk dört kîselik bahârdan Mehmed Paşa için sekiz yüz altun alup Âsitâneye irsâl idüp [...]* » (p. 236).

Voici la traduction proposée par l'auteur :

« Before Özdemir Pasha left Yemen, he had forty[-four] kîselik of spices from the annual revenues of that province sent to Egypt with [his assistant] Mustafa. He sold the above mentioned spices there [in Egypt], and from these forty-four kîselik of spices he sent eight hundred gold pieces to the Imperial palace for [Sokollu] Mehmed Pasha [...] » (p. 140).

Le texte ottoman laisse entendre que sur la valeur totale de 44 sacs d'épices, 800 pièces d'or sont prélevées à l'intention d'un certain Mehmed Pacha, tandis que le reste est envoyé à la Porte. L'insertion des crochets portant le surnom de Sokollu au texte est gratuite.

²⁰ Cf. notamment, Gilles VEINSTEIN, « Marchands ottomans en Pologne-Lituanie et en Moscovie sous le règne de Soliman le Magnifique », *CMRS* 35, 1994, p. 713-738. Quant aux efforts de Rüstem Pacha qui aurait voulu implanter un nouveau régime commercial en défavorisant toute exportation (!) (p. 88 et *passim*) à l'instar de sa politique en mer Noire, cf. Mihnea BERINDEI, « Les Vénitiens en mer Noire, XVI^e-XVII^e siècles », *CMRS* XXX/3-4, 1989, p. 207-223 ; Anca POPESCU, « La mer Noire ottomane : *mare clausum* ? *mare apertum* ? », in Faruk BİLİCİ, Ionel CÂNDEA, Anca POPESCU (éds), *Enjeux politiques, économiques et militaires en mer Noire (XIV^e-XX^e siècles) : études à la mémoire de Mihail Guboglu*, Braïla, éd. Istros-Musée de Braïla, 2007, p. 141-171.

G. C., soucieux de démontrer l'insertion du troisième vizir dans le commerce indien à un moment où il est l'un des commandants engagés dans l'expédition contre la Perse (1553-1555), ne voit pas que ce Mehmed Pacha est tout simplement le gouverneur d'Égypte, que l'auteur évoque lui-même dans un autre passage (p. 104). Et G. C. d'enchaîner : « The text's explicit reference to Sokollu Mehmed is therefore striking, indicating that he played a leading role in the formulation of this experimental new trade policy from the very beginning » (p. 140).

Quant à la coordination commerciale entre le golfe Persique et la mer Rouge attribuée à Sokollu Mehmed Pacha, les preuves fournies sont légères. Le récit de voyage d'un Anglais et le rapport d'un émissaire portugais suffisent à affirmer que la route de Bassora à Alep est devenue « so popular that not just merchants but even Portuguese officials began to prefer it for their most urgent correspondence » (p. 143). L'insécurité qui affecte la région, du fait des révoltes à Bassora et dans le Croissant fertile (notamment celle d'Abu Riş entre 1571-1578), mais aussi de la guerre ottomano-persane qui a commencé en 1578, n'est pas prise en considération. L'auteur se réfère à un livre de Cengiz Orhonlu pour écrire que « To facilitate this traffic, roads, port facilities, and caravanserais along the way were improved and expanded, ensuring that the journey was fast, safe, and comfortable » (p. 143). Or le propos d'Orhonlu dans l'ouvrage consulté ne porte que sur les éléments de construction de bateaux naviguant sur l'Euphrate (de surcroît, aux XVII^e-XVIII^e siècles) et sur la terminologie de ces bateaux.

Dépasser l'eurocentrisme ?

Peut-être est-il temps, au terme de cette recension critique, de proposer notre point de vue sur la politique ottomane dans l'océan Indien au XVI^e siècle, qui est en phase avec les conclusions de Svat Soucek et de Gilles Veinstein : après les conquêtes de Selim I^{er}, dans les premières décennies du règne de Süleymân (qui ajoute la prestigieuse capitale abbasside au territoire ottoman), les Ottomans deviennent un acteur important dans cet espace géopolitique. L'intérêt politique (et religieux) de l'expansion ottomane au Proche-Orient et aux rivages occidentaux de l'océan Indien était bien évidemment parallèle à des visées d'expansion économique que les conquêtes ont presque automatiquement entraînées. Si les sultans ottomans ont cherché à être les seuls chefs du monde musulman traditionnel, chefs politiques, chefs religieux par la suite, c'était aussi pour détenir les clés du commerce entre l'Asie et l'Europe en devenant les maîtres des passages terrestres de la mer Rouge et du golfe Persique au Moyen Orient et à la mer Méditerranée. Pour diriger l'activité commerciale, les Ottomans ont repris à leur compte les réglementations locales, notamment dans les échelles. Ce qui rappelle sans doute le premier élan de l'avancée ottomane dans les Balkans. Pour ne pas créer une situation instable, les gouverneurs ottomans ont imposé des droits de douane et des taxes sur les marchandises d'importation et d'exportation, droits et taxes qui existaient du temps de leurs prédécesseurs. Quelques aménagements éventuels ont été apportés, mais dans l'ensemble on peut dire que les modifications sont rares et minimes²¹. Dans ces pays passés sous contrôle et administration des Ottomans, les commerçants et les négociants locaux (arabes, arméniens, juifs, persans et grecs) ont continué leur négoce, en particulier avec l'Asie, à partir de Suez et plus tard à partir de Bassora.

²¹ Jean SAUVAGET, Robert MANTRAN, *Règlements fiscaux ottomans : les provinces syriennes*, Damas, Institut français d'études arabes de Damas, 1951.

Mais après la mort d'Ibrahîm Pacha (1536), la Porte mène une politique de moins en moins expansionniste qui aboutit, dans les années 1550, à la « rigidification » des frontières de l'Empire en Europe centrale (face aux Habsbourg), en Anatolie orientale (face aux Safavides) et même en Méditerranée²². Ce phénomène traduit, chez les Ottomans, une stratégie plus réaliste du ciblage des champs d'intervention. La flotte de Piri Reis, partie de Suez en 1552, est dispersée par les Portugais à l'entrée du golfe Persique. Celle de Seydi Ali, qui quitte Bassora en 1554, est écrasée devant Mascate. Ces défaites marquent la fin des grandes expéditions navales ottomanes dans l'océan Indien. Les galères du sultan d'Istanbul ne sont parvenues ni à faire sauter le verrou portugais d'Ormuz, ni à prendre pied en Inde, ni même à dominer entièrement le Golfe. Dorénavant, la flotte ottomane s'investira uniquement en Méditerranée.

C'est dans cette perspective que nous interprétons la prise en compte croissante dans les sources des distances géographiques – qui de plus en plus, entrent en ligne de compte dans la décision d'une opération militaire, comme l'illustre l'usage fréquent du terme « grandes distances » (*baid mesafe*) à propos des investissements dans les géographies lointaines dans le langage administratif ottoman²³. Il est bien clair que l'espace indien n'échappe pas à cette évolution stratégique de la seconde moitié du xvi^e siècle, ce dont témoigne la relégation relative de cette région au sein de la configuration impériale ottomane²⁴. Les ordres sont rares, les investissements aussi ; la priorité est donnée notamment à l'administration efficace des Lieux saints : ce qui ne reflète pas nécessairement une vision panislamiste. Remarquons enfin que le califat n'a pas la même valeur conceptuelle qu'à l'époque des Abbasides ou plus tard, à partir du xix^e siècle. L'usage gratuit et très fréquent de cette notion tout au long de ce texte constitue sans doute un grand anachronisme pour le xvi^e siècle²⁵.

²² Gábor ÁGOSTON, « Empires and Warfare in East-Central Europe, 1550-1750: the Ottoman-Habsburg Rivalry and Military Transformation », in Frank TALLETT, David J. B. TRIM (éds), *European Warfare, 1350-1750*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2010, p. 110-134 ; Mikheil SVANIDZE, « The Amasya Peace Treaty between the Ottoman Empire and Iran (June 1st, 1555) and Georgia », *Bulletin of the Georgian National Academy of Sciences* III/1, 2009, p. 191-196 ; Maria Pia PEDANI, « Beyond the Frontier: the Ottoman-Venetian Border in the Adriatic Context from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries », in Almut BUES (éd.), *Zones of Fracture in Modern Europe: the Baltic Countries, the Balkans and Northern Italy*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 2005, p. 45-60.

²³ Selîm II utilise ces mots à propos d'une demande de Charles IX pour faire une expédition navale franco-ottomane en Méditerranée occidentale : *Mühimme Defteri* XIX, n° 713. La passivité ottomane devant la conquête de Kazan par Ivan IV est aussi justifiée par les « grandes distances » : cf. Alexandre BENNIGSEN, Chantal LEMERCIER-QUELQUEJAY, « La grande horde Nogay et le problème des communications entre l'Empire ottoman et l'Asie centrale en 1552-1556 », *Turcica* VIII/2, 1976, p. 203-236. À propos des demandes des principautés caspiennes et des causes du rejet ottoman, cf. Bekir KÜTÜKOĞLU, *Osmanlı-İran Siyasî Münasebetleri (1578-1612)*, Istanbul, İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti Yay., 1993, p. 198 sqq. Pour une illustration des périmètres d'action ottomane : Rhoads MURPHEY, *The Ottoman Warfare, 1500-1700*, Londres, Blackwell, 1999, p. xiv.

²⁴ Déjà au xviii^e siècle, Ahmed Resmî Efendi donnait la politique indienne de Süleymân comme l'exemple des politiques ambitieuses futiles : cf. Virginia AKSAN, *An Ottoman Statesman in War and Peace: Ahmed Resmi Efendi, 1700-1783*, Leyde, Brill, 1993, p. 197.

²⁵ Gilles VEINSTEIN, « Portugais et Ottomans au xvi^e siècle », *art. cit.*, p. 236.

Les assertions de G. C. à propos d'une domination ottomane dans l'espace indien ne sont pas convaincantes, car souvent fondées sur des preuves controuvées; on rencontre d'ailleurs d'autres erreurs et contradictions manifestes à l'intérieur du livre. Ce qui rend d'autant plus gênant le style hyperbolique qui imprègne la phrase conclusive de l'ouvrage : « the Ottomans were among the most direct beneficiaries of this expansion, and in the end were victims of only one thing : their own success » (p. 203). Concédons à l'auteur le souci de remettre en cause la vision européocentrée qui a sans doute conduit les historiens à sous-estimer le rôle de l'Empire ottoman dans la reconfiguration politique de l'espace indien au ^{xvi}^e siècle. Or remplacer cette vision par un ottomanocentrisme forcené ne constitue pas la panacée attendue. Pour rendre compte des actions de l'émir d'Aden qui aurait « stubbornly refused » l'accès du Yémen aux *Rûmî* (p. 44) et qui aurait « scandalously » traité avec les Portugais (p. 48) ou encore pour expliquer la « treacherous battle-field defection » de Bayram (p. 55), sans doute faudrait-il un cadre d'explication plus large que celui apporté par la seule perspective de la Porte. C'est seulement à ce prix-là que l'on s'épargnera des jugements de valeur tels que celui qui conduit G. C. à écrire que le Yémen « sinks back in anarchy » après une première tentative échouée des corsaires *rûmî* de s'installer dans la région (p. 45).

Plus grave : en dépit d'une profession de foi contraire, on ne peut que constater que l'auteur reconduit formellement les catégories routinières à l'aune desquelles se mesure et s'écrit l'histoire de la domination européenne à l'époque moderne. Pour G. C., il s'agit de démontrer que l'Empire ottoman *aussi* a eu ses « grandes découvertes », ce qui le conduit à transférer dans une autre aire culturelle toute une dramaturgie narrative peuplée d'habiles diplomates, de marins au long cours, de grands commerçants, voire d'un sultan « navigateur » (p. 13-33). Le « panislamisme » de Sokollu, en soi parfaitement anachronique, rappelle étrangement l'esprit missionnaire qui anime les propagandistes européens de la foi chrétienne dispersés à travers l'Afrique et l'Asie. En reconduisant des schèmes historiographiques conçus *ex post* par l'historiographie moderne des grandes découvertes, il est permis de se demander si l'auteur ne reste pas enfermé dans une *épistémè* qu'il s'applique à déconstruire.

Güneş IŞIKSEL

Eric R. DURSTELER, *Renegade Women : Gender, Identity, and Boundaries in the Early Modern Mediterranean*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011, 222 p.

Renegade Women est un livre atypique sur bien des aspects : il a la souplesse et la facilité de lecture d'un roman tout en gardant la rigueur scientifique. S'il est rare d'entreprendre les deux, il est encore plus rare d'y parvenir avec succès. Aussi faut-il peut-être commencer par en féliciter E. R. D. De quoi parle le livre ? Il est moins facile de répondre à cette question qu'il n'y paraît, tant les thèmes abordés sont multiples et croisés, ce qui fait, à notre sens, l'un des principaux intérêts de l'ouvrage. Ainsi que son titre l'indique, *Renegade Women* dresse le récit de la vie, ou plus précisément des événements qui ont pu être reconstitués de la vie de femmes à l'époque moderne. L'histoire des quatre principales protagonistes se concentre en fait sur une courte période historique : la fin du ^{xvi}^e et la

première moitié du xvii^e siècle. Cette caractéristique temporelle présente des avantages : la période montre en effet une certaine homogénéité qui favorise une continuité et une régularité dans le récit.

Ces femmes sont présentées d'entrée de jeu comme des renégates. C'est en effet leur spécificité, le lien qui unit ces histoires les unes aux autres. Ou du moins est-ce l'une des manières de voir les choses. À notre avis, l'élément commun entre chacune de ces femmes n'est pas tant la conversion que l'expérience d'une situation familiale tourmentée. Confrontées à une expérience conjugale négative, ces femmes choisissent de se rebeller, selon un des seuls cadres qui, dans le contexte socioreligieux de l'époque (qu'il soit musulman ou chrétien), leur soient possibles : la conversion à une autre religion. Il nous semble que le mérite de l'auteur réside dans le fait d'avoir mis en perspective ces deux aspects et la logique qui les unissait : la conversion n'est pas le moteur mais le moyen élaboré par ces femmes pour s'affranchir de situations conjugales indésirables. Non pas que la conversion n'existe pas en dehors de ce schéma, ni même que ces femmes n'aient pas réellement aspiré à leur conversion ; mais les élans religieux n'apparaissent pas comme l'unique perspective selon laquelle aborder ces expériences, du moins au vu des exemples présentés par l'auteur.

Renegade Women aborde encore une autre thématique : celle de la frontière. Où se plaçait la frontière entre l'Empire ottoman et la République de Venise ? À quelles réalités renvoyait-elle ? De toute évidence, il ne faut pas concevoir la frontière à l'époque moderne comme un espace bien défini et démarqué. D'ailleurs, la frontière était-elle une zone de séparation ou plutôt un espace de contact privilégié ? Ce sont toutes ces questions fondamentales que les récits de vie de ces femmes mettent en exergue. Ils illustrent la perméabilité de la frontière : perméabilité des influences culturelles, mais aussi des réseaux de contact et des mobilités individuelles. Les femmes comme les hommes qui se manifestent tout au long du livre révèlent, de façon parfois surprenante, la facilité des contacts et des passages entre les deux côtés de la frontière. C'est ainsi tout un réseau transfrontalier, transculturel et transétatique que l'auteur met à jour. Les protagonistes passent sans difficulté d'un État à un autre, font appel à des soutiens disséminés des deux côtés de la frontière. Ainsi Elena Civaletti (devenue sœur Deodata), née à Zara (auj. en Croatie) où elle résidait avec ses parents, avant que ceux-ci n'émigrent (dans des circonstances complexes) à Istanbul, où se trouvait déjà son oncle : là voilà qui se retrouve bientôt à Venise, courtisée par Stefan Bogdan, prétendant au voïvodat de Moldavie...

Finalement, la Méditerranée apparaît elle-même comme l'un des sujets d'étude du livre. Une Méditerranée non plus divisée et déchirée entre plusieurs prétendants pour sa suprématie, une Méditerranée qui ne serait plus perçue par petits bouts, selon les découpages étatiques, régionaux ou même religieux, mais au contraire présentée comme un ensemble cohérent, dont chaque partie serait intimement liée aux autres. De fait, E. R. D. réussit à montrer l'imbrication des réseaux de communication, commerciaux, politiques, diplomatiques et surtout – l'un des aspects sur lesquels il insiste particulièrement – culturels. Cependant, une critique pourrait lui être formulée : malgré ses intentions et prétentions à parler de l'ensemble de la Méditerranée comme un tout, force est de constater qu'il est surtout question de la Méditerranée orientale. Et encore, cette Méditerranée orientale n'est-elle pas complète : son pourtour sud est passé sous silence. L'auteur ne disposait peut-être pas du matériel adéquat pour traiter de ces espaces...

Le livre se structure de la sorte : la première partie retrace les péripéties de Beatrice Michiel, issue d'une famille de l'élite vénitienne. Dans l'intention d'échapper à son (second) mariage qui battait de l'aile, Beatrice choisit d'aller rejoindre son frère à Istanbul. Celui-ci se trouve être Gazanfer Aga qui, fait prisonnier au cours d'un voyage en mer lorsqu'il était enfant, était entré dans la maison du prince Selim et avait choisi de devenir eunuque afin de conserver sa proximité, source de pouvoir, avec celui-ci. Gazanfer n'est pas un inconnu des historiens : il compte en réalité parmi les personnages extrêmement puissants sous le règne de Selim II, puis encore sous celui de Murad III et jusque sous celui de Mehmed III. Pour se libérer définitivement de son mari, Beatrice a une possibilité : la conversion (sous le nom de Fatima). Cette conversion se révèle une aubaine : Fatima entre rapidement en contact avec les femmes du harem et épouse un des protégés de son frère, Ali Aga, dont la carrière bénéficiera de ce mariage. Autant de connexions qui lui permettent de jouer un rôle important, pendant de longues années, dans la capitale ottomane, jusqu'à l'exécution de son frère.

Le deuxième chapitre relate la vie de deux jeunes filles, Elena Civallesi et Caterina Satorović, dont les expériences se révèlent similaires. Toutes deux sont confrontées à la volonté parentale de leur imposer un mari contre leur avis. Toutes deux trouvent alors refuge dans la religion (chrétienne en l'occurrence) sous la protection de Venise, prise à partie entre des enjeux divergents. Les difficultés internationales que soulèvent la présence de ces filles à Venise et la protection qui leur est accordée embarrassent la République dans ses relations avec l'Empire ottoman ; mais l'enjeu moral et religieux lui interdit de leur retirer sa protection. Si les affaires sont amenées à prendre un tour politique, elles demeurent l'expression de conflits familiaux et révèlent les limites de la puissance paternelle prônée par ces sociétés méditerranéennes modernes.

Le troisième et dernier chapitre illustre les stratégies d'une mère (Maria Gozzadini) pour conserver la cohésion de sa famille, soit entre elle et ses trois filles (Aissè, Eminè et Catigè). L'aînée s'était vu marier au cadî local, sans que le mariage ait été encore consommé. La situation religieuse de la famille est complexe : musulmanes, elles se présentent comme chrétiennes dans l'âme, n'aspirant qu'à pouvoir pratiquer leur religion pleinement. C'est du moins l'argument formulé pour justifier leur fuite loin de chez elles, sous l'impulsion de la mère. L'affaire met en valeur les difficultés que soulève un tel événement, tant sur le plan diplomatique (l'époux abandonné menace de porter l'affaire en haut lieu) qu'au niveau du droit. Car, de fait, deux conceptions du droit s'opposent et il revient au nouveau baile vénitien, Alvise Contarini, de naviguer entre les deux pour parvenir à une résolution pacifique et privée du conflit.

Pour finir, insistons sur la performance de E. R. D. : ces récits de vies tout à la fois communes et exceptionnelles sont admirablement mis en couleur grâce à une mise en contexte fouillée. Le lecteur perçoit ainsi aisément l'ensemble des réseaux d'interdépendances dans lesquels ces vies s'inscrivent : ceux connus des protagonistes aussi bien que ceux qui les dépassent. Cette qualité, et toutes celles mentionnées précédemment, compensent une certaine tendance à l'extrapolation lorsque l'auteur nous fournit l'explication des motivations personnelles des divers protagonistes, dont il n'est pas toujours très clair si elle se fonde sur des déclarations des intéressé(e)s ou si elle est de son fait.

Michel FONTENAY, *La Méditerranée entre la Croix et le Croissant : navigation, commerce, course et piraterie (xvi^e-xix^e siècle)*, Paris, Éditions Classiques Garnier, 2010, 425 p.

Ainsi qu'il le rapporte dans l'introduction de ce volume, M. F. s'est intéressé à l'histoire rurale avant de découvrir bientôt la Méditerranée, puis la riche documentation maltaise. C'est ainsi qu'il devint le grand spécialiste de Malte et de la course chrétienne en Méditerranée aux xvi^e-xviii^e siècles. Au long des décennies, à l'occasion de congrès et colloques, dans des articles savants, il a présenté le fruit de ses patientes recherches dans de nombreux fonds d'archives, de ses abondantes lectures et de réflexions marquées par un goût de la synthèse toujours fondée sur une grande attention aux détails et aux *realia*. Faute d'un grand livre, c'est donc une œuvre très dispersée que la sienne, dans des publications parfois un peu confidentielles. Il faut donc se féliciter que paraisse aujourd'hui un volume rassemblant certains de ses travaux.

Le livre a une cohérence thématique. Pour reprendre la présentation de l'auteur lui-même, il s'agit d'études sur diverses formes de l'échange entre l'Orient et l'Occident méditerranéen, autour de cinq thèmes principaux : la navigation, le commerce, la croisade, la piraterie et l'esclavage. Un autre thème récurrent, lié aux précédents, serait celui de la montée en puissance en Méditerranée des Nord-occidentaux au détriment des Latins et des musulmans. L'ensemble comporte neuf chapitres répartis en deux parties : « La Méditerranée entre Orient et Occident » (ch. 1 à 4) ; « Entre la Croix et le Croissant : le *corso* méditerranéen » (ch. 5 à 9).

Le premier chapitre (« La Méditerranée des temps modernes : les étapes d'une marginalisation », p. 23-92) est la version française d'un texte paru en 1988. Dans ce vaste tableau braudélien, M. F. relativise l'impact du détournement de la route des Indes et celui de l'afflux des métaux précieux américains et souligne la prospérité méditerranéenne du xvi^e siècle, pour constater à partir de la fin de ce siècle un phénomène de paupérisation, contemporain de l'explosion de la course. Les causes de la crise du xvii^e siècle seront à chercher dans un déclin démographique et dans un transfert de l'hégémonie économique vers le nord (Anglais, Hollandais, Français dans une certaine mesure), qui rendra difficile aux Méditerranéens de profiter du rebond du xviii^e siècle. Bref, la Méditerranée, d'abord centre d'une économie-monde, avait subi une lente mais sûre périphérisation, avec un Orient musulman de plus en plus à la traîne. Au demeurant, l'auteur nous rappelle qu'avant la révolution industrielle, rien n'était joué. Ajoutons que les ottomanistes ont aujourd'hui une vision moins pessimiste des performances ottomanes au xviii^e siècle.

Les chapitres 2 et 3 sont liés. Le premier (« Naviguer en Méditerranée au xvi^e siècle : le témoignage d'un pèlerin lorrain en 1531 », p. 93-118), à l'origine contribution à un colloque en 2001, parle peu du pèlerinage de Dom Loupvent, mais fournit un exposé très clair, complet, détaillé, technique mais abordable, des conditions de la navigation en Méditerranée au xvi^e siècle. Le second (« Du pèlerinage au tourisme : le voyage au Levant du sieur de Villamont (1589-1590) », p. 119-149) traite du même sujet soixante ans plus tard, mais plus que la navigation, il aborde les conditions du voyage, à travers l'analyse des pérégrinations et du récit d'un gentilhomme breton curieux de tout, pour lequel M. F. montre une sympathie que le lecteur se sent tout prêt à partager. Sans négliger les autres aspects du voyage qui tient plus du tourisme que du pèlerinage (malgré la sincère piété de Villamont), l'auteur, toujours intéressé par les rapports entre Occident et Orient, accorde

une attention particulière à la façon dont son auteur aborde le monde musulman, et conclut : « Il incarne parfaitement cette attention passionnée que l'Occident des premiers siècles de la modernité porte à l'Orient, un orient qui est celui des origines religieuses mais qu'il découvre aussi comme un monde en soi, dont la connaissance vaut d'être vécue comme un enrichissement ». Signalons en passant ce passage où Villamont, pour s'attirer – avec succès – les bonnes grâces de ses compagnons de voyage, leur dit : *Franko Turki gardac (Frenk Türki kardeş)* : rares sont les cas où l'on peut mesurer l'effet dans la vie quotidienne, et en dehors des rapports politiques ou marchands, de la politique d'entente franco-ottomane.

Le quatrième chapitre (« Le commerce des Occidentaux dans les échelles du Levant au XVII^e siècle », p. 151-208), qui reprend une communication de 2006 en y intégrant un texte de 1994, revient de façon plus ciblée sur la thématique du premier chapitre. M. F. brosse un tableau des évolutions du commerce au Levant, où les Vénitiens voient apparaître de nouveaux partenaires : Marseillais apportant le numéraire gagné dans leur commerce avec l'Espagne avant de devoir s'effacer en raison du conflit franco-espagnol puis se réimplanter grâce aux draperies du Languedoc, quand Louis XIV réinstaurera une diplomatie conciliante à l'égard de la Porte ; Anglais exportateurs de draps, d'étain et de plomb ; Hollandais vendeurs d'épices et de numéraire acquis par leurs ventes en Espagne... Vient ensuite une étude plus personnelle et pointue, fondée sur l'analyse du rapport rédigé par Étienne Gravier d'Orvières à l'issue de deux missions dans les échelles du Levant en 1686 et 1687, à un moment où la guerre de Morée handicape les Vénitiens au profit des « Francs » provençaux ou nordiques. L'auteur constate d'abord une permanence dans les échanges entre Occident et Orient : commerce concentré dans quelques échelles mais de faible volume ; important en volume ; globalement déficitaire pour les Occidentaux. En revanche de profonds changements ont eu lieu : le commerce de transit n'a plus qu'un second rôle, les Occidentaux achetant surtout des produits locaux (principalement des matières premières pour l'industrie textile) et vendant en échange du plomb, de l'étain des épices, certes, mais surtout des produits manufacturés : verrerie et soierie de luxe vénitiennes, mais surtout draps de laine. Le Levant devient donc un marché d'exportation pour les Occidentaux qui écoulent les produits de leur pré-industrialisation. Quant au numéraire, marchandise comme une autre d'ailleurs, il pouvait offrir d'intéressants gains de change. Enfin M. F. parvient à la conclusion que si les Britanniques dominent en effet le marché, ce sont les Français qui viennent derrière et non les Hollandais comme on l'a écrit. « En somme, conclut-il, les échelles ne sont plus le lieu d'un échange est-ouest fondé sur des besoins et une complémentarité réciproques, mais un creuset où s'expérimente l'exploitation du Proche-Orient et de ses ressources par l'Occident. Progressivement intégré dans le système de division internationale du travail qui s'est instauré au bénéfice de l'Europe du Nord-ouest, l'Empire ottoman commence à voir fonctionner à son détriment les règles de l'échange inégal ». Au demeurant, conscient du caractère schématique de pareille conclusion, l'auteur s'empresse d'ajouter que rien n'est joué et que, du reste, les importations d'Occident sont une goutte d'eau dans la masse de la production locale.

La seconde partie du livre est inaugurée par un cinquième chapitre (« Course et piraterie méditerranéennes de la fin du Moyen Âge au début du XIX^e siècle », p. 211-275) qui reprend le rapport présenté par M. F. et Alberto Tenenti à San Francisco au XIII^e congrès d'histoire maritime en 1975. Ce texte majeur fut souvent cité, quoique pratiquement introuvable, puisqu'il n'en circula longtemps qu'une copie dactylographiée avant sa

publication en 2006 dans la *Revue d'histoire maritime*. Il a inévitablement un peu vieilli, mais l'auteur, par fidélité envers A. Tenenti décédé entretemps, a choisi de le republier tel quel, quitte à fournir une utile bibliographie complémentaire.

C'est dans cet article que fut élaboré le concept de *corso*, compromis typiquement méditerranéen entre la piraterie et la course. Comme la première, le *corso*, prolongement de la guerre sans fin entre la Croix et le Croissant, est perpétuel, n'admettant pas la trêve, et total et universel, supportant mal la notion de neutralité. Cependant la raison d'être religieuse de cette activité faisait que pour les contemporains, il ne s'agissait pas de piraterie, mais d'une pratique intégrée aux mœurs et qui ne choquait pas les consciences. Ce concept, qui nourrit toute la réflexion de M. F. sur la course, est assurément fondamental pour comprendre ce qui se passait en Méditerranée. Sans le remettre en cause, il me semble néanmoins que l'on peut y voir pour une part une création de laboratoire. Du reste, l'auteur est le premier à rappeler que la frontière est mince entre *corso* et piraterie, mais aussi que des trêves existaient bel et bien et que certains États, comme la France ou Venise, ont connu de longues périodes d'entente avec l'Empire ottoman, pendant lesquelles les ressortissants des deux parties devaient se sentir à l'abri des corsaires, les États pouvant même collaborer dans la répression. Officiellement tout au moins, le *corso* devenait alors simple piraterie.

M. F. fournit ensuite un inventaire des principaux foyers de la course, particulièrement bien informé pour la partie occidentale. Vient ensuite une analyse des trois principales phases historiques : une phase de transition jusqu'à la guerre d'Eubée ; une phase plus courte d'affrontement direct entre la Croix (l'Espagne) et le Croissant (la Porte) jusqu'aux lendemains de la bataille de Lépante (1571), période où la course s'inscrit dans la continuité de ce combat et dévaste surtout les îles et rivages ; enfin, les deux grands adversaires renonçant à s'affronter, une période où le *corso* prend une importance considérable, d'autant que l'arrivée des Nordiques et de leurs bateaux ronds (*berton*) dans les régences d'Afrique du Nord change la donne. Après une apogée dans les années 1600-1620, le *corso* se maintient jusqu'au dernier tiers du XVII^e siècle et ne disparaît vraiment qu'au XIX^e siècle. Suit un exposé sur les modalités du *corso* : aspects techniques concernant les bateaux et leur évolution ; aspects économiques, passage dans lequel l'auteur insiste sur le fait que le *corso* est lié aux villes et aux structures du capitalisme préindustriel. On n'a pas de place ici pour résumer les très utiles indications sur les différents types de financement, la question de l'approvisionnement, ou celle, fondamentale, du marché des prises, qui exige tout un monde de receleurs et intermédiaires (songeons au rôle de Livourne), quand on ne pratique pas la rançon sur place ou un racket préventif (imposé par exemple aux Grecs des îles). Enfin quelques paragraphes sont consacrés aux aspects sociaux du monde du *corso*, son cosmopolitisme, sa bigarrure sociale, sa marginalité, non sans rappeler qu'il y a cependant des phénomènes de récupération par la société locale. Reste la question de la signification du *corso*. L'idéal de guerre sainte était certainement vivant chez la plupart des acteurs. Il ne s'en agissait pas moins, avant tout, de s'enrichir, ce qui implique d'une part la présence de richesses à piller (donc un commerce actif), d'autre part des laissés pour compte naturellement portés à devenir prédateurs. Quant à l'impact de la course, M. F. et A. Tenenti se montraient – position alors novatrice – réservés : les conséquences économiques à moyen et long terme ne devaient pas être surestimées ; l'impact psychologique en revanche fut lourd et durable. Quant aux vrais bénéficiaires, ce furent, par un apparent paradoxe, les grandes puissances marchandes d'Europe, qui

pratiquaient (à Gênes, à Livourne ou à Marseille) le recel des prises, récupéraient le numéraire des pirates en leur vendant leurs produits manufacturés, s'attribuaient enfin le monopole de fait du commerce au long cours par leur capacité à protéger leur marine marchande mieux que de plus petites puissances.

Les études qui suivent sont toutes des approfondissements des pistes dégagées par cet article fondateur. Tel est le cas du chapitre 6 (« Le *corso* dans l'économie portuaire : l'exemple de Malte et des ports barbaresques », p. 277-317), dont la première publication est de 1988. L'auteur s'y demande dans quelle mesure le *corso* était pourvoyeur d'emplois. De savants calculs l'amènent à déterminer qu'à Malte, en 1590, environ 10 % de la population mâle de plus de quinze ans était employée en mer dans le *corso*, environ 25 % dans la seconde moitié du siècle, sans qu'il soit toujours possible de faire la part des indigènes. Ceux-ci, plutôt terriens, n'étaient pas des marins qualifiés, mais leur proportion augmenta régulièrement, pour devenir notable au XVIII^e siècle. À Alger, en revanche, où cette part pourrait avoir été d'un quart en 1581, elle avait décliné à la fin du XVII^e siècle (du fait en partie de l'introduction des *berton*). Du reste, comme à Malte, nombre de ces emplois échappaient aux locaux, au profit des « Turcs » et des « renégats » venus de l'Europe pauvre (Corse, Sardaigne, Calabre...). Quant aux activités induites, les constructions navales avaient peu d'incidence (faible activité à Malte, emploi servile à Alger) ; l'armement, l'approvisionnement, l'équipement, très tributaires des importations, semblent également avoir peu servi les industries locales. En revanche, le *corso* a pu profiter au négoce (import-export, flottilles de ravitaillement...) et, à Malte, au secteur tertiaire (quarantaine, professions juridiques travaillant au tribunal des Armements). Quant au bilan des prises, il est médiocre comparé au chiffre d'affaires des grands ports de commerce, mais sans doute non négligeable dans l'économie d'Alger ou de Malte (où son partage permet d'entretenir beaucoup de monde). Bref, le *corso* a attiré des aventuriers propres à dynamiser l'activité, a provoqué une croissance de la circulation du numéraire, favorisé une certaine accumulation du capital. Il a permis la « fortune » d'Alger, relancé l'échelle de Tunis ; Malte n'existerait pas sans son port, qui n'a pu se développer que grâce à l'ordre de Saint-Jean et au *corso*.

Le chapitre 7 (« Retour sur le *corso* : course ou piraterie ? », p. 319-356) regroupe trois textes : un article sur les Barbaresques pour un dictionnaire de l'Ancien Régime sous la direction de Lucien Bély ; le texte français d'une communication publiée en espagnol en 2009, faisant un parallèle entre Malte et Alger ; enfin une contribution à un colloque tenu à Saint-Vaast-la-Hougue, sur le vaisseau de ligne. La comparaison entre Malte et Alger (p. 324-339) reprend les grands thèmes développés ailleurs par M. F., avec une insistance particulière sur le fait que la course, plus encore qu'un moyen d'existence, était une raison d'être : à Alger elle était le ciment du groupe social des corsaires, justification de la domination du pouvoir sur les indigènes, garantie d'autonomie par rapport à la Porte ; à Malte, elle légitimait l'Ordre dans sa souveraineté sur l'île, assurait son indépendance face au pape et à son suzerain (le roi de Sicile) et – c'était déjà le cas à Rhodes – justifiait la rente que les chevaliers touchaient en Europe. Mais l'auteur rappelle à juste titre qu'à Alger, le bénéfice économique du *corso* était plus essentiel, qu'il finit par se développer une économie de la rançon, puis que quand les prises baissèrent, on en vint à « vendre de la sécurité », racket sur les puissances commerciales compensant la perte du butin. Du reste, quand ils en trouvaient la possibilité, les Barbaresques préféraient se livrer au commerce : le *corso* était donc bien une activité de gagne-petit, pis-aller moins dicté par la foi que par

la nécessité. Le dernier texte (« Piraterie, course et vaisseau de ligne », p. 340-356) de ce chapitre est comparatif également, mais d'un autre point de vue. Après une comparaison du *corso* méditerranéen à la flibuste des Caraïbes, M. F. s'attache à définir les particularités du bateau de course. Le but étant le seul butin, il s'agit d'éviter les vaisseaux de ligne et de n'attaquer que les bateaux marchands, non pour les couler, mais pour s'en emparer. D'où un portrait-type du navire corsaire, que confirme un tour d'horizon des marines de course : rapide par ses formes et sa légèreté, privilégiant l'abordage au duel d'artillerie et privilégiant donc moins l'importance de l'artillerie que celle de l'équipage, lequel est généralement surabondant. Le bateau corsaire est donc aux antipodes du vaisseau de ligne de la fin du *xvii^e* siècle. Cependant, dans une phase intermédiaire, la course a largement profité des premiers avatars du bateau rond, navires plus fins, dotés d'une voilure complexe et donc plus maniables. L'introduction en Afrique du Nord du vaisseau nordique de petit tonnage, qui pouvait naviguer par tous les temps, permit une efficace division du travail : été et espace proche pour les bateaux à rame, hiver et expéditions lointaines pour les bateaux à voile. À terme, les puissants vaisseaux des flottes des grandes puissances allaient mettre leurs marines de commerce à l'abri. Mais dans un premier temps, l'introduction du vaisseau rond nordique fut favorable aux prédateurs. L'article s'achève par un aperçu sur la course malouine où, *mutatis mutandis*, l'évolution fut comparable.

Le chapitre 8 (« L'Empire ottoman et le risque corsaire au *xvii^e* siècle », p. 357-390), texte d'une communication présentée à Athènes en 1983, est sans doute le mieux connu des ottomanistes. Considérant que l'ottomanisation économique de la Méditerranée s'estompe au *xviii^e* siècle, l'auteur en voit une cause majeure dans le développement du *corso*, dont il montre l'incontestable explosion dans les eaux ottomanes, avant que la France n'y mette bon ordre à la fin du siècle afin d'améliorer ses relations diplomatiques et commerciales avec la Porte. Se fondant notamment sur les archives maltaises, M. F. dresse un tableau très éclairant et vivant de la géographie de la course occidentale au Levant, concentrée sur un certain nombre de nœuds des grandes routes de commerce où se font les grosses prises ; les corsaires hivernent dans les Cyclades, domaine du petit brigandage qui ne laisse guère de trace dans les archives, exploitent les insulaires (qui au demeurant peuvent à l'occasion tirer aussi profit de la course et du recel des prises). Avec sagesse, l'auteur se refuse à évaluer précisément l'impact démographique de la course, tout en l'estimant médiocre. Les conséquences économiques et financières lui semblent plus sérieuses. Mais c'est surtout la mise en cause du pouvoir ottoman incapable de protéger ses ressortissants qui lui paraît être le principal impact du *corso*, bien qu'il note les doutes sur ce point des Vénitiens de l'époque. Il souligne le maintien archaïque de la galère désormais mal adaptée au contrôle des eaux, suggère un abandon des ambitions navales ottomanes au profit d'autres domaines. Assurément, les attaques contre la caravane d'Alexandrie et le succès des bâtiments français caravaneurs confortent le sentiment d'une certaine impuissance de la flotte ottomane. Il me semble néanmoins que M. F., sans l'ignorer, sous-estime peut-être les conséquences de la longue guerre de Crète et les efforts sans cesse renouvelés de la Porte, récemment mis en valeur par Daniel Panzac, pour se doter d'une marine moderne.

Le neuvième et dernier chapitre (« Interlope et violence maritime : les eaux grecques au *xvii^e* siècle », p. 391-406), texte d'une communication présentée à Palma de Majorque en 1989, reprend ces thèmes en se concentrant sur le cas des eaux grecques, traversées par un trafic majeur, habitées par une population à cheval entre les mondes occidental et

oriental, offrant un milieu géographique favorable à la navigation et aux échanges discrets : bref l'univers rêvé pour la course (sur laquelle je ne reviendrai pas) et le trafic interlope visant à frauder le fisc, mais aussi à exporter des denrées normalement protégées (les grains au premier chef). Les premiers bénéficiaires de cette situation – c'est là un point dont il a déjà été question précédemment – sont les Occidentaux qui ont accepté de payer le prix de leur sécurité et ont conjugué interlope et effets du *corso* pour s'imposer sur les marchés du Levant au détriment des Latins. Mais l'auteur ne manque pas de rappeler que l'Empire ottoman montra au total une bonne capacité de résistance à la pénétration des marchandises occidentales et que certains Grecs surent tirer parti de ces économies parallèles qui animaient nombre de petits ports.

On l'aura compris, M. F. n'est pas seulement un grand spécialiste de la course maltaise et des techniques de navigation, domaine où il est particulièrement passionnant à mon goût. C'est aussi un grand pédagogue et un historien au sens plein, qui sait à merveille replacer les faits dans un contexte plus large, sortir de son étroit domaine de compétence pour mieux le comprendre, théoriser quand il le faut sans jamais oublier d'être concret. Bref, ses travaux ouvrent sur le large. L'ottomaniste pourra trouver, par endroits, sa réflexion un peu occidentalocentrée : il n'aura que plus de profit à le lire.

Nicolas VATIN

Candan BADEM, *The Ottoman Crimean War (1853-1856)*, Leyde-Boston, Brill, 2010, xvi + 432 p. (19 ill. et 3 cartes).

Malgré son influence largement reconnue sur l'histoire militaire, sociale et politique du XIX^e siècle ottoman, la guerre de Crimée (1853-1856) est toujours très peu étudiée dans le cadre de l'histoire ottomane. Elle occupe en revanche une place importante dans les historiographies anglaise et française, mais les aspects ottomans y sont généralement peu présents et restent toujours lacunaires, notamment du fait de la méconnaissance des archives et sources ottomanes. Issu de sa thèse de doctorat soutenue à l'université Sabanci (Istanbul) en 2007, l'ouvrage de C. B. présente un compte rendu détaillé des aspects ottomans de cette guerre et offre ainsi une contribution originale à l'histoire ottomane du XIX^e siècle, ainsi qu'à l'historiographie générale de la guerre de Crimée. Le livre s'appuie principalement sur des sources primaires ottomanes (documents d'archive, manuscrits, mémoires et chroniques de la guerre) mais utilise aussi des sources en russe et en anglais et les correspondances politiques et diplomatiques déjà publiées de la France, de la Grande Bretagne, de l'Autriche et de la Prusse.

L'ouvrage s'ouvre par un chapitre introductif (45 p.) qui présente les sources et les études sur la guerre de Crimée en turc, en russe, en anglais, en allemand et en polonais. Le chapitre suivant (52 p.) retrace la scène politique et diplomatique à la veille de la guerre et les développements internationaux qui préparent la guerre. Après un aperçu de l'état actuel de l'Empire ottoman consacré majoritairement à l'armée, l'auteur se penche sur les relations et les tensions internationales de la période en relativisant l'importance de la querelle des lieux saints et en consacrant une attention particulière à la Grande Bretagne et à la Russie, soulignant le rôle du prince Menchikov, l'ambassadeur russe. C. B. se penche aussi sur le positionnement des oulémas et des bureaucrates ottomans durant la

montée des tensions diplomatiques avec la Russie et démontre les limites des dichotomies entre réformateurs et conservateurs, ou entre pacifistes et bellicistes, reflets d'analyses superficielles mais courantes. Le troisième et le plus long chapitre (189 p.) du livre est consacré aux batailles dans lesquelles les Ottomans sont impliqués et aux manœuvres diplomatiques de la Porte à partir de la déclaration de la guerre. En s'appuyant sur les sources ottomanes, russes et britanniques, l'auteur reconstruit la chronologie de chacune des batailles et présente des informations détaillées et précises sur les forces ottomanes et russes, leurs organisation, plans, stratégies et équipements. Il étudie également de près la biographie des commandants de l'armée ottomane et démontre aussi par ce biais les relations et les rivalités entre les commandants, les hostilités entre les jeunes officiers diplômés des écoles militaires et les anciens officiers sortis du rang, enfin la corruption dans l'administration de l'armée. Le quatrième chapitre (39 p.) aborde l'aspect économique de la guerre. C. B. y évoque notamment les solutions recherchées par l'administration ottomane pour répondre à la crise économique aggravée par le conflit (à commencer par les impôts supplémentaires et les emprunts) et présente une histoire détaillée du premier emprunt extérieur souscrit en 1854. Le dernier chapitre (76 p.), consacré à l'impact de la guerre sur la vie politique et sociale dans l'Empire, évoque des thèmes aussi variés que les contacts avec les Européens, la révolte de Yezdanşer, le commerce des esclaves, l'opinion publique ou le patriotisme.

L'attention méticuleuse de l'auteur lui permet de reconstruire une chronologie pointue des faits concernant les aspects ottomans de la guerre et de traiter les thèmes abordés avec de nombreux détails. Cependant, cette passion du détail est aussi l'une des faiblesses de l'ouvrage quand elle conduit C. B. à s'attarder souvent sur les erreurs commises par les études précédentes, au prix de développements fastidieux pour le lecteur. Par exemple, le chapitre introductif, qui introduit et analyse les recherches sur la guerre de Crimée, consacre une attention excessive aux fautes de translittération dans les sources et ouvrages en turc. Des mémoires de master sont même évoqués uniquement pour citer leurs fautes de translittération (p. 25). Cette méticulosité serait moins gênante si elle ne s'accompagnait pas d'analyses parfois faibles, fondées sur des généralisations fautives ou sur des témoignages subjectifs des contemporains. Ainsi, sous-estimant les réformes et les efforts de la bureaucratie ottomane qui visent à reconstruire le système économique et fiscal de l'Empire durant les *Tanzimat*, l'auteur affirme que la seule préoccupation de la bureaucratie ottomane était la collecte des impôts et que les bureaucrates ottomans ne se souciaient que de leur salaire et nullement de l'augmentation des revenus d'impôt de leur pays (p. 289). La conclusion du livre souffre également de cette tendance à la généralisation hâtive, notamment quand C. B. décrit Abdülmecid par la phrase suivante : « *one thing is certain: he [Abdülmecid] was mild in character and did not like bloodshed* » (p. 411), reprenant sans nuance l'opinion de Cevdet Paşa¹ sur le sultan. L'exemple évoqué par l'auteur pour illustrer la personnalité pacifique du sultan (« *He even pardoned those who plotted to assassinate him in 1859* ») est peu pertinent : la psychologie d'Abdülmecid a sans doute moins pesé alors que la conjoncture diplomatique et politique marquée par la pression des ambassades française et britannique et la crainte d'une réaction probable du public. Toujours dans la conclusion, l'auteur affirme que la classe dirigeante ottomane aurait perdu

¹ « *Abdülmecid Han hazretleri kan dökmeği sevmez* » (Cevdet Paşa, *Tezahir*, éd. Cevdet Baysun, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi 1986, vol. I-II, p. 23).

sa dignité du fait des réformes et de l'occidentalisation (« *A harmful side effect of the reforms and Westernization was that the Ottoman ruling class lost its dignity* » [p. 411]), reprenant un cliché de l'historiographie ottomane traditionnelle.

Malgré ces faiblesses, ce livre reste une précieuse contribution à l'histoire diplomatique et militaire de l'Empire ottoman durant la guerre de Crimée. Il ne fait pas de doute que, par son exploitation méticuleuse des sources ottomanes et russes, étudiées pour la première fois conjointement, le travail de C. B. apportera aussi un éclairage original à la riche historiographie de la guerre de Crimée.

Burak ONARAN

Zorica JANKOVIĆ, *Caru na divan: susreti srpskih vladara i turskih sultana* (Auprès du divan impérial: rencontres entre chefs d'État serbes et sultans turcs), Belgrade, « Beograd », 2008, 375 p.

Cet ouvrage, bien illustré et pourvu de cartes, s'efforce de renouveler la traditionnelle histoire diplomatique étudiant des relations bilatérales, en se focalisant sur les visites officielles rendues par les princes (rois après 1882) de Serbie auprès des sultans ottomans. Ces occasions exceptionnelles constituent des événements très typés, dont le protocole dose soigneusement les honneurs et les gestes d'allégeance. On peut en suivre l'évolution au cours de tout un siècle, car il y en a huit occurrences en tout :

- le prince Miloš Obrenović se rend à Istanbul auprès de Mahmud II en 1835 ;
- son fils, le prince Mihailo Obrenović, se rend à Istanbul auprès d'Abdül Mecid en 1839-1840 ;
- le prince Aleksandar Karadjordjević rencontre Abdül Mecid à Kazanlâk (Bulgarie) en 1846 ;
- le prince Mihailo Obrenović, remonté sur le trône, se rend à Istanbul auprès d'Abdül Aziz en 1867 ;
- son cousin, le prince Milan Obrenović, se rend à Istanbul auprès d'Abdül Aziz en 1874 ;
- Milan Obrenović, devenu roi, rencontre Abdül Hamid à Istanbul en 1889 ;
- son fils, le roi Aleksandar Obrenović, rencontre Abdül Hamid à Istanbul en 1894 ;
- le roi Petar Karadjordjević (Pierre I^{er} de Serbie) rencontre Mehmed V à Istanbul en 1910.

Ces jalons successifs dans les relations serbo-ottomanes permettent de récapituler sous un éclairage original les principales phases de l'émancipation politique de la Serbie et de sa vie politicodynamique particulièrement mouvementée, avec l'alternance au pouvoir des deux dynasties rivales des Obrenović et des Karadjordjević.

La rencontre qui est présentée avec le plus grand luxe de détails est celle de 1867. Elle correspond à un épisode que l'historiographie serbe valorise particulièrement : l'abandon par l'Empire ottoman des dernières garnisons qu'il entretenait sur le sol de la principauté de Serbie, au sortir d'une crise fort tendue.

On pourra regretter que, si les évolutions sont bien marquées dans le contexte serbe, le partenaire ottoman soit beaucoup moins individualisé, un peu comme si le sultan était une

entité en soi et non pas un être humain ayant une personnalité. Les importantes évolutions que connaît l'Empire ottoman au long du XIX^e siècle ne sont pas vraiment prises en compte.

On peut aussi regretter, comme dans beaucoup d'ouvrages balkaniques, une approche exclusivement descriptive, ce que trahit l'absence de toute conclusion dans cet ouvrage.

Bernard LORY

Enes KARIĆ, *Contributions to Twentieth Century Islamic Thought in Bosnia and Herzegovina*, Sarajevo, El-Kalem, 2011, vol. 1, 510 p. (trad. du bosniaque par S. Risaluddin)

Cet ouvrage est à la fois plus qu'un recueil d'articles, mais pas tout à fait une étude complète et synthétisée. Les dix-sept chapitres sont indépendants les uns des autres, mais reliés par une problématique commune qui peut se regrouper autour de trois grands thèmes.

Le premier concerne la *madrasa* de Gazi Husref Bey, important foyer de culture musulmane sous les régimes successifs qu'a connus la Bosnie-Herzégovine : ottoman, habsbourgeois, yougoslave royal, yougoslave communiste. Le ton y est informatif, neutre, un peu terne, sauf pour cette dernière période, laquelle est présentée avec vivacité, car elle est nourrie de témoignages recueillis directement et de souvenirs personnels. On voit alors vivre un établissement d'éducation religieuse musulman dans le contexte *a priori* hostile de la Yougoslavie titiste, en proie aux pénuries de l'après-guerre, puis progressivement plus tolérante et plus prospère. Les débats autour du maintien d'un *wakf* dans l'esprit de son fondateur, alors que les temps historiques évoluent rapidement, sont bien montrés.

La personnalité de Džemaludin Čaušević (1870-1938) constitue un deuxième pôle. *Ra'is al ulama* de 1914 à 1930, c'est la principale incarnation du réformisme musulman dans la Bosnie-Herzégovine de ces années : il prend position en faveur de l'usage de la langue vernaculaire pour la prédication et l'éducation, proposant d'écrire le bosniaque avec un alphabet arabe modifié, puis avec les alphabets cyrillique ou latin (c'est cette dernière variante qui s'imposera dans l'usage) ; un autre grand débat concerne le voile des femmes et le port du chapeau. Čaušević est le co-auteur d'une des premières traductions du Coran en bosniaque, qui suscita une vive polémique dans le milieu des oulémas yougoslaves. Le personnage n'est pas isolé et E. K. souligne ses liens avec le courant réformiste égyptien, mais n'évoque guère le kémalisme. Un long et riche chapitre est consacré aux débats sur le renouveau et la réforme de l'islam dans la première moitié du XX^e siècle. Dans le milieu restreint de l'intelligentsia musulmane bosniaque, diverses brochures nourrirent des polémiques parfois assez vives. Des extraits permettent de mesurer le ton et les arguments des uns et des autres. On peut noter au passage que l'auteur, dans l'ensemble bienveillant envers le régime habsbourgeois (1878-1918), se montre fort sévère envers la Yougoslavie royale (1919-1941), régime sous lequel des musulmans bosniaques ont pourtant participé à la plupart des gouvernements, ce qui n'était pas le cas des Macédoniens ou des Albanais, traités alors avec beaucoup plus d'intolérance.

Le troisième volet se concentre sur différentes figures éminentes de la pensée musulmane en Bosnie-Herzégovine, dans les milieux du traditionalisme modéré (Mehmed Han-

džić), du réformisme (Husein Dozo), de l'émigration (Adil Zulfikarpašić), sans oublier quelques *outsiders* tolérés par le régime titiste (Nerkez Smailagić, Mehmed Filipović). Ces portraits n'évitent pas toujours l'écueil hagiographique, E. K. ayant été l'élève de plusieurs des figures présentées. De bonnes études sur la revue *El Hidaje* (1937-1944) et sur les traductions du Coran en Bosnie-Herzégovine complètent le tableau.

L'ouvrage est visiblement destiné à un public d'arabisants (choix des graphies, nombreuses citations en arabe) et cherche à intégrer la petite Bosnie-Herzégovine, région périphérique et peu connue, dans les grands débats du monde musulman au xx^e siècle. Un second volume est annoncé, qui devra présenter les principaux périodiques, la pensée soufie, le courant des Jeunes Musulmans, etc.

Bernard LORY

Evgenija TROEVA, *Religija, pamet, identičnost: Bălgarite mohamedani* (Religion, mémoire, identité : les Bulgares musulmans), Sofia, Ak. izd. Marin Drinov, 2011, 185 p. (résumé en anglais, p. 180-185)

À la lecture du titre excessivement général de ce petit livre, on pourrait penser qu'il s'agit d'une énième étude sur les Bulgares musulmans ou Pomaks (exonyme que la jeune génération tend à rejeter de nos jours) écrite par un observateur extérieur. C'est en effet le malheur des Bulgares musulmans que d'être sans cesse objets d'étude et de ne pas parvenir à prendre la parole eux-mêmes dans le débat scientifique. Ils occupent, il est vrai, une place-charnière particulièrement inconfortable dans le contexte de « sommation identitaire » (selon l'heureuse expression de Nicolas Trifon) qui caractérise les Balkans depuis le milieu du xix^e siècle. De par leur appartenance à l'islam, ils se sont longtemps identifiés à l'*umma* musulmane, ce qui dans le contexte ottoman leur permettait de se rattacher à la composante dominante de la société, malgré leur vécu quotidien de montagnards pauvres et isolés. Du fait de leur bulgarophonie, ils sont revendiqués comme membres de la communauté nationale par le discours bulgare, qui est simultanément fort islamophobe. Tout au long du xx^e siècle, les Pomaks ont été soumis à des pressions importantes pour qu'ils se convertissent ou tout au moins pour qu'ils abdiquent leurs particularités, afin de se conformer à l'image nationale attendue.

L'ouvrage de E. T. ne tombe fort heureusement pas dans ce travers. Son ambition est plus modeste, mais permet d'aller beaucoup plus loin. Elle présente le résultat d'enquêtes anthropologiques menées pendant une quinzaine d'années dans la partie centrale des Rhodopes bulgares, qu'elle sait étayer efficacement d'une approche historique précise et solide. Les enquêtes s'articulent autour d'événements locaux, qui font réagir l'ensemble de la société rhodopéenne. Il s'agit d'abord de la restauration du *tekke* d'Enihan Baba, sur le sommet montagneux Svoboda, et des interprétations divergentes qu'en donnent les médias bulgares ou la population locale, soit chrétienne, soit musulmane. Puis il est question de la fabrication du lieu de pèlerinage chrétien de Krăstova gora, extraordinairement populaire depuis une vingtaine d'années, situé dans la même région et, à nouveau, apprécié de façon différente par les médias ou les acteurs locaux. Enfin la question de la conversion individuelle est abordée, autour du cas de sœur Hristina, Bulgare musulmane convertie à l'orthodoxie, douée d'un charisme de guérison, qui a fondé son propre monastère

sans pour autant s'être soumise aux contraintes d'une vie monastique régulière ; un autre exemple est fourni par une fratrie de Pomaks devenus évangélistes.

Chacune de ces situations est présentée de façon respectueuse, avec une distance scientifique rigoureuse (même quand le lecteur a envie de crier au charlatanisme !). Chaque événement est soigneusement inscrit dans son contexte historique, avec de nombreux retours sur un passé régional, voire microrégional, complexe et souvent mal connu. Les Bulgares musulmans, que la plupart des études tendent à « essentialiser » comme un groupe homogène, sont ici montrés dans leur diversité, selon que leurs villages ont été rattachés à la Bulgarie en 1878 ou en 1912, selon que l'activité minière, importante à l'époque communiste, a modifié les usages traditionnels, ou selon qu'une nouvelle mobilité spatiale « globalisée » modifie les pratiques quotidiennes. Pour enclavés qu'ils soient (ou que l'on se plaise à les présenter), les Rhodopes sont une région en mouvement où les rapports de force se renégocient sans cesse.

La seule critique que l'on puisse formuler, c'est que l'auteur est un peu timide dans ses conclusions, son souci de la nuance l'empêchant de marquer d'un trait ferme les idées importantes qu'elle a contribué à faire émerger.

Bernard LORY

Méropi ANASTASSIADOU, Paul DUMONT, *Les Grecs d'Istanbul et le patriarcat œcuménique au seuil du XXI^e siècle : une communauté en quête d'avenir*, Paris, Le Cerf, coll. *L'histoire à vif*, 2011, 311 p. et 16 p. de pl.

Le livre de M. A. et de P. D. oscille entre le travail ethnographique et le témoignage. Comme l'indiquent les auteurs eux-mêmes dans l'introduction (p. 17) et sur la quatrième de couverture, il est « le résultat de plusieurs années d'immersion dans la vie de l'orthodoxie stambouliote » ; il est « fondé sur le partage des moments forts, il se veut surtout témoignage ». De ce point de vue, la mission est accomplie puisque au terme de notre lecture, nous disposons d'un état des lieux complet de la situation de la communauté en question, un état des lieux qui paraît justifier l'urgence du témoignage, tant cette communauté (grecque, *rum* ou grecque-orthodoxe selon les moments) semble, à première vue, vouée à un déclin inexorable et à la disparition.

C'est d'ailleurs par la description de ce déclin que démarre l'ouvrage composé de sept chapitres qui correspondent en réalité à deux grandes lignes directrices de l'ouvrage. Les trois premiers chapitres traitent de la façon ou d'une autre de la question démographique et donc de la faiblesse numérique de la communauté. Les trois chapitres de la fin abordent par contre davantage ce que Maurice Halbwachs appellerait « les cadres sociaux » de la communauté et aussi de sa mémoire, référence d'ailleurs bien utile, sachant que les auteurs insistent sur l'abondance d'un patrimoine mémoriel qui ne peut combler le vide laissé par les hommes. Pourtant sur ces trois derniers chapitres, les auteurs laissent transpirer un certain optimisme, ou en tout cas un espoir quant à l'avenir de la communauté qui au regard des trois premiers chapitres semble bien compromis. La pierre angulaire aussi bien de l'ouvrage que de la communauté, à la fois dans sa relation avec les autorités politiques auxquelles

elle doit faire face (États grec et turc) et dans son rapport à la temporalité (son passé, son présent et son futur) demeure le patriarcat œcuménique d'Istanbul (Constantinople). Le quatrième chapitre, autour duquel sont articulés les deux axes (et six autres chapitres) du livre, lui est consacré et pose les questions essentielles sur l'évolution dans le futur de la relation entre le patriarcat et la communauté au vu du déclin de cette dernière. Mais revenons au constat.

Dans un premier temps, le déclin est abordé sous l'angle d'une présentation de l'histoire de « l'effondrement démographique » de la communauté (ch. 1) depuis son ère de gloire durant le XIX^e siècle. L'historique dressé passe en revue l'évolution de la communauté en insistant sur les deux événements qui l'ont marquée durant le XX^e siècle : le traité de Lausanne de 1923, signifiant la fin de la guerre gréco-turque, a fixé le sort juridique de la communauté, désormais traitée en tant que minorité dans la nouvelle République turque ; puis, les pogroms de septembre 1955 dont la communauté a été victime ont dramatiquement accéléré un processus d'exode déjà observé. Ce dernier ne pouvait que s'amplifier sur fond d'une crise chypriote qui à la fois envenimait les relations gréco-turques et rendait complexe la place des minorités. Il est d'ailleurs important de noter sur ce point que cet exode se faisait à un moment où Istanbul connaissait une croissance urbaine exponentielle alimentée par l'exode rural caractéristique des pays méditerranéens et postcoloniaux durant les années 1950 et 1960, ce qui rendait la communauté de moins en moins significative en termes démographiques (p. 39). Du coup, la pression socio-économique liée à l'explosion de la demande immobilière est venue s'ajouter aux pressions politiques pour forcer la communauté à ces derniers retranchements. De ces points de vue, il est d'ailleurs intéressant pour le chercheur de noter les différences entre la minorité grecque-orthodoxe d'Istanbul et la minorité musulmane turque de Thrace occidentale. L'une, urbaine, ayant un fort capital social, davantage mobile, confrontée à des pressions de toutes sortes, vivant dans un espace urbain extrêmement recherché, se contraint à l'exode. L'autre, rurale, avec un faible capital social, davantage attachée à un espace inhospitalier et peu recherché (tout au contraire, il est fui par les Grecs durant les années de l'exode rural 1950-1980), se trouve aujourd'hui presque en situation majoritaire dans certaines régions !

Dans leur deuxième chapitre, les auteurs choisissent d'aborder deux types de flux humains liés à la communauté. L'exode, notamment en direction de la Grèce, a alimenté une diaspora qui s'engage à revisiter sa ville d'origine, depuis qu'à la fin des années 1990 les relations gréco-turques ont pris un meilleur tournant. Ces flux demeurent à vocation touristique et ne revitalisent pas démographiquement la communauté, mais contribuent à un entretien de son patrimoine communautaire, d'autant plus essentiel qu'une partie de ce patrimoine est maintenant de nouveau utilisée par des nouveaux membres de la communauté. En effet, à ces flux touristiques s'ajoutent des flux migratoires liés au phénomène de l'exode rural qui, eux, contribuent à cette revitalisation démographique. L'histoire des chrétiens orthodoxes arabophones du Hatay (p. 74-78) qui viennent gonfler les effectifs de la communauté depuis quelques années est de ce point de vue un élément particulièrement intéressant qui rappelle que cette communauté garde une certaine attractivité liée à son illustre passé.

Le réseau scolaire de la communauté, surdimensionné par rapport à ses besoins actuels, est d'ailleurs l'élément le plus ostensible à la fois de cette attractivité et de son lien avec son passé. Les auteurs identifient comment les chrétiens arabophones, à la recherche d'une

meilleure éducation pour leurs enfants, les envoient massivement dans ces écoles plutôt que dans les écoles publiques turques (p. 115). Cette situation n'est pas sans rappeler la manière dont le réseau scolaire grec-orthodoxe s'est développé dans l'Empire ottoman notamment durant et après l'époque des Tanzimat. Créé comme un instrument de fabrication d'une bureaucratie ecclésiastique, le réseau scolaire s'est transformé au XIX^e siècle en un puissant outil où se rencontraient à la fois le besoin de formation de cadres du plus puissant mécanisme d'intégration des chrétiens orthodoxes au système impérial (le patriarcat œcuménique), la volonté de mobilité sociale des individus et des familles dans le cadre de l'intégration de l'Empire ottoman au système mondial, puis la question de l'uniformisation ou de la différenciation culturelle en lien avec les nationalismes émergents. La méfiance de l'État turc envers les écoles patriarcales est un héritage de cette époque où les querelles nationales ont aussi été des querelles de création et de contrôle de réseaux scolaires. Il s'agit d'une méfiance surannée qui tend souvent à oublier que la première motivation des familles face à l'école reste avant tout la quête d'une « bonne éducation » comme l'indiquent non seulement l'exemple précité des élèves arabophones venant aux écoles patriarcales, mais aussi le fait que les élèves grecs fuient ces dernières pour aller dans des établissements étrangers encore plus prisés (p. 117-119). En effet, la régularité de fonctionnement de ces écoles communautaires étant trop liée à la conjoncture des relations grécoturques (p. 91-96), la Grèce fournissant des enseignants et des manuels, beaucoup de familles de la communauté s'en éloignent. Finalement, l'abondance de bâtiments scolaires vides d'élèves témoigne une fois de plus de la grandeur passée et du déclin.

Cette abondance de structures et de bâtiments, faits pour une époque où les effectifs communautaires le justifiaient, se retrouve dans les chapitres 5 (sur les institutions communautaires) et 7 (sur les monuments). Les auteurs dépeignent avec force détails tous ces cadres qui structurent la communauté. Le chapitre 7 intitulé « Des monuments pour se souvenir » est de loin le plus long du livre, soulignant ainsi sa vocation de témoignage à laquelle les auteurs se montrent si attachés. Se réclamant de la démarche de Pierre Nora, les auteurs identifient tout ce patrimoine immobilier de la communauté (écoles, églises, cimetières) comme autant de « lieux de mémoire » voués aux commémorations en l'absence de véritable fonction réelle par manque d'effectifs humains (p. 205). Cette « patrimonialisation » des bâtiments s'explique également par le changement du regard de « l'Autre » sur la communauté. Le chapitre 6 aborde ce regard et la relation avec ceux que la communauté appelle les « locaux », c'est-à-dire les Turcs, terme original pour qualifier des gens habitant le même lieu que soi-même mais qui signifie davantage une volonté de séparation (p. 179). Alors que la communauté grecque a rétréci au point de devenir numériquement insignifiante, sa « mémoire », alimentée par le réchauffement des relations grécoturques et les voyages de la diaspora, resurgit. Comme l'indiquent les auteurs (p. 192), c'est même devenu « politiquement correct » de parler du passé grec d'Istanbul. On peut se demander si ce sixième chapitre, qui est consacré à la fois aux hommes et aux dynamiques les plus récentes et qui, d'une certaine manière, dialogue avec le deuxième chapitre, n'aurait pas gagné à former une entité à part avec ce dernier.

Nous avons gardé pour la fin le quatrième chapitre. Comme nous l'avons remarqué, il s'agit de la pierre angulaire de l'ouvrage tant il est vrai que le sort de cette communauté fut et demeure lié au patriarcat œcuménique. Les auteurs à la fois soulignent son rôle comme leader de la communauté, identifient la fragilisation croissante de sa situation en

raison du rétrécissement de la communauté et donc de son troupeau de fidèles, et en même temps ne manquent pas de remarquer sa notoriété retrouvée sous le patriarcat de Bartholomée I^{er}. Cette notoriété à la fois rejaillit sur la communauté, qui peut se sentir fière d'avoir un leader de carrure internationale, mais en même temps l'inquiète. Faut-il craindre que le Patriarcat se désintéresse du sort d'une communauté locale « vouée » à la disparition en investissant davantage sur son profil mondial ? Il semblerait que non, le Patriarcat ayant tout de même besoin d'une assise territoriale, surtout compte tenu de sa symbolique. De même, le nouveau rôle du patriarcat ne manque pas d'inquiéter d'autres Églises orthodoxes, comme par exemple l'Église de Grèce (p. 150). L'identification et l'analyse de tous les liens, parfois inextricables, entre les différentes Églises orthodoxes, les laïcs et les clercs, auraient mérité probablement un ouvrage à part entière mais force est de constater que ce n'est fait que de façon assez épidermique dans ce chapitre. La littérature sur le patriarcat œcuménique, sur son évolution durant l'époque ottomane et post-ottomane, sur ses rapports avec les autres Églises chrétiennes, sur ses dynamiques internes entre clergé et laïcs, a connu ces vingt dernières années une floraison sans pareille. Il est dommage que cet ouvrage ne dialogue pas davantage avec ces travaux en se limitant toujours aux mêmes références, et pas forcément les plus significatives. Mais en même temps, il est vrai que l'orientation de l'ouvrage, comme nous l'avons indiqué au début, est davantage axée sur le témoignage et sur la sensibilisation quant à l'état des faits concernant la communauté grecque d'Istanbul, alors que cette dernière traverse une fois de plus un moment crucial pour sa survie, et ce, sans prétendre ni au rôle d'ouvrage de travail exhaustif ni à celui d'oracle. De ce point de vue, l'objectif est pleinement atteint.

TASSOS ANASTASSIADIS

Edward TRYJARSKI, *Zapisy Sądu Duchownego Ormian miasta Lwowa za lata 1625-1630 w języku Ormiańsko-kipczańskim* (Procès-verbaux du tribunal ecclésiastique des Arméniens de la ville de Lvov pour les années 1625-1630 en langue arméno-kiptchaque), Cracovie, Polska Akademia Umiejętności, coll. *Rozprawy Wydziału Historyczno-Filozoficznego* 111, 2010, 451 p.

Le volume qui fait l'objet du présent compte rendu comprend 93 fac-similés du manuscrit connu sous le nom de « manuscrit d'Abrahamowicz » (du nom de son dernier propriétaire privé, Zygmunt Abrahamowicz, 1923-1990), édité pour la première fois intégralement par E. T. au terme de plus de quatre années d'intenses recherches. Le texte transcrit est accompagné de la traduction en polonais (81 pages) des procès-verbaux dont le premier date du 28 mars 1625, le dernier du 7 octobre 1630. Le lexique des mots arméno-kiptchaques avec leurs équivalents en polonais (il ne prend pas en compte les mots qui apparaissent dans les fragments du manuscrit rédigés en arménien) est suivi de l'index des noms propres et de l'index des ethnies et des toponymes. Dans son introduction enrichie de nombreuses références bibliographiques, E. T. retrace les étapes de ses recherches et de celles de ses collègues, dont il salue le travail, et nous familiarise avec le manuscrit, son histoire, son contenu et sa forme. Établi probablement à Lvov, le manuscrit y demeura près

de 350 ans. Suite aux expulsions des populations polonaises de ces territoires à l'issue de la deuxième guerre mondiale, il arriva finalement à Cracovie et enrichit successivement plusieurs collections privées avant de devenir un bien public accessible à tous. Il est actuellement conservé dans les fonds d'archives de la Science polonaise de l'Académie des sciences de Cracovie, cote n° K III-146, j. 131. Les procès-verbaux sont majoritairement rédigés en arméno-kiptchaque ; quelques-uns sont confectionnés, en partie ou entièrement, en arménien ou en polonais en caractères arméniens. Les caractères de l'écriture arménienne rencontrés dans le manuscrit sont de plusieurs sortes ; d'une part, les variantes bien connues (notrgir, bolorgir, cursive), d'ailleurs souvent difficiles à déchiffrer ; d'autre part, l'écriture spécifique à chaque scribe. L'écrivain – scribe ou secrétaire – qui a enregistré la plupart des procès-verbaux est probablement Misko, fils de Bohdan, secrétaire du tribunal ecclésiastique chargé à la fois d'enregistrer les actes et d'en délivrer les extraits. Si ce nom ne figure pas dans le présent manuscrit, on le retrouve sous forme de signature d'un extrait du 14 avril 1625¹. Initié au droit, Misko était un habile calligraphe rompu aux pratiques de la chancellerie juridique. Il maîtrisait l'arméno-kiptchaque (écrit et oral), l'arménien, le polonais et, dans une moindre mesure, le latin.

Malgré sa courte durée (cinq ans et sept mois), la période traitée a beaucoup compté dans l'histoire des Arméniens de Pologne, notamment lors de la controverse autour de l'Union des Arméniens de Pologne avec Rome, dans sa phase intense et néfaste, avec comme point culminant l'« affaire Torosowicz », du nom de l'évêque, puis archevêque Mikołaj Torosowicz. Les procès-verbaux abondent en informations concernant cette controverse ainsi que bien d'autres sujets : la structure, l'organisation et le fonctionnement de la juridiction des Arméniens de Lvov, les relations extérieures et les relations au sein de cette communauté, la topographie de la ville, la religion, la vie quotidienne et les us et coutumes des habitants. Les procès-verbaux enregistrent également les événements marquants de la vie de la commune : arrivée des dignitaires, construction des temples, adoption d'un nouveau *yasak* (impôt, contribution), collecte d'argent pour les pauvres, parrainage des prêtres arméniens travaillant à Łuck, construction d'un tombeau, etc. Au plan linguistique, les procès-verbaux constituent une source significative pour l'étude de la langue arméno-kiptchaque de l'époque : ses emprunts au polonais, sa terminologie juridique latine, la slavisation progressive de sa syntaxe, ainsi que le relâchement de ses règles grammaticales. L'auteur examine plus particulièrement les éléments latins, car ceux-ci constituent une composante importante de cette langue. Ce sont, d'une part, les mots latins (plus rares) qui faisaient partie du vocabulaire général utilisé par les couches supérieures de la population de Lvov ; ce sont, d'autre part, bien plus fréquents, les termes et les tournures latines du langage juridique. Si au ^{xvi}e siècle la quantité d'insertions latines dans les textes juridiques en arméno-kiptchaque est très limitée, leur nombre s'accroît considérablement au ^{xvii}e siècle, époque de la progression intense du latin en Pologne, où il n'est pas rare de rencontrer des tournures juridiques latines dans les documents rédigés par la chancellerie royale et même dans les journaux de la Diète. Il n'est donc pas étonnant que la « mode » du latin ait gagné aussi les auteurs des textes en arméno-kiptchaque. Les plus fréquents sont dans cette langue les latinismes puisés directement dans la théorie et la pratique juridiques polonaises. L'auteur en cite de multiples exemples.

¹ Cf. Jaroslav. R. DAŠKEVIČ, Edward TRYJARSKI, « Tri armjano-kipčakskih zapisi l'ovskogo armjanskogo duchovnogo suda 1625 g. », *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* XLI/1, 1979, p. 57-80.

Le tribunal, dont l'origine remonte selon E. T. au ^{xv}^e siècle, fonctionnait formellement sous la présidence de l'évêque ou de son *awak'êrêc* (archiprêtre). Cependant, en réalité, c'étaient les laïcs (parmi les anciens ou les bourgeois les plus riches, théoriquement élus, mais dont la charge était en fait héréditaire) qui avaient la prééminence au sein de ce tribunal. Celui-ci jugeait aussi bien les affaires civiles que pénales, ces dernières, toutefois, selon le droit coutumier et plus rarement en s'appuyant sur une base juridique solide. Les affaires jugées étaient majoritairement administratives et non conflictuelles (successions, tutelles, donations). Parmi les affaires criminelles (plus rares) figurent, par exemple, l'accusation lancée contre un évêque mis en cause pour un meurtre, ou celle contre un diacre accusé du détournement d'une jeune fille mineure, ou encore la suspicion de *raptus puellae*. Enfin, E. T. ne manque pas de citer cette prérogative quelque peu insolite du tribunal qui consistait à prescrire une punition à tout homme qui se travestirait en femme ou à toute femme qui se déguiserait en homme.

Par la publication du manuscrit d'Abrahamowicz dans son intégralité, E. T. a ouvert de nouvelles perspectives de recherches, d'une part concernant l'histoire des Arméniens de Pologne et d'autre part concernant l'étude de la langue arméno-kiptchak. Les présents procès-verbaux seront très certainement d'une grande utilité pour étayer, enrichir et éclairer les sources préexistantes et les travaux concernant ces questions, à travers une étude comparative dont la recherche a toujours grandement besoin.

Maryta ESPÉRONNIER

Edward Tryjarski, *Armeno-Kipchak Texts in the Alchemical Treatise by Andrzej Torosowicz (17th Century)*, Varsovie, Elipsa, 2005, 171 p.

Dans cet ouvrage, E. T., éminent spécialiste de l'arméno-kiptchak, réunit pour la première fois la totalité des parties en arméno-kiptchak contenues dans un manuscrit rédigé en langue polonaise qui est aujourd'hui conservé aux archives historiques centrales de Kiev en Ukraine.

Le texte en question, un traité d'alchimie datant de 1626 rédigé par A. Torosowicz, membre d'une famille de marchands arméniens turcophones de Léopol (Lwów en polonais), porte le titre *Secreta z Ogródu Filozowskiego zebrane prawdziwe o Kamieniu Błogosławionim Filozowskim* (Secrets du jardin philosophique, assemblée véritable sur la pierre bénite philosophale). Il a été découvert il y a une vingtaine d'années par un chercheur ukrainien, Alexandre Harkavets. Depuis, les parties en turc ont fait l'objet de nombreuses études et articles, presque tous signés par E. T. Les parties en question consistent soit en paragraphes entiers en arméno-kiptchak, inclus dans le texte principal, soit en notes interlinéaires ou marginales. Elles concernent pour la plupart l'alchimie, la botanique, mais il y a aussi des observations sur le calendrier, ou même des prières composées par Torosowicz lui-même.

Dans la partie introductive de cette publication est présenté A. Torosowicz, descendant d'une illustre famille arménienne. Par la suite, les aspects linguistiques des parties arméno-turques du texte, leurs particularités en termes d'orthographe, de phonologie, de morphologie et de syntaxe sont traitées. Quant au lexique de ces textes, on y constate un nombre considérable de mots empruntés au latin par l'intermédiaire du polonais (ce sont surtout les termes techniques d'alchimie), ainsi que quelques mots d'origines slave (polonais,

ukrainien, russe) et arménienne. Certains de ces mots sont utilisés simultanément avec des mots turcs (p. ex. *tuz* et *sul* « sel », *madan* et *mètal* « métal »). Un petit nombre de mots apparaît, comme le souligne l'éditeur, pour la première fois dans un texte en arméno-kiptchak, y compris des mots turcs comme *bayjahi* « ordinaire ».

Plusieurs pages sont consacrées aux questions ayant trait à l'alchimie, aux symboles et aux abréviations alchimiques (p. 15-18). La partie principale du livre (p. 20-63) comprend l'édition des textes en arméno-kiptchak du manuscrit, avec leur traduction en anglais. Ceux-ci ne consistent parfois qu'en un seul mot. L'édition des textes est suivie d'un index des termes arméno-turcs et des noms propres figurant dans le traité (p. 64-85). L'éditeur a aussi jugé bon d'ajouter un glossaire (anglais-turc) expliquant des termes techniques d'alchimie, avec leurs équivalents arméno-turcs tels que l'on peut les déduire du manuscrit de A. Torosowicz. Ils sont pour la plupart empruntés au polonais ou au latin. La dernière partie de cette publication, un fac-similé des pages du manuscrit contenant des passages en arméno-turc, permettra aux chercheurs un contrôle commode.

Les turcologues doivent savoir gré au professeur Tryjarski de leur avoir rendu accessibles, d'une manière exemplaire, ces textes arméno-kiptchaks, parfois fort originaux. On ne peut que regretter cependant que le texte n'ait pas été contrôlé par un anglophone compétent pour éviter les nombreuses maladroites d'expression, les fautes de grammaire et même d'orthographe. Quant à la question de savoir si l'alchimie a été pratiquée par les Turcs ou les Arméniens (question posée par l'auteur¹), on pourrait renvoyer au livre classique d'Abdülhak Adnan [Adivar], *La Science chez les Turcs ottomans*, où l'on trouve cette intéressante notice : « Au cours des années 1638-1639, deux alchimistes, dont l'un, une jeune fille (fille d'un seigneur féodal des Druses syriens, Ma'an Oglu) et l'autre, un Maghrébin, qui avaient entrepris de fabriquer de l'or sans succès, furent mis à mort »². La très brève notice bibliographique (p. 18-19) du livre ne contient que les noms de quelques dictionnaires et ouvrages sur l'alchimie en Occident, consultés par l'éditeur. La recherche dans le domaine de l'histoire des sciences a cependant fait d'énormes progrès ces dernières années³, qui permettront de situer aussi le traité d'A. Torosowicz dans un nouveau contexte.

Johann STRAUSS

Pierre MARSONE, *La Steppe et l'empire : la formation de la dynastie Khitan (Liao), IV^e-X^e siècle*, Paris, Les Belles-Lettres, coll. *Histoire*, 2011, 322 p.

La récente ouverture de la collection *Histoire* des Belles-Lettres au domaine asiatique est une excellente nouvelle pour les historiens travaillant sur l'Orient. P. M. y publie la

¹ « *I have not succeeded in finding out any information on other Armenians, or Turks, practising alchemy* » (p. 14, n. 13).

² Abdülhak ADNAN ADIVAR, *La Science chez les Turcs ottomans*, Paris, G.-P. Maisonneuve, 1939, p. 96 ; cf. aussi la version turque : *Osmanlı Türklerinde İlim*, Istanbul, Maarif Matbaası, 1970, p. 114.

³ Cf., par exemple, Ekmeleddin İHSANOĞLU et al. (dir.), *Osmanlı Tabii ve Tatbiki Bilimler Literatürü Tarihi (History of the literature of natural and applied Sciences during the Ottoman period)*, Istanbul, IRCICA, 2006, 2 vol.).

première étude précise en langue occidentale sur la formation de l'empire khitan qui domina le nord de la Chine, la Mandchourie et une partie de la Mongolie du x^e au xii^e siècle. Comme le souligne l'auteur, l'historiographie traitant des Khitans est l'un des parents pauvres des études steppiques médiévales : après la publication de la monumentale *History of Chinese Society: Liao (907-1125)* en traduction de Karl Wittfogel et Feng Chia-Sheng (Philadelphie, The American Philosophical Society, 1949), le domaine n'avait pas connu le développement des études xiongnu, turques ou mongoles, faute de nouvelles sources. Or plusieurs travaux sont venus renouveler récemment ces thématiques. Ainsi, pour le *surgeon* tardif de l'empire khitan en Asie centrale on notera la publication de Michal Biran, *The Empire of the Qara Khitai in Eurasian History: between China and the Islamic World*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2005. Par ailleurs une thèse a été soutenue à l'université de Helsinki, en 2005, sur un thème très proche de celui abordé dans cet ouvrage, mais avec un traitement très différent (Xu Elina-Qian, *Historical Development of Pre-Dynastic Khitan*, accessible à l'adresse : <http://ethesis.helsinki.fi/julkaisut/hum/aasia/vk/xu/historic.pdf>, consultée le 1^{er} mai 2012). Surtout, on notera les progrès (contestés) dans le déchiffrement des deux écritures khitanes (sur lesquelles, cf. Daniel Kane, *The Kitan Language and Script*, Leyde-Boston, Brill, 2009), qui permettent pour la première fois de commencer à confronter les sources chinoises et ce que les Khitans disaient d'eux-mêmes. C'est principalement l'historiographie chinoise qui a contribué à renouveler le sujet. P. M. utilise les travaux chinois les plus récents dans le domaine et tout montre qu'il la maîtrise parfaitement. Si la place donnée aux résultats de l'archéologie n'est pas centrale (ce que l'on peut regretter, tant le nombre des découvertes a été multiplié ces dernières années), celle-ci est néanmoins utilisée lorsque ses résultats permettent d'éclairer l'histoire politique. Dans la continuité de ces travaux, l'auteur propose une histoire politique des Khitans, des plus anciennes mentions, en 345, à la mort du fondateur de l'empire, Abaoji, en 926.

Son plan est chronologique : le premier chapitre, après une présentation des sources (p. 17-25), aborde les origines légendaires (p. 25-38). Le deuxième chapitre traite de la période des six dynasties et des Sui, c'est-à-dire des plus anciennes mentions des Khitans (p. 39-44), puis de leur place dans la relation entre la Chine et les Turks (p. 45-68). Le troisième chapitre traite de la période Tang (p. 69-96) et de la place des Khitans entre la Chine, les différents États coréens et les pouvoirs steppiques des Turks puis des Ouïghours. Le quatrième chapitre (p. 97-163) est consacré à l'ascension d'Abaoji, son règne et le déroulement de sa succession. Soixante-quinze pages de notes complètent l'ensemble, avec un index, comportant les caractères chinois, une bibliographie et une carte générale, très sommaire.

Cette maîtrise parfaite des sources et de l'historiographie chinoises a de nombreux avantages – en particulier la fraîcheur des informations – mais aussi quelques inconvénients. Ainsi, le plan, qui reprend la division traditionnelle de l'historiographie chinoise en fonction des dynasties régnantes en Chine, n'est pas sans poser problème : les successions chinoises ne sont pas le facteur déterminant de l'histoire khitane, même si nos sources sont organisées ainsi. D'autres critères auraient pu être utilisés pour organiser la présentation chronologique, en conservant la perspective chinoise (l'implication chinoise au nord-est et en Corée par exemple), ou encore, en adoptant une perspective nomade, l'existence d'un pouvoir fort dans la steppe mongole. Ainsi il y a une continuité de l'implication chinoise au nord-est des Sui, aux Tang, qui ne justifie guère de répartir leur politique dans deux chapitres différents. Plus globalement, l'ouvrage se ressent d'un

manque de distance vis-à-vis des pratiques historiographiques chinoises. P. M. en reproduit parfois de trop près le mode d'écriture et l'on discerne parfois difficilement ce qui est traduction des sources de ce qui est commentaire, une pratique, il est vrai, assez répandue dans le domaine sinologique – le volume de la *Cambridge History of China* consacré aux Tang est bien souvent une simple paraphrase de Sima Guang. On aurait préféré à tout prendre une analyse plus distanciée, complétée par un recueil de récits historiques chinois traduits en fin de volume, à l'instar de ce que propose Xu Elina-Qian. Surtout, l'auteur place les spécialistes occidentaux des mondes steppiques et mandchous devant un portrait étrange de leur propre domaine, tout entier vu à travers les sources chinoises, ce qui est habituel, mais aussi à travers l'historiographie chinoise, ce qui l'est moins. Les ressources des études turques et mongoles en langue occidentales ne sont pas mobilisées – on cherche en vain un certain nombre d'ouvrages du domaine dans la bibliographie – tandis que celles parues en chinois et, dans une moindre mesure, en japonais le sont. Cette méconnaissance de l'historiographie occidentale (et russe) conduit parfois P. M. à quelques erreurs. Ainsi, en se cantonnant aux passages consacrés à la place des Khitans dans le dispositif turk on notera par exemple que :

- p. 25-30 : l'auteur concentre son propos sur un point de toponymie historique, certes intéressant et faisant appel aux travaux les plus récents – ce qui nous vaut une des trop rares cartes de l'ouvrage – mais il aurait également fallu au moins resituer l'exemple khitan dans la série de légendes des origines du domaine turk et mongol. Cette légende des origines khitanes est traitée en détail par exemple dans Jean-Paul Roux, *Faune et flore sacrées dans les sociétés altaïques*, Paris, A. Maisonneuve, 1966.
- p. 44 et n. 35, p. 196 : les Gaoche ne sont pas les ancêtres des Tiele mais une partie de leur confédération et leurs rapports avec les Turks sont loin d'être clairs. Cf. l'ouvrage toujours extrêmement utile de Peter B. Golden, *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples: Ethnogenesis and State-Formation in the Medieval and Early Modern Eurasia and the Middle East*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1992, en particulier p. 93 *sqq.*
- p. 45 : le *qanat* des Turks ne subsista pas deux siècles, sauf à passer sous silence sa disparition totale dans la seconde moitié du VII^e siècle.
- p. 49 : l'équation Sabiroi – Xianbei n'est nullement certaine : cf. Golden, *op. cit.*, p. 104 *sqq.*
- p. 50 : à propos des Tuyuhun, on utilisera Gabriella Molè, *The T'u-Yü-Hun from the Northern Wei to the Time of the Five Dynasties*, Rome, Istituto italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1970.
- p. 51 : il n'y a pas eu d'alliance entre les Rouran et les Ephthalites à l'occasion de la fuite de ceux-là : l'alliance, matrimoniale, est antérieure.
- p. 92-93 : P. M. est curieusement rapide sur l'implication des troupes khitanes dans la rébellion d'An Lushan, sur laquelle il y aurait beaucoup à dire.
- p. 102 : le terme de Yeluohe a été discuté récemment par l'auteur de ces lignes (*Samarcande et Samarra*, Paris, Association pour l'avancement des études iraniennes, 2007, p. 79-82).

D'autres lacunes bibliographiques sont plus embarrassantes : les articles de Jennifer Holmgren, l'une des rares à avoir travaillé sur le premier système politique khitan, ne sont

pas cités (notamment « Yeh-lü, Yao-lien, and Ta-ho : Views of the Hereditary Prerogatives in Early Khitan Leadership », *Papers on Far Eastern History* 34, 1986, p. 37-81), non plus que l'étude de Christian Lamouroux, « De l'étrangeté à la différence : les relations des émissaires Song en pays Liao (XI^e siècle) », in Claudine Salmon (éd.), *Récits de voyages asiatiques : genres, mentalités, conception de l'espace, Actes du colloque EFEO-EHESS, 5-7 déc. 1994*, Paris, École française d'Extrême-Orient, coll. *Études thématiques* 5, 1996, p. 101-126, à propos des récits d'ambassadeurs pourtant décrits p. 24.

Ces quelques remarques ne font pas justice à un livre tourné surtout vers les rapports avec la Chine et les tribus voisines et qui reste, dans ce cadre, tout à fait intéressant et même essentiel pour qui veut comprendre la situation politique en Mandchourie entre le IV^e et le X^e siècle. Son décalage vis-à-vis des traditions historiographiques occidentales donne à rebours accès à des données et des idées des historiographies chinoises et japonaises bien souvent restées ignorées. L'ouvrage mérite de figurer dans la bibliothèque de tous les spécialistes de l'Extrême-Orient médiéval.

Étienne de LA VAISSIÈRE

Jens WILKENS, *Alttürkische Handschriften 10: Buddhistische Erzähltexte*, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag, coll. *Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, XIII/18, 2010, in-4°, 389 p.

Ce volume prend place dans la série de catalogage systématique des manuscrits en turc ancien conservés à Berlin. Comme on sait, le numéro de ces volumes correspond à un plan général et pas à l'ordre de leur publication. Le présent ouvrage est consacré aux « Textes bouddhiques narratifs ». Il a été préparé dans les mêmes conditions et avec la même excellence philologique que les volumes antérieurs (12 [VOHD XIII/20] et 14 [VOHD XIII/22], recensés par moi-même dans *Turcica* 41, 2009, et 42, 2010, respectivement). Le rédacteur en est le D^r Jens Wilkens, qui s'est déjà fait connaître par deux monographies sur des textes bouddhiques en turc ancien (édition du 3^e chapitre de l'*Altun Yaruk Sudur* en 2001 et d'un texte sur la rémission des péchés, *Kšanti Kılğulug nom bitig*, en 2007) et par plusieurs publications et analyses de fragments bouddhiques et manichéens, à partir de manuscrits qui proviennent de la région de Turfan. Il collabore depuis plusieurs années au programme académique Turfanforschung de l'Académie des sciences de Berlin-Brandebourg (Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften). L'auteur de chaque volume de cette série bénéficie du travail collectif réalisé par ce groupe de recherche depuis plusieurs décennies. Il va de soi que la répartition tient compte aussi des compétences ou des goûts de chaque chercheur. Dans le cas présent, J. W. a effectivement contribué, au cours des années passées, à l'interprétation d'une partie significative des textes en question. Il va sans dire que la littérature du bouddhisme en turc ancien (ouïgour) contient de nombreux textes narratifs, à côté des textes proprement doctrinaux. Ces légendes, qui proviennent du fonds commun du bouddhisme indien, ont été employées à des fins d'édification et de pédagogie, pour propager certaines notions fondamentales de la loi bouddhique. On sait que ce genre littéraire a connu une expansion formidable dans le bouddhisme les deux

derniers siècles av. n. è. et il s'est traduit aussi dans des représentations plastiques. Le terme général pour ces récits est *avadāna* « aventures, exploits » ; les héros en sont le Bodhisattva et des grands saints ou disciples ; de façon plus restreinte, les *jātaka* ont pour thème les vies antérieures du Bouddha, qui l'ont mené à l'éveil par l'accumulation des vertus. Ces deux types de récits comportent des points communs et les limites sont parfois floues, car le héros d'un *avadāna* peut être aussi un futur Bouddha et son aventure illustre l'obtention de telle ou telle perfection. Les fragments catalogués dans ce volume proviennent des trois premières expéditions prussiennes à Turfan (1902-1907) ; ils sont répartis en deux grands ensembles. Le second comprend 55 fragments, sous 45 numéros de catalogue (n^{os} 411-455, p. 302-335), qui correspondent à des textes relativement brefs. On reconnaît parmi eux des textes bien connus par d'autres recueils de légendes en sanskrit, *Avadāna-śataka* et autres *Jātaka-mālā*, et pour certains dès le canon pâli : Candraprabha-Avadāna, Araṇemi-Jātaka, « histoire du potier », dont le noyau remonte au *Ghaṭṭikāra Sutta* (n^o 81) du *Majjhima-nikāya*, etc. On y trouve aussi un fragment de l'histoire du Bon et du Mauvais Prince, Kalyāṇaṃkara et Pāpaṃkara, parallèle au texte de Dunhuang publié de façon définitive par James R. Hamilton en 1971. Cependant, il reste un nombre significatif de fragments non identifiés, bien que leur appartenance au genre narratif soit assurée. Avec raison, J. W. a exclu (p. 15) de ce volume les récits qui appartiennent à des textes doctrinaux (*sūtra*) plus importants et qui font l'objet d'autres parties du catalogue, déjà publiées. Le premier ensemble, qui fait l'intérêt principal du présent volume, est constitué par les 689 fragments, sous 410 numéros (p. 39-301) qui se rattachent à un seul et même vaste ouvrage, dont le titre sanskrit est *Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā*, « Guirlande de légendes qui se rapportent aux dix chemins de l'acte » (en abrégé *DKPAM*). Le terme « chemin de l'acte » (skr. *karma-patha-*) fait référence à dix normes de comportement, qui consistent en fait à s'abstenir de dix « mauvaises actions » : 1) le meurtre, 2) le vol, 3) la luxure, 4) le mensonge, 5) la médisance, 6) la parole injurieuse, 7) la parole oiseuse (bavardage irréfléchi), 8) la convoitise, 9) la méchanceté, 10) la vue fausse. Ces fautes aboutissent pour celui qui les commet à des destinées mauvaises dans les naissances ultérieures, en premier lieu à des peines dans divers types d'enfers. Ce texte avait été identifié depuis longtemps et des parties en avaient été publiées par Friedrich Wilhelm Karl Müller (1863-1930) et Annemarie von Gabain (1901-1993). L'intérêt a été relancé plus récemment par la publication progressive d'une autre version du même ouvrage, connue par des feuilles en relativement bon état, qui furent découvertes en 1959 par un berger dans la région de Hami (alias Qomul), environ 350 km à l'est de Turfan, sur un site qui relève aussi du bouddhisme ouïgour. Cette trouvaille a révélé simultanément un grand nombre de feuilles et fragments du *Maitrisimit nom bitig* (Texte de la Loi [*sūtra*] sur la rencontre avec Maitreya), qui fournissent une autre version d'un ouvrage aussi important, connu par de nombreux fragments provenant de Turfan et conservés à Berlin et dont le modèle est un texte en tokharien A. L'histoire de la *DKPAM* est en partie parallèle, car ses colophons nous apprennent qu'il fut traduit en turc ancien à partir d'un original en tokharien A (*tohrī tili*), qui avait été lui-même adapté d'un texte antérieur en tokharien B (*uku kūsān tili*). Par conséquent, certaines caractéristiques des légendes compilées dans ce grand ouvrage sont dues à leur rédaction antérieure par des auteurs tokhariens qui s'inspiraient évidemment de textes sanskrits. Cette généalogie complexe rend l'étude de la *DKPAM* à la fois difficile et passionnante pour l'histoire de la première phase du bouddhisme ouïgour (IX^e-XI^e siècle

de l'ère commune). Il est certain en effet que ce livre important, dont la dimension totale peut être estimée à 350 feuilles de format *pustaka*, fut traduit dans une perspective pédagogique, pour inciter à l'observance des « bonnes actions » un public relativement novice en matière de doctrine bouddhique. La version de Hami est en cours de publication, par les soins de Geng Shimin (Pékin) et Jens Peter Laut (Göttingen), avec la collaboration de J. W. Les versions de Hami et de Turfan présentent des différences, notamment en ce qui concerne l'introduction générale, ce qui est dû au fait que les donateurs des manuscrits respectifs étaient différents. De plus, il apparaît qu'il s'agit de deux traductions indépendantes du modèle tokharien et non pas de deux recensions d'une traduction unique en turc ancien à partir du dit modèle, comme pour *Maitrisimit nom bitig*. Une partie des matériaux de la version de Turfan (93 fragments) avait été cataloguée par Gerhard Ehlers en 1987 dans un volume antérieur de la même série : *Alttürkische Handschriften 2: Das Goldglanzsūtra und der buddhistische Legendenzyklus Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā, Depositum der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin) = VOHD XIII/10*. J. W., qui a déjà publié plusieurs articles sur des chapitres de la *DKPAM*, a identifié, comme le montre la comparaison des chiffres, un nombre considérable de nouveaux fragments ; il a procédé à la jonction de nombreux fragments, corrigé des identifications antérieures et trouvé aussi des fragments parallèles dans d'autres collections (Saint-Petersbourg et Kyoto). Par conséquent, la contribution de J. W. est déjà méritoire.

De plus, l'intérêt de la présente publication réside dans une première tentative de restitution de la totalité de la *DKPAM* ; les fragments sont donc classés désormais selon leur place dans l'ouvrage original. Dans l'introduction, J. W. procure (p. 16-30) une première description détaillée du plan de la *DKPAM*, qui se divise en dix chapitres, chacun correspondant à l'une des « mauvaises actions » à éviter, dont la liste a été rappelée plus haut. Pour simplifier, l'ensemble a pour cadre le dialogue entre un maître et un disciple à propos des conséquences inéluctables de telle ou telle mauvaise action. La scène initiale, de manière volontairement sinistre, se déroule dans un cimetière. Ce « dialogue-cadre » sert à introduire la narration des légendes et à ménager des transitions d'une légende à l'autre et d'un chapitre à l'autre ; il permet aussi d'introduire les explications du maître (parfois sous forme de paraboles ou comparaisons), les états d'âme du disciple et la description des châtements encourus par les fautifs dans les enfers. Ce dernier thème était apparemment populaire, parce que plusieurs chapitres de *Maitrisimit nom bitig* (et de son modèle tokharien) sont consacrés aussi à la description de divers enfers. Comme on peut l'attendre, tous les chapitres ne peuvent pas être restitués de manière complète. Néanmoins, il apparaît que chacun comportait plusieurs *avadāna*, dont le rapport avec le thème du chapitre n'est pas toujours évident à nos yeux. La longueur des chapitres ainsi que le nombre d'*avadāna* insérés dans chacun d'eux étaient variables. L'ouvrage a de toute évidence une intention pédagogique : le maître veut provoquer l'effroi de son disciple et, au-delà, des lecteurs devant les conséquences des actes mauvais dans la vie future. J. W. nous donne opportunément des résumés des légendes qui se rattachent aux dix chapitres. En effet, il fait observer (p. 14) que les noms des protagonistes d'une légende donnée ne suffisent pas à l'identifier de manière certaine. Les mêmes noms pouvaient circuler d'une légende à l'autre. De plus, la provenance des récits est très large : en plus des légendes connues par les recueils bouddhiques en pāli ou en sanskrit, on repère des récits provenant

du *Pañcatantra* (recueil de fables) et de la matière épique brahmanique, notamment le *Rāmāyaṇa*. Cela confirme que les littérateurs tokhariens, auprès desquels se sont instruits les rédacteurs ouïgours, ont transmis au monde turc une partie de la culture indobouddhique. De fait, la transmission du corpus bouddhique et de ses instruments philologiques entraînait le transfert des savoirs d'origine indienne, que le bouddhisme du Gandhāra, puis de Kuča, avait intégrés à ses corpus. Ce travail pionnier devra sans doute être révisé et complété. De fait, J. W. nous donne le résumé du contenu de plusieurs *avadāna* qui pour le moment n'ont pas pu être classés dans l'un ou l'autre des chapitres.

D'ores et déjà, le résultat obtenu est très important. La voie est donc ouverte pour la comparaison avec la version de Hami de la *DKPAM* et pour diverses études, notamment sur la terminologie et la phraséologie bouddhique. Un chantier à peine ouvert est l'identification des sources des diverses légendes dans les manuscrits tokhariens. Jusqu'à présent, on n'a pas identifié par un colophon un ouvrage tokharien qui porterait le même titre, à la différence de *Maitrisimit nom bitig*, dont l'original en tokharien A avait pour titre *Maitreyasamiti-Nāṭaka*, « Drame sur la rencontre avec Maitreya » ; en revanche, plusieurs *avadāna* ou *jātaka* connus par des fragments en tokharien A et B peuvent avoir appartenu à des manuscrits plus importants qui de fait constituaient le modèle de la *DKPAM*. Je signale une dimension importante du point de vue turcologique. Le texte de la *DKPAM* est rédigé dans un style vif et direct, moins ampoulé que celui d'autres ouvrages bouddhiques en turc ancien, ce qui fournit un témoignage sur la langue parlée par les Turcs ouïgours. On devra aussi tirer parti de ces matériaux supplémentaires pour la linguistique contrastive entre turc ancien et tokharien. Un trait intéressant et spécifique des manuscrits de la *DKPAM* tient au fait qu'ils sont accompagnés d'illustrations peintes, tout comme les manuscrits manichéens. C'est une différence significative avec les manuscrits tokhariens qui contiennent des textes narratifs, mais qui sont dépourvus d'images. Mon explication personnelle, que je n'ai pas encore publiée, de cette divergence, réside dans le contexte de la production des manuscrits dans les monastères tokhariens, principalement des régions de Kuča et de Yanqi (Agni). Je suppose que ces manuscrits étaient lus et récités à haute voix dans les salles servant à l'enseignement et à la méditation, qui occupaient une partie des monastères rupestres. Or, ces grottes sont couvertes de peintures qui représentent justement les légendes en question. Il existait donc une complémentarité entre le texte manuscrit et la représentation plastique en deux dimensions, que les fidèles et les moines pouvaient contempler simultanément. Cette solidarité a disparu avec l'évolution des procédés d'enseignement et l'évolution de l'art du livre bouddhique, ainsi peut-être que de l'architecture des monastères.

Le présent volume ne laisse rien à désirer. Comme pour d'autres volumes précédents, les reproductions des manuscrits encore conservés, compte tenu des pertes subies lors de la Seconde Guerre mondiale et de ses suites, sont disponibles à l'adresse suivante : <http://www.bbaw.de/forschung/turfanforschung/dta/index.html> (consultée le 1^{er} mai 2012). Le système désormais unifié des cotes permet de trouver rapidement les originaux. Ce catalogue, qui donne la description matérielle des fragments, leur identification, des translittérations quand c'est nécessaire, la mention des textes parallèles, est pourvu de toutes les annexes indispensables (bibliographie, concordances). Le rédacteur doit être félicité pour son travail exemplaire.

James A. MILLWARD, Yasushi SHINMEN, Jun SUGAWARA (éds), *Studies on Xinjiang Historical Sources in 17-20th Centuries*, Tokyo, The Toyo Bunko, coll. *Toyo Bunko Research Library* 12, 2010, 317 p.

Contrairement à ce que laisse entendre une introduction excessivement optimiste sur l'accès aux sources et aux terrains du Xinjiang, cette région d'Asie centrale reste en grande partie fermée à la recherche scientifique, en particulier, mais pas seulement, dans le domaine des études islamiques. Nul besoin de rappeler ici les motivations politiques, aussi paranoïaques puissent-elles être, d'une telle fermeture. Seules quelques portes se sont entrouvertes ces vingt dernières années, comme le montrent les différentes contributions du présent livre.

Minoru Sawada inaugure le volume en comparant dix-sept manuscrits d'une hagiographie en principe bien connue des historiens de l'islam au Turkestan oriental. La *Tadhkira-i Khwâjagân* de Muhammad Sâdiq Kashqarî, écrite en turc chaghatay en 1768-1769, raconte la vie des soufis naqshbandîs appelés *khwâja* à partir de la fin du xvi^e siècle. L'examen comparatif du chapitre – assorti d'une traduction et de l'édition critique – concernant le principal d'entre eux, Âfâq Khwâja (m. 1694), suggère que les différences entre les nombreuses copies ne sont pas significatives. Amanbek Jalilov et Y. Shinmen présentent une nouvelle source : l'addendum à la traduction chaghatay du *Târîkh-i Rashîdî*. Ce dernier est une histoire de l'Asie centrale méridionale prémoderne écrite en persan par Mîrzâ Muhammad Haydar (m. 1551). La traduction de Muhammad Sharîf, datant des années 1830, contient une suite de la chronique là où elle s'arrêtait, en 1546. Plusieurs enseignements peuvent en être confirmés : les Djoungars n'ont exercé le pouvoir en Kashgarie qu'à partir de 1713 ; la conquête mandchoue a réutilisé un pouvoir régional constitué de hauts fonctionnaires (*beg*, *hâkim beg*) et de roitelets (*wang*) dont la loyauté était hautement variable ; le *hâkim beg* Zuhûr al-Dîn apparaît comme l'homme fort de la région de Kashgar au cours de la décennie de 1830. Timur Beisembiev introduit le *Tuhfat al-tawârikh-i khânî* de Mullâ 'Attâr Khûqandî, composé au début des années 1870. Ce manuscrit chaghatay permet de compléter les données historiques sur trois points : les détails militaires de la révolte dite des « Sept Khwâjas » en 1847 ; le raid de Walî Khân Tura sur Yarkand en 1857, y compris ses détails les plus cruels ; un portrait ambigu de Ya'qûb Beg, tout au long de sa campagne d'invasion du Turkestan oriental entre 1864 et 1866.

Hodong Kim analyse en détail sept décrets royaux (*yarligh*) du xvii^e siècle conservés dans le fond Jarring de la bibliothèque de l'université de Lund en Suède. Ce matériel, ici transcrit, traduit et publié en fac-similé, indique clairement que le khanat chaghatayide du Turkestan oriental maintenait des pratiques de chancellerie identiques à celles de l'empire mongol gengiskhanide et de ses États successeurs. La titulature administrative corrobore cette thèse. J. Sugawara décrit une collection de documents légaux du Xinjiang produits entre 1884 et 1955, collectée par lui-même à Kashgar en 2003. Il s'agit de 629 documents non seulement turco-islamiques mais également chinois dont une grande partie touche aux questions de propriétés terriennes, ce qui n'est guère surprenant dans une région aussi rurale que le Xinjiang méridional. Peut-être moins attendu est le fait que le système légal islamique s'avère encore solide à cette époque, même si des procédures chinoises font leur apparition. Thierry Zarcone présente des archives privées ainsi que des publications officielles appartenant à des groupes naqshbandîs toujours en activité. Généalogies spirituelles, certificats d'autorité, manuels techniques et vade-mecum – tous méconnus des

rares spécialistes de l'islam turkestanais – nous font pénétrer dans la vie, ou la survie, des soufis du Xinjiang contemporain.

Laura Newby défend le recours aux sources mandchoues pour l'histoire du Xinjiang sous les Qing. Tandis que certaines sont à l'origine même des publications en chinois, d'autres représentent une masse documentaire unique dans la mesure où le Xinjiang fut une enclave administrative mandchoue et non han jusqu'en 1877. Conservées aux archives historiques de Pékin et dans quelques autres fonds, ces sources encore peu exploitées permettent de préciser les jeux complexes de négociation entre factions khwâjas, ou entre begs et autorités impériales, également entre le Xinjiang et le khanat de Kokand. Enfin, elles donnent à voir un peu de la vie sociale de la région. Takahiro Onuma explore lui aussi des documents mandchous, plus exactement un petit ensemble d'édits en mandchou et en chaghatay du *hâkim beg* de Kashgar datant de 1801. Ici encore reproduits en fac-similé, transcrits et traduits, ces textes illustrent les techniques administratives introduites par les Qing dans le Xinjiang récemment conquis. Ils éclairent aussi l'évolution de la situation fiscale durant cette période. Li Hua étudie le cas des immigrés hui venus des provinces de l'est de l'Empire, à travers une source sinomandchoue, le *Manwen lufu*. Ce large recueil de mémoires officiels comprend une section consacrée au Xinjiang, notamment les cas de justice impliquant des immigrés hui : trafic de jade, meurtres divers et mouvements de révolte à l'instigation des soufis naqshbandîs jahrîs.

Ildikó Bellér-Hann ouvre la perspective d'une anthropologie historique des Ouïgours du Xinjiang à l'aide de deux types de sources. Le premier est composé de matériaux recueillis par des ethnographes européens dans la seconde moitié du XIX^e siècle, de manuscrits rédigés par des auteurs ouïgours au début du XX^e siècle et de traditions orales. Le second comprend une variété de rapports d'expédition publiés par des voyageurs, des géographes, des archéologues et des orientalistes. Ces sources délicates à manier ont valeur de témoignage des phénomènes sociaux, comme par exemple la pauvreté endémique et son traitement. Ablet Kamalov analyse un genre de source jusqu'ici négligé pour l'histoire de la République du Turkestan oriental (1944-1949), à savoir les mémoires des acteurs eux-mêmes. Citons entre autres Zunun Teipov, Sabit Abdurahman Uyghuri, Abdurauf Mähsum. Le caractère nécessairement orienté de ces textes en fait précisément la force, mettant à nu les intrigues politiques et l'ambiguïté des idéologies. J. A. Millward conclut l'ouvrage en proposant une histoire environnementale du Xinjiang sur la longue durée, fondée sur diverses sources textuelles, essentiellement chinoises ici, et techniques, obtenues par les technologies géographiques modernes. Les caractéristiques naturelles et leurs interactions avec la société, à travers notamment le problème de l'eau, dessinent pour l'historien un arrière-plan prometteur.

Alexandre PAPAS

Arnaud RUFFIER, *Samarcande : identités et espaces festifs en Ouzbékistan*, Tachkent-Paris, Institut français d'études sur l'Asie centrale-Aux Lieux d'être, 2007, 235 p.

Ce livre est issu d'une thèse soutenue en 2003, sous la direction de Gilles Veinstein. Ce volume se divise en deux grandes parties : la première porte sur le contexte sociopoli-

tique et les pratiques festives observées, la seconde sur les fêtes ouzbèkes comme espace de construction de la réalité sociale.

La question de départ est la suivante : comment saisir l'évolution des pratiques de la politique en Ouzbékistan depuis la période prérévolutionnaire jusqu'à celle du parti unique en passant par le régime soviétique ? Pour y répondre, A. R. prend pour objet la fête, ceci pour construire une anthropologie politique des solidarités partisans. Les raisons de son choix reposent d'abord sur un accès au terrain. C'est là un des seuls moyens d'enquêter sur la partisanerie en politique, sujet interdit pour les Ouzbeks. Dans un contexte d'insécurité et de censure politique, la fête semble un lieu d'observation intéressant pour voir comment des individus, afin d'assurer leur survie sociale, sont amenés à développer des réseaux familiaux et amicaux pour construire une solidarité, cela par le biais d'échanges de dons.

Dans une première partie, l'auteur dresse le contexte sociopolitique des pratiques festives. Il commence par revenir sur les identités perçues, leur territorialisation en quartier (*mahalla*) et leurs relations avec les spécialisations économiques, bien que les dynamiques migratoires aient changé la donne, notamment au niveau de Samarcande.

Avant la période soviétique, trois grands types d'appartenances pouvaient se distinguer. En premier lieu, il y avait le système tribal (*urug'* : tribu). À cela s'ajoutaient l'appartenance religieuse et celle à l'émirat, autorité politique temporelle qu'incarnait l'émir. Ces trois appartenances, la tribu, la religion et l'émirat, étaient sources de conflits d'autorité. Chacune de ces sphères reposait sur des logiques internes, parfois rivales entre elles, et défendait son autonomie et ses prérogatives.

Avec la soviétisation se met en place une territorialisation des identités communautaires et la construction d'un système totalitaire. Cette soviétisation s'opère d'abord par l'élimination des opposants et par la création d'une nouvelle élite. Cela passe aussi par une adhésion de la population aux valeurs et aux normes comportementales soviétiques. L'identité tribale ne peut plus être revendiquée publiquement. D'une façon générale, la partisanerie est niée ; la nature des liens de solidarité permettant d'accéder au pouvoir est soigneusement dissimulée.

En apparence, deux types de légitimité semblent apparaître comme rivaux : le premier est issu des institutions soviétiques, le second serait la légitimité traditionnelle s'épanouissant dans le cadre des *to'y*, des *gap* et des *ziyofat*. A. R. montre dès lors que les deux systèmes se sont mutuellement servis, en raison de la soviétisation des communautés et de l'instrumentalisation du « tribalisme clientélaire » par l'État soviétique et postsoviétique.

Dans ce contexte, une forme de sociabilité apparaît comme remarquablement efficace : l'*ulfat* (groupe d'amis). Cette affiliation amicale permet aux individus de constituer un groupe d'action politique qui traverse les appartenances communautaires diverses. Elle est la « cellule opérationnelle de conquête du pouvoir » (p. 57). L'exemple le plus frappant est donné par le président Karimov et ses amis « samarcandais ».

Le terme utilisé en ouzbek pour nommer un groupe d'hommes au pouvoir est celui de *klan*. Ce mode clientéliste, bien que désavoué par la population, reste le mode dominant de la politique ouzbèke. Pour les Ouzbeks, ce *klan* s'apparente à la mafia, notamment par les modalités d'entrée, à cette différence près, et de taille, que le klan de Karimov « n'est pas une mafia puisqu'il est l'État » (p. 65).

Les conséquences de la soviétisation sont des transformations de l'organisation de la parenté, notamment par la déségmentation en milieu urbain. L'identification à l'*urug'*

tend à disparaître. Seule subsiste la conscience d'appartenir à un *avlod* – une lignée patrilinéaire – et à un *ajdod*, groupe d'ascendants indifférenciés, à l'intérieur desquels l'individu peut d'ailleurs choisir de privilégier telle ou telle branche de sa parentèle (*qarindosh*). Il y a donc une plus grande plasticité dans l'usage des réseaux. Un individu peut modifier les composantes de son réseau familial lors du mariage de ses enfants ; c'est d'ailleurs la fonction première du mariage en Ouzbékistan que de recomposer la structure familiale de la parentèle sur la base du choix des parents des époux.

Pour les hommes, cette plasticité va jusqu'à la possibilité de passer du côté du groupe des parents issus de l'ascendance maternelle, alors que la logique de la patrilinéarité l'interdit. Ce passage est pourtant envisageable du fait de l'absence de nom de famille hérité. Pour ce faire, l'individu déclare tout simplement appartenir au côté de sa mère et pourra totalement se détacher du côté de son père en fondant lui-même sa propre ligne. Il cesse dès lors également de se référer à un ancêtre patrilinéaire ; il devient alors le fondateur d'une nouvelle ligne.

À noter cependant que ces transformations ne se répartissent pas de façon homogène sur le territoire puisque l'*urug*' semble se maintenir dans les zones rurales. Non pas que Samarcande fasse figure d'exception, mais elle ne saurait constituer un paragon.

Le deuxième aspect du travail de l'auteur est d'analyser comment les habitants de Samarcande affirment symboliquement leurs identités et solidarités. Il s'agit dès lors de s'intéresser à l'un des temps de la vie sociale : celui des fêtes. La fête est en effet le moment de « faire de la politique » : en nourrissant des invités, les Ouzbeks nourrissent des liens partisans, dans une société où la partisanerie est une pratique illégitime mais nécessaire à la survie de chacun.

A. R. plante le décor en rappelant qu'il n'y a pas de distinction entre les fêtes dont le sujet est l'individu et les fêtes collectives. D'ailleurs, le mot « fête » lui-même est peut-être à interroger, puisqu'il ne trouve pas d'équivalent dans la langue ouzbèke. D'un point de vue émique, les ouzbeks distinguent les *bayram*, les *to'y*, les *ziyofat* et les *gap*.

Les *bayram* désignent les grandes fêtes « officielles » comme la fête du sacrifice ou celle du printemps (Navro'z). Elles sont souvent l'objet d'une récupération par l'État qui tient à les contrôler.

Les *to'y* sont un ensemble de fêtes qui marquent les grandes étapes de la vie d'un individu : la naissance, la circoncision, le mariage, etc. Lors de ces manifestations où il faut remplir le ventre des invités (le terme de *to'y* vient du verbe *to'ymoq* remplir), le statut social change tant pour le bénéficiaire que pour l'organisateur. Ainsi, le *to'y* de naissance est important pour la mère, celui de la circoncision concerne plutôt le père qui devient membre de plein droit de la communauté : il devient l'organisateur alors que jusqu'alors il n'avait été que l'objet ou l'invité, même s'il est aidé par son père. Pour le mariage de ses enfants, il est alors le seul organisateur, son père ne l'aidant plus du tout.

Le *to'y* ne peut se comprendre qu'en relation avec le système de don (*Toyona*) qui l'accompagne. L'importance du don est particulièrement observable dans le *to'y payg'amber oshi*, *to'y* que l'on célèbre lorsqu'un individu atteint l'âge de 63 ans, âge de la mort du Prophète. Il marque le passage de relais entre le père et le fils. C'est une occasion pour l'organisateur d'inverser la logique de don prévalant lors des *to'y*. Le protagoniste se retirant du jeu, on ne pourra pas lui rendre les invitations qu'il donne. Cela constitue un futur capital d'invitations et de dons pour ses descendants. Le père les inscrit ainsi dans un système d'obligations où ils prennent une position de force. La question de l'argent

demeure centrale : il existe des livres de comptes pour s'y retrouver. Cependant nous ne sommes pas dans une logique de thésaurisation. Cette dernière paraîtrait illégitime, raison pour laquelle l'auteur rapproche le *to'y* du potlatch.

Dans un *to'y* organisé par un homme puissant se met en place une concurrence dans les dons. Le bénéfice espéré est que l'homme d'autorité interfère en faveur du donneur. Ce dernier aura cependant intérêt à diversifier les personnes « courtisées ». En effet, un retournement politique est vite arrivé : il s'agit de ne pas mettre tous ses œufs dans le même panier.

Les *gap* et *ziyofat* sont des fêtes liées davantage à l'affirmation d'amitiés et solidarités partisans. Pour les *ziyofat*, les prétextes peuvent être multiples comme célébrer une rencontre inhabituelle, l'achat d'une maison ou d'une voiture. La règle du retour d'invitation n'est pas obligatoire. Les *ziyofat* ont pour but de rassembler autour d'une même personne l'ensemble des connaissances que celle-ci a pu rencontrer dans d'autres occasions.

Les *gap* sont réguliers et ne concernent qu'un collectif d'amis (*ulfat*). Il n'est plus question de famille ou de clan, de tribus mais uniquement d'amitié (*dostlik*). Il faut pour cela une égalité symbolique strictement respectée. La règle du retour d'invitation y étant obligatoire, il faut donc bien choisir ses amis avant car il s'agit ensuite d'honorer les dépenses. Les *gap* ont tendance à se reproduire de génération en génération. Les enfants fréquentant les *gap* de leurs pères, ils lient des liens d'amitiés qui donnent naissance à d'autres *gap*.

Les *gap* sont le lieu d'une socialisation politique importante. Ils peuvent servir de base pour « monter un coup », ou prendre le pouvoir. L'exemple le plus connu reste celui du *gap* « samarcandais » qui dirige la ville. Il rassemble une trentaine d'hommes qui contrôlent l'ensemble des postes administratifs et politiques de la ville. Tous sont des fidèles de Karimov.

En conclusion, à travers cette lecture anthropologique politique des fêtes, A. R. nous livre un éclairage remarquable sur la vie partisane en Ouzbékistan. Dans un système qui empêche toute liberté de la représentativité politique, elles permettent d'exprimer un choix partisan. Non pas que ce soit là le lieu où se développent ou s'expriment des idées politiques, mais c'est le lieu d'une action politique : se rendre à un *to'y* et soutenir tel leader plutôt que tel autre, non pour les idées politiques qu'il pourrait avoir, mais pour ses qualités de négociateur avec l'administration et l'État central, constitue l'un des rares actes partisans possibles.

Ce travail, remarquable par son ethnographie et le cadre théorique original qu'il utilise, se prête néanmoins à quelques critiques de forme. Outre le titre qui ne semble pas vraiment correspondre au livre – la ville de Samarcande n'est pas l'objet de l'ouvrage – on pourra critiquer une mise en forme susceptible d'être parfois améliorée. Sans doute en raison de la volonté de condenser au maximum, certains passages sont difficilement compréhensibles, voire elliptiques. Le lecteur comprendra qu'il a devant lui un ouvrage d'anthropologie politique, exigeant quelques connaissances tant dans cette discipline que sur l'Ouzbékistan, même si le glossaire est un outil remarquable pour s'y repérer. Certaines « évidences », notamment concernant le contexte politique général de l'Ouzbékistan, sont parfois bonnes à rappeler : elles éclairent un propos qui risque, sans elles, de paraître obscur. Ces quelques points ne doivent cependant pas cacher l'essentiel, à savoir que nous avons là un livre important et original pour l'anthropologie politique et les études sur l'Asie centrale.

Svetlana JACQUESSON, *Pastoréalismes : anthropologie historique des processus d'intégration chez les Kirghiz du Tian Shan intérieur*, Wiesbaden, Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2010, 281 p.

S. J. est l'une des anthropologues occidentales qui connaît le mieux le Kirghizstan ; j'en veux pour preuve indirecte le fait qu'elle ait été la seule ethnologue étrangère à participer à un ouvrage collectif kirghiz centré sur la culture matérielle, publié il y a quelques années à Bichkek (A. J. Japarov, *Nasledie material'noj i duxovnoj kul'tury kirgizstana*, Bichkek, Nacional'naja Akademija Nauk K'irg'izskoj Respubliki, 2005). L'ouvrage qu'elle nous propose aujourd'hui, basé sur plus d'une décennie d'enquêtes de terrain, constitue donc un jalon important dans l'approche et la compréhension du pastoralisme kirghiz.

Le point de l'auteur est une vision assez sombre de la réalité villageoise kirghize de la fin des années 1990 : « Les gens paraissent se cacher dans des maisons toutes pareilles » (p. 1), doublée d'une découverte de l'importance extrême de la généalogie : « J'ai donc vu dans la descendance un moyen pour pénétrer la communauté locale » (p. 1). De fait, tout le monde connaît le célèbre dicton kirghiz, maintes fois rapporté par les voyageurs du XIX^e siècle : « Qui ne connaît pas le nom de ses sept ancêtres est un traître ».

S. J. va chercher à répondre à trois interrogations théoriques : 1. quelle est la spécificité du groupe de descendance et du pastoralisme kirghiz ? 2. comment descendance et pastoralisme interagissent-ils ? 3. quel rôle jouent ces deux systèmes dans les processus d'intégration ? (p. 3).

Le premier chapitre (p. 1-21), qui sert d'introduction, constitue la boîte à outils méthodologique de l'ouvrage et présente un certain nombre de généralités sur le phénomène pastoral et la descendance. À partir du chapitre 2 intitulé « Les références du passé » (p. 23-79), nous entrons dans le vif du sujet avec une analyse des *sanjira* « généalogies ». J'ai toujours considéré qu'il y avait là un domaine d'études particulièrement révélateur, ce que j'avais cherché à synthétiser dans un article – qui semble avoir échappé à l'auteur puisqu'elle ne le mentionne pas – intitulé « Dire l'histoire en l'écrivant : un fragment de *sanjira* kirghize », *Turcica* 31, 1999, p. 489-508, écrit en collaboration avec Japar Kenčiev, généalogiste kirghiz, et Gundula Salk, qui préparait sous ma direction un doctorat sur la *sanjira*.

Les liens généalogiques permettent de mettre en évidence l'existence de deux groupes à partir de la légende étiologique de Dolon : l'aile droite (*oŋ kol*) et l'aile gauche (*sol kol*). Ultérieurement s'ajoute, avec un statut inférieur, un troisième groupe : les *Ičkilik* « ceux qui ont intégré » (historiquement on sait que c'est ce qui se passe après une défaite), que S. J. laisse judicieusement en dehors de son étude, car leur zone de peuplement (Chine, Afghanistan, Ouzbékistan) ne relève pas immédiatement de son terrain d'enquêtes (p. 24, n. 5). Les généalogies, assez rébarbatives à lire dans leur version kirghize, sont ici très bien présentées et illustrées par des schémas clairs. Elles vont servir de point de départ à une présentation des relations politiques entre groupes et à un portrait excellemment brossé de la principale figure de pouvoir, le *manap* (p. 41-47).

Le système pastoral kirghiz est décrit (p. 52-79) avec une emphase particulière sur la catégorisation et l'organisation du bétail. En ce qui concerne les stations pastorales, je propose une normalisation du vocabulaire concernant les quatre étapes du parcours annuel kirghiz : le vernage (pâturages de printemps), l'estivage (pâturages d'été), l'automne

(pâturages d'automne), l'hivernage (pâturages d'hiver). Comme le remarque l'auteur, la nomenclature kirghize ne fournit pas d'indices sur leur disposition géographique (p. 54). Par exemple chez les Kirghiz du Pamir la migration est altitudinale, alors qu'elle peut être circulaire au Kirghizstan. On aurait aimé avoir une caractérisation de tous les types de vallées où les Kirghiz établissent leurs campements et pas seulement des « vallons » (*kolot*). Le cheptel kirghiz comprend cinq espèces d'animaux domestiques : ovins, caprins, bovins (bovidés et bovinés ; le terme générique pour désigner le yak est *topoz* dans les parlers nord et *kotoz* dans les parlers sud), camélidés, équidés. Il existe des regroupements de type *bodo mal* « gros bétail » (bovins, équidés, camélidés) et *mayda mal* « petit bétail » (ovins et caprins). L'espèce préférée est bien sûr le cheval qui joue un rôle central dans la société kirghize. Je trouve un peu surprenant que S. J. s'abstienne de toute référence aux travaux de Carole Ferret, qui fait autorité pour ce qui concerne le cheval en Asie centrale ; je signale donc ici : « De l'attache des chevaux à la fécondation des femmes en passant par la cuisine : quelques pistes pour l'exploration des notions altaïques de chaud et de froid », *Études rurales* 171-172, 2004, p. 243-270 ; et surtout : *Une civilisation du cheval : les usages de l'équidé de la steppe à la taïga*, Paris, Belin, 2009. L'auteur traite de façon cursive les usages des animaux : animaux à monter, à charger, à traire, à dépecer, à abattre ; on aurait aimé qu'elle s'attarde un peu plus, car on est là au centre de la problématique de l'élevage.

Visiblement S. J. a hâte de passer de l'ethnographie à l'anthropologie et le lecteur ne s'en plaindra pas trop, car le chapitre 3, intitulé « Inclusion au système colonial russe » (p. 81-114), est tout à fait passionnant. On a là pour la première fois une vision claire et documentée de cette période de transition, sur un territoire précis du Tian-Shan. L'emprise colonialiste russe se manifeste par des tentatives de désunir les *rod* (groupes de descendance), qui sont crédités par l'administration de toutes les difficultés auxquelles se heurte le gouvernement territorial. Cette lecture de la dynamique politique est « biaisée » (p. 86) et ne tient pas compte des divergences d'adaptation locale au nouveau système administratif. Les terres des nomades deviennent propriété d'État et sont redistribuées par l'administration : « Chaque Kirghiz avait le droit de construire des maisons ainsi que des étables sur la parcelle d'hivernage qui lui était attribuée par la *volost*. Ce terrain bâti pouvait se transmettre en héritage aussi longtemps que les bâtiments y existaient ; lorsque les bâtiments tombaient en ruines, le terrain rejoignait le fond communal » (p. 92). L'échec de la *volost* est mis sur le compte des *manap* par l'administration, prétexte commode pour dédouaner les autorités tsaristes des défauts des statuts coloniaux. L'auteur met en évidence deux phases de colonisation : une expérimentation prudente de 1876 à 1905, suivie d'un changement de cap (1905-1916) : on passe d'un essai d'intégration des nomades dans la modernité à une volonté d'intégrer des colons dans une colonie. Les masques tombent : la réalité de la colonisation apparaît. S. J. va en suivre le détail dans trois *volost* du Tian-Shan en 1913. Grâce à des tableaux et à des cartes très lisibles, on peut voir le passage des *ayıl* (unités territoriales) aux *obščina* (unités économiques). Les conflits entre nomades kirghiz et colons russes se multiplient jusqu'en 1916, date de la grande révolte kirghize, qui sera matée dans le sang et verra l'exil d'une grande partie de la population vers le Sinkiang chinois. Il aurait fallu, je pense, mentionner le nom donné par les Kirghiz à cette période très douloureuse de leur histoire : *Ürkün*, le sursaut d'angoisse.

Le chapitre 4, intitulé « Fromatage soviétique » (p. 115-143), éclaire d'un jour nouveau l'avènement des soviets et la mise en place de la république kirghize. C'est une période trouble et mal connue. Après les exactions des troupes tsaristes suite à *Ürkün*, les ravages

de la guerre civile, les ultimes soubresauts des *basmachi*, les Kirghiz sont anesthésiés et ne réagissent guère à la mise en place d'un nouveau modèle de développement économique, restructurant l'espace sous forme d'oblasts rationalisés. Pour ce faire, la politique va s'appuyer sur la science : le *Kirgizskij Oblastnyj Komitet* (organe exécutif) commande d'importantes expéditions scientifiques (comprenant plusieurs centaines de chercheurs) qui vont décrire la situation sociale et économique (milieu des années 1920). Il en ressort notamment que les *manap* (figures d'autorité locales) sont le principal obstacle à la mise en place de la nouvelle politique. Ils seront éliminés, de même que les « personnes rétrogrades » (en gros leurs parents, amis et connaissances, c'est-à-dire beaucoup de monde), permettant ainsi la campagne stalinienne de sédentarisation-collectivisation. Grâce aux entretiens réalisés par l'auteur, on comprend mieux les réactions locales au remembrement des fermes et du foncier pastoral : des tableaux associés à des cartes permettent de visualiser l'usage du foncier pastoral en 1926 dans trois *volost*. S. J. remarque très justement (p. 139) : « L'absence de résistance s'explique aussi par le fait que la collectivisation est si brusque qu'elle n'est qu'imparfaitement comprise. Les décisions centrales sur les types d'unités économiques qui doivent être créées changent et se succèdent à une vitesse qui échappe à toute prise de conscience (...) ». La conséquence est une chute spectaculaire du cheptel kirghiz qui passe de 6 800 000 têtes en 1930 à 2 000 000 en 1934 (p. 140). Il faudra attendre le milieu des années 1950 pour voir une réorganisation des kolkhozes qui marque la véritable sédentarisation des Kirghiz.

L'auteur traite ensuite « Du pastoralisme à l'élevage soviétique » (p. 145-176). C'est l'occasion de présenter les relations entre kolkhozes et sovkhoses kirghiz, mais S. J. ne donne pas la définition de ce que doit être idéalement un sovkhose, ce qui pour un lecteur non averti pose problème. La soviétisation du cheptel marque un tournant dans l'élevage kirghiz. La dévaluation du cheval s'accompagne de l'exaltation du mouton : « Le mouton fut au Kirghizstan ce que le coton fut à l'Ouzbékistan » (p. 153). Plaignons les yaks et les chameaux qui firent les frais de cette monoculture ! Les bergers expérimentés s'occupent des brebis, les débutants des moutons ; ils sont choyés par les autorités (1950-1980), jusqu'à ce qu'ils soient voués aux gémonies, quand les cours de la laine s'effondrent : « On attribua aux bergers tous les maux : le passéisme, l'inertie, la paresse, le manque total de compétence » (p. 165). Le désenchantement des bergers transparaît au travers des nombreux entretiens réalisés par l'auteur.

La suite de l'ouvrage (p. 177-250) est consacrée à l'étude locale de la décollectivisation et à la marginalisation progressive de l'élevage. Deux types de fermes sont comparés : le kolkhoze « Togolok Moldo » et le sovkhos « Songköl ». Le pastoralisme traditionnel est supplanté par l'émergence des exploitations agricoles et l'apparition de propriétaires terriens, avec la bénédiction des autorités qui considèrent le secteur agricole comme un secteur « moderne » (p. 217).

Les transformations structurelles de la gestion des pâturages ont déclenché un mouvement d'individualisme, une volonté d'obtenir des droits exclusifs sur les parcelles, bref un début de passage à ce qui va ressembler de plus en plus à une économie de marché. Cela génère également un exode rural dont S. J. ne parle pas, mais pour lequel on peut se reporter à l'enquête de Matthias Schmidt et Lira Sagynbekova qui porte sur 500 foyers entre 2005 et 2007 : « Labour Migration as a Livelihood Strategy in Rural Kirghizstan », in « Migration Past and Present : Changing Patterns in Kyrgyzstan », *Central Asian Survey* 27/2, juin 2008, p. 111-127.

En conclusion, tant par ses analyses que par les documents qu'il présente et ordonne, le livre de S. J. se signale particulièrement à l'attention de l'anthropologue turcologue ; non pas seulement, je crois, au spécialiste du Kirghizstan, mais bien à tous ceux qui s'intéressent à l'Asie intérieure. Bien présenté¹, clair, agréablement illustré de cartes et schémas, *Pastoralismes* est un ouvrage qui fait date dans l'analyse théorique des processus d'intégration chez les Kirghiz du Tian Shan.

Rémy DOR

Rufat SATTAROV, *Islam, State and Society in Independent Azerbaijan: between Historical Legacy and Post-Soviet Reality with Special Reference to Baku and its Environs*, Wiesbaden, Reichert Verlag, coll. *Kaukasienstudien – Caucasian studies* 11, 2009, xxix-[1]-366 p., 13 ill. h. t.

L'une des questions auxquelles cet ouvrage s'attache à répondre est en quoi se distinguent les mutations du champ religieux observées en République d'Azerbaïdjan depuis la dernière décennie de la période soviétique. Pour ce faire, l'auteur a concentré son attention sur les institutions et organisations confessionnelles de la ville de Bakou et de sa périphérie rurale immédiate. Le principe central de sa recherche a été le primat de l'« islam organisé » (*organised Islam*), avec un intérêt particulier pour la phase de massification caractéristique selon Miroslav Hroch (*Social Preconditions of the National Revival in Europe: a Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups among the Smaller European Nations*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1985) de la période avancée du renouveau des « petites nations » européennes. De ce point de vue l'ouvrage paie une dette aux travaux des historiens occidentaux de l'identité azerbaïdjanaise (Adam, Altstadt, Auch, Bennigsen, Karpat, Swietochowski, Zenkovsky), cités dans de nombreux chapitres de l'ouvrage. Celui-ci, centré sur la première décennie d'indépendance, jusqu'aux lendemains du 11 septembre, achève de relativiser l'importance de cette date comme tournant historique, un retour aux méthodes soviétiques dans la répression de l'islam politique étant observé dès 1995.

Ouvert par un chapitre sur l'histoire de l'islam sur le territoire de l'Azerbaïdjan actuel, le livre s'attarde pour l'époque moderne sur la création des dignités de *şeyxülislam* (pour les chiites) et de *müfti* (pour les sunnites) par les autorités tsaristes en 1823 et 1832, puis sur le réformisme islamique du début du xx^e siècle (à travers les travaux de chercheurs occidentaux). La période soviétique (p. 44-70) est traitée elle aussi par des sources secondaires,

¹ Je donne ici la liste des coquilles relevées, qui n'est sans doute pas exhaustive : p. 2, « corrélation entre les. », rajouter « deux » avant le point / p. 83, n. 60, « et, assez souvent de la famille nucléaire », rajouter « , » après « souvent » / p. 88, « l'introduction des éleveurs désert l'administration », bien lire « dessert » / p. 94, « en cas du décès », bien lire « de » / p. 115, « évènement », bien lire : « événement » / p. 120, tabl. 2, « ukrainien », bien lire « ukrainien » / p. 125, « immobilisation complète », séparer les deux mots / p. 138 : « ce kolkhoze a été créée », bien lire : « créé » / p. 225 et p. 226, « reparties », bien lire : « réparties ».

par les variations de la politique religieuse de l'URSS. R. S. évoque les tentatives du pouvoir bolchevique de tirer parti des dissensions entre majorité chiite et minorité sunnite, ainsi que les essais de certains leaders religieux musulmans de rapprocher les deux communautés. Les répressions des années 1920-1930 apparaissent dans leur dimension communautaire, l'auteur évoquant (p. 50) le poids des Arméniens et des Russes dans les jeunesses communistes et dans l'Union des Sans-Dieu (*Soiuz bezbozhnikov*), active en Azerbaïdjan à partir de 1925. Les principales charnières chronologiques retenues pour la période soviétique sont : la campagne contre l'islam de 1926 ; la création en 1944 de l'Administration spirituelle des musulmans de Transcaucasie (ZMRİ en azerbaïdjanais), avec à sa tête un *seyxülislam* désormais secondé par un *müfti* placé en situation d'infériorité hiérarchique ; le lancement par l'administration Khrouchtchev d'une nouvelle politique anti-religieuse en novembre 1954 ; enfin les impacts de la révolution iranienne de février 1979 et de l'invasion soviétique de l'Afghanistan en décembre de la même année.

Des impacts que l'auteur tend à relativiser, préférant s'étendre sur des faits propres à l'espace soviétique comme le conflit du Qarabagh à partir de 1988, présenté comme phase d'une lutte nationale n'ayant pas donné lieu, du côté azerbaïdjanais, à une instrumentation politique de la religion. La période Gorbatchev, elle, est vue comme moment d'expansion du rôle de l'intelligentsia d'académie, des orientalistes en particulier, dans la reformulation d'un discours public sur l'islam. L'auteur en donne pour exemple la figure très controversée de l'académicien Ziya Büniyadov (1921-1997), historien nationaliste et anti-arménien, spécialiste du Caucase médiéval, traducteur du Coran en azerbaïdjanais, avocat du retour à l'alphabet arabe pour la notation de cette langue. Un autre arabisant notoire, Nəriman Qasimoğlu, tête pensante du Front populaire depuis la fin des années 1980, apparaît comme promoteur d'un « islam coranique » supraconfessionnel, rassemblant chiites et sunnites dans l'invocation d'une tradition religieuse proprement azerbaïdjanaise. La brève période Mütəllibov (1990-1992) est caractérisée par la libéralisation de la législation sur la pratique religieuse. Tandis que les rangs de l'élite politique azerbaïdjanaise s'ouvrent à l'*establishment* religieux, on assiste par réaction à l'émergence d'un islam politique ouvertement hostile à la ZMRİ.

Un islam politique dont les racines historiques dans l'*underground* soviétique sont largement passées sous silence. Le sous-chapitre (p. 202-212) consacré au Parti islamique d'Azerbaïdjan (AİP) depuis sa création par deux natifs du village et lieu saint chiite de Nardaran, à la périphérie de Bakou, n'évoque qu'en passant l'activité clandestine de cette organisation depuis le milieu des années 1970. L'auteur décrit plus longuement la reconversion du parti, entre 1998 et 2005, en défenseur de la démocratie et des droits de l'homme, puis de l'« azerbaïdjanité », dans le cadre de coalitions successives avec le parti Müsavat, d'abord, puis avec le Parti social-démocrate et le Vəhdət de Tahir Kərimli. Plusieurs sous-chapitres monographiques, dans la seconde moitié de l'ouvrage, traitent d'un large éventail d'organisations : partis politiques ; associations (comme Tövbe [Repentance] qui rassemble dès 1985 de jeunes intellectuels dans la lutte gorbatchévienne contre l'alcoolisme) ; communautés locales de croyants (avec un intérêt pour le village de Nardaran, foyer historique de l'AİP, dominé par ses familles de *seyid* et son Conseil religieux collectant les aumônes légales en toute indépendance de la ZMRİ) ; enfin ONG chiites et sunnites avec leurs clientèles respectives (telle la Fondation de l'aide à la jeunesse sunnite de la ville de Zaqatala et ses sympathies soufies turques parmi les disciples du penseur Osman Nuri Topbaş).

Le manque de familiarité de R. S. avec les aspects non institutionnels de l'histoire contemporaine de l'islam dans le Caucase méridional apparaît dans les chapitres consacrés à la période de l'indépendance. Comme dans le traitement d'Äbülfäz Elçibäy, abordé à travers un petit nombre de déclarations officielles pendant son éphémère présidence (1992-1993). Cette brève période de transition est traitée principalement à travers la multiplication des périodiques traitant de l'islam et la libéralisation de la législation sur les activités religieuses, au détriment de l'autorité de la ZMRİ. Ouvrant la voie au financement d'institutions religieuses depuis l'étranger, la nouvelle réglementation est créditée de l'irruption du Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, de ses imams et de sa faculté de Théologie créée à l'université de Bakou en 1992-1993, et de l'apparition concomitante d'un premier réseau d'écoles religieuses chiites financées par l'Iran. Le chapitre consacré à la décennie Heydär Äliyev (1993-2003) signale un tournant important avec le lancement en 1995 d'une première campagne contre les partis politiques islamistes et les missions musulmanes étrangères. Tournant conclu l'année suivante par l'installation de la nouvelle Administration des musulmans du Caucase (QMİ, successeur de la ZMRİ) comme instance de contrôle des organisations confessionnelles islamiques du pays. L'adhésion de l'Azerbaïdjan à la coalition antiterroriste de 2001 et la répression d'organisations comme le Ceyşullah (Armée de Dieu) ou la branche locale du Hizb al-Tahrir apparaissent dans le prolongement logique de cette involution entamée bien avant le 11 septembre 2001.

L'accent est mis pour cette période sur le rôle de la QMİ, ainsi que du Comité d'État pour le travail avec les associations religieuses (ADDK, créé en juin 2001) dans la reprise en main graduelle du champ religieux par l'État azerbaïdjanais. Innovation géopolitique de taille : cette fois l'islam essentiellement piétiste patronné par la QMİ reçoit l'appui des puissances occidentales. Ces dernières, après avoir longtemps vu dans l'islam politique le levain de possibles soulèvements contre le pouvoir soviétique, ont adopté après le 11 septembre 2001 une vision hostile à toute forme de politisation de l'islam et arment les régimes en place contre les formes les plus diverses de pratique publique de cette religion. Il est vrai que la décennie Heydär Äliyev se distingue aussi comme celle du retour en Azerbaïdjan d'une génération de responsables religieux formés à l'étranger, parmi lesquels deux figures du tout début du XXI^e siècle : Qamät Süleymanov, imam de la mosquée sunnite dite Äbu-Bäkr dans le district Nərimanov de la capitale, formé à Médine, et İlqar İbrahimovlu, formé à Qazvin en Iran, chef de la communauté chiite de la Grande Mosquée de la vieille ville de Bakou. Opposée à l'autorité de la QMİ, la Grande Mosquée chiite a davantage maille à partir avec le pouvoir politique (qui la fait fermer en 2008) que la mosquée sunnite Äbu-Bäkr (à laquelle son piétisme n'épargne pas d'être interdite, la même année, sous l'accusation de « wahhabisme »).

Tout au long de l'ouvrage des sous-chapitres sont dévolus aux relations de l'Azerbaïdjan avec l'Iran et la Turquie. Le sujet aurait gagné à faire l'objet d'un chapitre distinct, tant l'auteur y souligne les oscillations dans le temps des relations de Bakou avec Ankara et Téhéran : une période pro-turque, de l'indépendance à la chute d'Elçibäy en 1993, suivie par un rééquilibrage sous Heydär Äliyev vers la Russie et, plus brièvement, vers l'Iran. En même temps l'auteur souligne les nombreux paradoxes de ces relations : Äbülfäz Elçibäy paraissant vite excessivement panturc aux yeux des milieux d'affaires d'Ankara, tandis que dix ans plus tard un leader religieux chiite comme İlqar İbrahimovlu défend un modèle de démocratie à l'occidentale peu apprécié de Téhéran. Ici comme ailleurs dans son ouvrage, c'est aux acteurs institutionnels, voire étatiques (le Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı et

ses réseaux d'imams ou le mouvement néo-nurcu de Fethullah Gülen et ses réseaux d'écoles ; le Comité d'aide Imam-Khomeyni et le réseau d'éditeurs religieux al-Hoda), que l'auteur s'est intéressé. Les mosquées tiennent aussi une place importante, comme celles tenues à Bakou jusqu'en 2008 par Süleymanov et İbrahimov, ou les congrégations apparentées à telle ou telle minorité ethnique (lèzgue et tate, en particulier). Côté turc, la permanence d'un tropisme linguistique est soulignée, ainsi que son impact dans le domaine éducatif ; côté iranien, le rôle de la télévision hertzienne en azerbaïdjanais dans les districts méridionaux de la République d'Azerbaïdjan (avec des chaînes comme *Azərbaycan TV* et *Cənub TV*). Par contre l'*underground* islamique caucasien est évoqué de manière elliptique, ainsi l'activité du Hezbollah dans les régions de Lankaran et d'Astara, frontalières de l'Iran, jusqu'aux campagnes d'arrestations de l'année 2001 (p. 143-145). Un « facteur arabe » est rapidement mentionné pour l'impact des flux financiers en provenance du Golfe sur le développement des institutions confessionnelles musulmanes jusqu'aux fermetures de la fatidique année 2001.

Un autre fil rouge important, quoique discontinu, du récit de R. S. est constitué par son évocation du rôle de l'intelligentsia laïque, surtout des spécialistes des études orientales, dans la production d'un discours public sur l'islam depuis la fin de la période soviétique. L'auteur évoque d'abord la découverte par nombre d'intellectuels musulmans du Coran à travers les traductions russes d'orientalistes comme Ignatii Krachkovskii (p. 269). Outre Büniyadov, Qasimov et leur islam à la fois « coranique » et national, R. S. s'attarde sur le rôle des intellectuels d'académie au sein d'institutions de la période Heydar-Əliyev. Parmi ces derniers figurent les membres de l'ADDK et le combat qu'ils mènent, dans le sillage de Büniyadov et de Qasimov, pour un islam réunissant chiites et sunnites contre la QMI, laquelle anathémise ces intellectuels en les dénonçant comme « wahhabites », contribuant ainsi à flouter les termes du débat. La présence des orientalistes dans les partis politiques de la perestroïka et de l'indépendance est largement évoquée : ainsi du spécialiste du persan Zərdüşt Əlizadə au Parti social-démocrate d'Azerbaïdjan (p. 195-196) et de Sabir Həsənlı, longtemps cadre de la ZMRİ, puis à partir de 1991 recteur de l'université Islamique de Bakou, fondateur en octobre de cette année-là d'un Parti islamique du progrès d'Azerbaïdjan (p. 212) dans lequel d'aucuns continuent de voir une création du parti communiste et du KGB pour contrecarrer l'AİP.

Comme dans une majorité de la littérature produite sur l'islam dans l'ex-URSS, peu d'attention est portée aux évolutions de la période soviétique, si ce n'est de brèves allusions aux origines de l'AİP et aux échanges entre le Nakhitchevan et l'Iran dans les années 1970 (p. 111). Par ailleurs la restriction du cadre géographique de l'étude à Bakou et sa périphérie prive l'auteur d'information sur les changements profonds et anciens d'autres régions, en particulier à la périphérie méridionale du pays (Nakhitchevan, Lankaran, Astara...), au contact immédiat de l'Iran. L'auteur admet certes, en préambule à son ouvrage (p. XIX), avoir délaissé l'islam « populaire » pour se concentrer sur les interactions entre État et société. Cette approche, si elle offre au lecteur un panorama précis des acteurs institutionnels des mutations du champ religieux en République d'Azerbaïdjan, laisse dans l'ombre des pans entiers de l'histoire sociale et politique de l'islam en Azerbaïdjan, pour ne rien dire de... l'histoire religieuse proprement dite, à peine abordée dans le livre.

Il est d'ailleurs surprenant que dans un livre sur l'islam et l'État dans une société postsoviétique, les convergences entre intelligentsia d'académie, militants islamistes et

police politique ne fassent pas l'objet d'une grande attention, à un moment où les historiens de l'orientalisme académique en URSS ont fait la lumière sur ces convergences. Inversement, l'*underground* et les sociabilités religieuses traditionnelles, notamment soufies, ont été oubliés : tout juste la voie Naqshbandiyya est-elle admise à figurer comme canal de l'influence turque sous la présidence de Turgut Özal. Si l'ouvrage permet donc un premier très utile repérage institutionnel, il constitue aussi une excellente invitation à approfondir cette exploration, en direction de la période soviétique, en direction aussi d'autres régions de l'Azerbaïdjan et du Caucase méridional, enfin vers une sociologie des acteurs de la réislamisation contemporaine, parmi lesquels la région offre également une galerie très méconnue de protagonistes régionaux et ruraux.

Stéphane A. DUDOIGNON

Korkut BUĞDAY, *The Routledge Introduction to Literary Ottoman*, trad. Jerold C. Frakes, Londres-New York, Routledge, 2009, xx + 226 p.

Cette introduction à l'« ottoman littéraire » est la version anglaise d'un ouvrage paru d'abord en allemand (*Osmanisch-Lehrbuch: Einführung in die Grundlagen der Literatursprache*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1999) issu des cours de turc ottoman donnés par l'auteur à l'université de Hambourg. On doit la version anglaise de cet ouvrage à Jerold C. Flakes, professeur d'anglais à l'université de Buffalo de la State University of New York.

Depuis l'introduction de l'alphabet latin en Turquie en 1928, les étudiants de textes et de documents ottomans avaient le choix, pour en apprendre la langue, de se servir soit de recueils de textes¹, soit de méthodes anciennes reflétant plus ou moins l'état de la langue à la fin du xix^e-début du xx^e siècle. Pour les germanophones, la *Türkische Konversations-Grammatik* du consul autrichien Henry Jehlitschka, parue pour la première fois en 1895 chez Julius Groos à Heidelberg, était, comme Korkut Buğday l'observe dans sa préface (p. xii) l'œuvre pionnière. Elle a été suivie d'un très grand nombre de manuels et de méthodes parues à l'époque de la première guerre mondiale en Allemagne², dont on trouve les traces encore dans le livre de Buğday. Les anglophones disposaient de l'excellent manuel de Vahan Hovhannes Hagopian, professeur d'ottoman à l'Anatolia College de Merzifon, publié par le même éditeur allemand (*Ottoman-Turkish Conversation-Grammar: a Practical Method of Learning the Ottoman-Turkish Language*, Heidelberg, J. Groos, 1907), qui est à maints égards supérieur à l'ouvrage de Jehlitschka. Pour les francophones, il existait une foule de méthodes, publiées à Istanbul depuis le xix^e siècle³. Parmi ces ouvrages, devenus introuvables pour la plupart, il y a de fort bons, qui pourraient

¹ En Allemagne, on s'est servi pour l'étude de l'ottoman au niveau universitaire de la *Osmanisch-türkische Chrestomathie*, datant de 1965, un très bon choix de textes, admirablement bien imprimé, réuni par le regretté Richard F. Kreutel (1916-1981).

² Cf. la bibliographie dans le catalogue de l'exposition *Germano-Turcica: zur Geschichte des Türkisch-Lernens in den deutschsprachigen Ländern*, Bamberg, Die Bibliothek, 1987.

³ Cf. les listes bibliographiques dans Jean DENY, « L'osmanli moderne et le türk de Turquie », in Jean DENY, Kaare GRØNBECHE, Helmuth SCHEEL, Zeki Velidi TOĞAN (dir.), *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta I*, Wiesbaden, F. Steiner, 1959, p. 224-225.

encore rendre service aujourd'hui, telle la *Méthode théorique et pratique pour l'enseignement de la langue turque* de Moïse Dalmédico (2^e éd. complètement refondue, Constantinople, imprimerie V. & H. Der-Nersessian, 1908).

En Turquie, le nombre de méthodes publiées pour l'apprentissage de l'ottoman (en turc moderne) ou pour apprendre à lire le turc en alphabet arabe ne cesse de s'accroître depuis la classique introduction du regretté Faruk Timurtaş (1925-1982) (*Osmanlı Türkçesine Giriş I: Eski Yazı – Gramer – Aruz – Metinler*, 1962), utilisée pour les cours universitaires, que l'on a régulièrement rééditée (23^e éd., Istanbul, 2000). Un excellent manuel pratique, plus récent, est le « Guide du turc-ottoman » de Hayati Develi (*Osmanlı Türkçesi Kılavuzu*, 2 vol., Istanbul, Bilimevi, 2000-2001 ; plusieurs réimpr.).

L'*Introduction* de Korkut Buğday ressemble à ces méthodes. Divisée en 20 leçons (« chapitres »), elle traite tous les aspects de la grammaire turque, arabe et persane concernant l'ottoman. La grammaire arabe, en particulier, y est traitée dans tous ses détails. Les textes de lecture contenus dans les 20 « chapitres » sont très variés et remontent à toutes les époques, de l'époque classique et post-classique (extraits du *Tacii t-tevarih* de Hoca Saadeddin, de l'*Asafname* de Lutfi Pacha, de Matrakçı Nasuh, du *Seyahatname* d'Evliya Çelebi, de la chronique de Naima ; mais aussi des textes non narratifs comme la *Sened-i ittifak* jusqu'à l'époque moderne (par exemple, le récit de voyage d'Ahmed Midhat Efendi, *Avrupa'da bir cevelan : 1891-1892*). Plusieurs textes ont été repris des anciens manuels d'ottoman allemands de Németh et de Willy Bolland⁴. Les textes sont suivis d'exercices pratiques (transcriptions, traductions, analyses grammaticales, questions et réponses etc.). À la fin du volume on trouve la transcription et traduction anglaise des textes, un corrigé des exercices, un index des termes grammaticaux et un glossaire. La bibliographie de la version allemande a été adaptée aux besoins des lecteurs anglophones. Soulignons que la méthode de Buğday permet une étude de la langue sans aide d'un professeur, ainsi qu'à des étudiants peu ou pas du tout familiers du turc moderne.

La paléographie n'est pas traitée dans cet ouvrage, à l'exception d'une brève présentation des caractères *rik'a*, avec des exercices, au début (p. 5-9). Il en va de même de la diplomatique, domaine dont on ne saurait sous-estimer l'importance, en particulier pour les historiens travaillant sur des documents d'archives. Vu les difficultés résultant de l'emploi de différents alphabets, de signes diacritiques pour l'alphabet de transcription (utilisé tout le long de l'ouvrage) etc., le livre est imprimé avec beaucoup de soin. Les fautes d'impression sont extrêmement rares. On regrettera cependant l'emploi des caractères arabes d'ordinateur car ceux-ci ne sont guère capables de donner à l'étudiant une idée des valeurs esthétiques de cette écriture, ni de certaines conventions calligraphiques courantes. Les anciennes méthodes et même la *Chrestomathie* de Kreutel étaient plus authentiques à cet égard. On se demande pourquoi l'auteur parle de *ağlât-ı meşhûre* (p. xvi) au lieu du plus courant *ğalatât-ı meşhûre* ou si des paradigmes comme *Türküm* « Je suis Turc » etc. (p. 24) et *Türk degiliz* (p. 30) – *Türk* y est écrit sans *vâv* – puissent vraiment illustrer un usage « ottoman ». Ceci n'enlève bien sûr rien aux qualités de ce manuel qui pourra rendre, dans sa version anglaise, les plus grands services à l'enseignement et à l'étude du turc-ottoman.

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⁴ Cf. *Routledge Introduction*, op. cit., p. 20 (Németh < Kreutel), p. 31, p. 37 (Willy Bolland).

Mark KIRCHNER (dir.), *Geschichte der türkischen Literatur in Dokumenten : Hintergründe und Materialien zur Türkischen Bibliothek*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Verlag (coll. Mîzân – Studien zur Literatur in der islamischen Welt 15)

Ce recueil de textes était destiné à l'origine à accompagner la « Bibliothèque turque » (*Türkische Bibliothek*, Unionsverlag, Zurich) dirigée par Erika Glassen et Jens Peter Laut (2005-2010). Cette collection de traductions en allemand d'une vingtaine d'œuvres considérées comme marquant un tournant (*Meilensteine*) de la littérature turque, de 1900 à nos jours, de Halid Ziya Uşaklıgil jusqu'à Ayşe Kulin, représente un des projets les plus ambitieux de faire connaître la littérature turque moderne à un public lecteur occidental.

Dans le livre édité par Mark Kirchner, professeur de turc à l'université Justus-Liebig de Giessen, une centaine de documents datant des cent cinquante dernières années est réunie, de Namık Kemal à Elif Şafak. Il s'agit pour l'essentiel d'essais, d'interviews, d'extraits de mémoires et de journaux, d'études littéraires, de comptes rendus publiés dans des revues littéraires et d'articles parus dans des périodiques, qui illustrent le mouvement d'idées ou l'atmosphère politique des périodes respectives. Les sept chapitres portant des titres évocateurs comme « Orient et Occident », « République et nation », « Progrès et socialisme », « Sexe et psyché », « Pluralité et différence » etc. suivent plus ou moins un plan chronologique. L'éditeur a pris soin d'y couvrir le spectre le plus large possible des différents courants littéraires et tendances idéologiques pendant cette période. Toutes les voix y sont représentées : les intellectuels de l'extrême droite (Nihal Atsız) aussi bien que les écrivains vivant dans l'émigration. Le livre s'achève par une orientation bibliographique (dix-sept titres en allemand, en anglais et en français) et une liste de traductions de la littérature turque en allemand (une vingtaine).

Les traductions en allemand contenues dans ce volume sont dues à différents traducteurs et traductrices. Leur qualité varie selon les cas. Elles ont été réalisées en général pour être incluses dans ce volume. Les textes turcs publiés avant 1928 en caractères arabes ont été traduits à la base des éditions en caractères latins et/ou adaptées au turc moderne (par exemple l'« Histoire des jeunes ottomans » – *Yeni Osmanlılar Tarihi* – de Ebuzziya Tevfik). Les textes les plus anciens ont été modifiés et révisés en plus par l'éditeur « afin de les rendre plus lisibles » (*lesbar*). On se demande cependant comment il a été possible de traduire le titre d'une comédie du « Directeur » Âli Bey, *Kokona yatıyor* (« Madame est encore au lit ») par « *Die Cochonne im Bett (Kokana [sic] Yatıyor)* » (p. 25). Puisque le livre s'adresse surtout à un public de non-turcologues, ceci justifie, selon l'éditeur, la limitation des notes à « l'essentiel ». Si c'est vraiment le cas, il me semble que des lecteurs non initiés doivent avoir droit à un traitement plus généreux à cet égard. Les remarques introductives aux différents chapitres ne peuvent orienter le lecteur que d'une manière très approximative. On regrettera aussi l'absence d'un index.

Ceci dit, il faut savoir gré à l'éditeur et aux traducteurs et traductrices d'avoir réuni un corpus de textes très riche et varié qui permettra à tous ceux qui s'intéressent à la littérature turque moderne de mieux saisir son arrière-plan social, historique et politique.

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